

An “Empire” Without Imperialism?

A Study of the Soviet-Colonial Dialectic from the October Revolution to its Defeat

by

Tyson Riel Strandlund

B.A., University of Victoria, 2017

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We acknowledge and respect the ləkʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory  
the university stands, and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose  
historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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## Supervisory Committee

Dr. Neilesh Bose, Supervisor  
Department of History

Dr. Perry Biddiscombe, Department Member  
Department of History

## Abstract

An analysis of Soviet history and political thought in the context of imperialism and colonialism  
Tyson Riel Strandlund, University of Victoria

This study attempts to clarify problems with dominant liberal narratives and historiography relating to the Soviet Union, particularly relating to questions of empire and colonialism, and instead platforms Third World Marxists and other anti-imperialist scholars and revolutionaries whose views have been effectively sidelined and stifled. By tracing the history of political thought around these questions from pre-revolutionary Marxists through to Cold War era anti-colonial and pan-African scholars and revolutionaries alongside developments in the dynamic and forms of imperialism, and by situating anti-colonial nationalisms in the context of worldmaking rather than state building, this text aims to contribute to analyses of Soviet policy and its relationship to the global history of decolonisation in the 20th Century.

This work identifies serious theoretical and ideological deficiencies in existing literature and concludes that concise definitions of imperialism and empire such as those used by V.I. Lenin and Kwame Nkrumah are not consistent with commonly held beliefs about the role played by the Soviet Union in the history of anti-colonial and national liberation movements. Western liberal literature on this subject has suffered significantly as a result of political and ideological prejudices stemming directly from the US Cold War victory and psychological warfare campaigns targeting communist and anti-colonial movements to this end.

My research indicates that misidentification and misuse of terms relating to empire and colonialism pose serious obstacles and risks to present and future efforts geared towards global peace and equality which add urgency to the correction of mistakes both in scholarly and popular historical, political, and cultural approaches to interpretations of Soviet history.

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I would furthermore like to acknowledge the endless patience and support of my parents, without whose confidence, principles, curiosity, and dedication this thesis could never have come to fruition.

## **Dedication**

It is with the greatest humility that I dedicate this thesis to the Communist Party of Canada in its centenary year, in honour of one hundred years of principled struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism, and towards a socialist future free from exploitation and injustice.

I further devote this work to the revolutionary legacy of my ancestor Louis Riel, the struggle for the national liberation of the Métis people, and in solidarity with all Indigenous nations striving for dignity and self-determination.

## Introduction

Today we are faced with a serious problem around perceptions of the Soviet Union and its history in the popular imagination of the Western world, particularly in the context of ‘empire.’ This narrative has been shaped by politicians, such as in the case of Ronald Reagan’s memorable “evil empire” statement; has permeated culture through film, television and literature; and is indulged in by many who have never read an academic or legitimate historical work. This problematic approach lies at the center of debate in post-Soviet historiography in many cases, as Adeeb Khalid points out.<sup>1</sup> It is moreover an approach that is shared by a great number of scholars from across the political spectrum, and who are frequently held up as voices of academic authority. Scholars play an important role in legitimising and institutionalising the prejudices which have coloured this topic in the public consciousness, in this case including Ronald Suny, Valerie Kivelson, David Remnick, Terry Martin, Timothy Snyder, Douglas Northrop, and other contemporary post-Soviet historians who refer to the Soviet Union as an “empire,” or as “colonial”; as something more or less indistinguishable from the Russian Empire, or even from Nazi Germany - superficial descriptions and comparisons which blur all meaning and leave their audiences hopelessly at sea.<sup>2</sup> In some cases, as with Suny and Kivelson, definitions of empire are attempted, yet remain vague and often contradictory. These authors provide a list of characteristics which may or may not be found in the supposed empire, such as

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<sup>1</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 9-10

<sup>2</sup> Valerie A. Kivelson & Ronald Grigor Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 313-314, David Remnick, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, (New York: Random House, 1993), 4, Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, (New York: Basic Books, 2010), x-xi, xix, Douglas Northrop, “Nationalizing Backwardness: Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity,” in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 198, 206, Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire, Gender & Power in Stalinist Central Asia*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 22, and Samir Amin, *Global History: A View from the South*, (Cape Town: Pambazuka Press, 2011), 181

rule by an autocrat with absolute authority, the polity consisting of a “vast domain” containing disparate peoples and lands, hierarchy with a privileged metropole and subordinate periphery, and what they claim as the most important feature, rule through difference rather than assimilation.<sup>3</sup> Not only can some of these features be found in most any state, but Suny and Kivelson clearly rely heavily on problematic western definitions of nation in which state boundaries (ideally, though never in practice) correspond to a single ethnic group, which is not reflective of Third World multiethnic, anti-colonial nationalisms. That the United States and Canada are not considered empires in their definitions moreover, despite containing many Indigenous and other nations, like Quebec, demonstrates the extreme subjectivism and inconsistency of their explanations. Suny and Kivelson’s definition is further problematized by what is quite frankly a misrepresentation of the Soviet Union which coincides closely with popular images of Soviet leaders like Stalin as an unchallenged autocratic authority - a depiction which is not consistent with the facts, as even CIA documents privately acknowledge.<sup>4</sup> Terry Martin on the other hand refers directly to Lenin, arguing that Lenin would have called the Soviet Union “the highest stage of imperialism” - an argument which is entirely unsubstantiable, as this work will demonstrate.<sup>5</sup>

Even the national liberation movements which break away from colonial oppressors become “little empires.”<sup>6</sup> The United States however is meanwhile rarely ever depicted as an empire by authors from this politico-ideological category, but rather as a promoter of “democracy,” and as a fighter against colonialism and imperium, not with ‘satellites’ or

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<sup>3</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 4

<sup>4</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, “Comments on the Change in Soviet Leadership,” General CIA Documents, (1955), accessed via Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp80-00810a006000360009-0>

<sup>5</sup> Terry Martin, “An Affirmative Action Empire, The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 80

<sup>6</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 263

‘colonies,’ but more benign ‘territories’ and ‘possessions,’ its “military and economic dominance” being “less coercive,” and “*voluntarily accepted* [emphasis added].”<sup>7</sup> The politico-ideological category here referred to is that of bourgeois liberal scholarship, which is characterised in the philosophical/epistemological sense by idealism and abstraction, as well as immense subjectivism and hyper-focus on the individual in order to uphold dominant ruling class narratives (of the bourgeoisie) in primarily western academia and culture. It is consistent with classical liberalism in its promotion of universal politico-moral values, supplemented with exceptions and isolationism in order to obscure the inconsistency of such narratives in practice.

For example, bourgeois liberal scholars lack even remotely consistent definitions of empire, and rarely do they address the essential *activity* of empire, its political-economic content - imperialism - ignoring entirely the economic forces which drive it.<sup>8</sup> Disinclined to question capitalism as a historical category, many fail to explain the political logic behind capital flows, international finance, and trade built on colonial legacies and its effects on post-colonial neo-imperialism.<sup>9</sup> But as historian Michael Parenti writes, “the power of a label is in its being left undefined,” as this precludes any rational examination of its political content.<sup>10</sup> When they do go so far as to use the term “imperialism,” such as in Terry Martin’s case, it is a very different imperialism than that which is understood by the historical actors from the colonies discussed in this text, including Martinique, Ghana, Trinidad, India, Algeria, Cuba, Guyana, Indonesia, Central Asia and the Middle East. It is the depiction of the “Soviet Empire,” which this work principally aims to lay bare, and as will be demonstrated, any serious analysis of imperialism and

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<sup>7</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 230, 313-316, and Michael Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, (Philadelphia: Routledge, 2015), 5

<sup>8</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 6-7

<sup>9</sup> James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 59, 69

<sup>10</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 26

its dynamics poses insurmountable obstacles to such liberal and superficial definitions of empire. The need for intervention on this subject arises from the serious consequences which are risked by misuse of the imperial label, and misidentification of the danger posed not by historic and present socialist and national liberation projects, but from the logic of capital accumulation inherent to imperialism, including mass impoverishment, war, and fascism, which can only be prevented by positive intervention, according to Kwame Nkrumah.<sup>11</sup> To combat these misuses, it is therefore essential to trace the development of imperialism globally and to contextualise the Soviet Union within this development, both in the historical sense, and also in the more explicitly theoretical sense with corresponding evolutions in political thought and intellectual history up to the present. That the United States meanwhile *did* (and does) in fact function as an empire according to the imperialism of Lenin and Nkrumah is directly correlated with such misuses, and with the obscurement of the historical relationship of the Soviet Union with the colonial question.

Before its dissolution, the term “empire” was almost never used to describe the USSR except by right-wing politicians and other hostile observers, and as such, the use of this term today represents what we might call historical revisionism.<sup>12</sup> Italian historian and philosopher Domenico Losurdo explains that this variety of anti-communist historical revisionism became an urgent necessity to the ruling classes when the atrocities committed by the cult of the Aryan race, inspiring revulsion throughout the world, posed the real danger of re-legitimising the historical movements and individuals which had opposed and ultimately defeated the Nazis.<sup>13</sup> Its roots

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<sup>11</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, (New Jersey: Humanities Press International Inc., 1965), 259

<sup>12</sup> Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23, 79

<sup>13</sup> Domenico Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, Gregory Elliott trans., (London: Verso, 2015), 19

have only grown deeper and more insidious with time however, and today historical revisionism can be observed throughout bourgeois scholarship. Losurdo demonstrates that there exists an undeniable convergence between the historiographical category of historical revisionism and the corresponding political category of neoliberalism - though emphasises a distinction between historical revisionism and the practice of historical research, rereading and reinterpretation, which aims to improve our understanding of history rather than conceal or obscure it.<sup>14</sup> The main question repressed by historical revisionism is that of the colonies and colonial peoples, who must necessarily be ignored in order to draw the conclusions its adherents attempt to sell.<sup>15</sup> The question of the Soviet relationship in the history of colonialism throughout its existence therefore takes central stage in this project, a relationship with dynamic contours and developments coinciding with developments in imperialism, from older colonialisms, to fascism, and neo-colonialism in the post-war years, and which through anti-colonial scholars like Roy, Dutt, Fanon, Césaire, Rodney, Nehru, Nkrumah and others would ultimately take on a life of their own with multiple facets and directions.

Such revisionist distortions as described by Losurdo need not be made consciously, as it is the objective result of “objective” scholarship to serve ruling class interests, while departures from these mainstream narratives and the established familiarity of bias which are most frequently dismissed as “ideological.”<sup>16</sup> “Historical truths” meanwhile are those which dovetail most neatly with the dominant ideological paradigm.<sup>17</sup> To take one step too far from the permissible narrative and preemptively monopolized discourse is to risk one’s intellectual credibility.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, many scholars and individuals, while sincerely well meaning, like

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<sup>14</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 21, 28, 32

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 103

<sup>16</sup> Michael Parenti, *History as Mystery*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1999), xvi, 4-5

<sup>17</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 1-2

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 12

L'Ouverture's friend, the white man, Colonel Vincent, "could never dread slavery as a black man could... Many an honest subordinate [of colonial capital] has in this way been the unwilling instrument of the inevitable treachery up above; the trouble is that when faced with the brutal reality he goes in the end with his own side, and by the very confidence which his integrity created does infinitely more harm than the open enemy."<sup>19</sup> Martinician author and politician Aimé Césaire for this reason argues that, "intentions are irrelevant to the objective social implications of the evil work they perform as watchdogs of colonialism," their objectivity, false - a poor cover for their chauvinism, "sly racism," and recognition of white merit only.<sup>20</sup>

There are several waves in Soviet historiography which this work engages with to a greater or lesser extent, however it must be noted that the October Revolution and the creation of the first socialist state did more than any other historical event to polarise two global ideological perspectives and approaches, such that these waves, while developing over the course of the last hundred years, may be categorised rather simply.<sup>21</sup> In the philosophical and epistemological sense, firstly, there is a marked difference between the materialist and idealist methodologies predating the October Revolution.<sup>22</sup> Following this however, the conditions were created for historical materialism to gain a broad class base in addition to the support of state power represented in the Soviet Union and increasing numbers of socialist states throughout the century.<sup>23</sup> Marxist historiography is more easily identifiable as its authors readily state their ideological positions, including those who are critical of the USSR and other actually existing socialist projects in one way or another - assuming their sincerity.<sup>24</sup> The same may not be said of

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<sup>19</sup> C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins, Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1989), 268

<sup>20</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Joan Pinkham trans., (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 55-56

<sup>21</sup> Walter Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, Robin D.G. Kelley and Jesse Benjamin eds., (London: Verso, 2018), 7

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 7

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 7

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 7-10

bourgeois scholars however, who are for various reasons disinclined to declare ideological predispositions, and instead prefer to appear as dispassionate and objective purveyors of unprejudiced reasoning.<sup>25</sup> Such scholars frequently articulate their politico-moral positions in universal humanitarian terms, and often demonstrate extreme subjectivism in analyses, like Suny and Martin, who refer to the creation of the USSR as a contest between “legitimacy and morality” on the part of non-Russian nationalists, and the “cynical manipulation of ideals in the interest of naked power” by the Bolsheviks, or Remnick, who writes of the “heroic” Havel, Sakharov, Walesa, and Yeltsin in their struggle against the “evil” communists - class and class interest being altogether obscured, and morality abstracted in both cases.<sup>26</sup>

The deep gulf in scholarly, political, and popular public understandings of revolutionary figures like Lenin and Stalin, as well as Soviet and Comintern policies throughout the 20th century demands deeper explanation and analysis than is most often provided, and there is an urgent need to explore the source of these divisions. Lenin, Stalin, the October Revolution, the USSR - these hold an ideational weight for many highly significant anti-racist, anti-fascist, civil rights, and national liberation leaders throughout the colonised world that cannot simply be written off. The dominant liberal narratives in Western countries including Canada and the United States have yet to adequately address the ongoing injustices, necessity for, and indeed, the meaning of decolonisation even in their own localities, and as such, liberal scholars are not given priority in this work, which aims rather to restore agency to those robbed of it by bourgeois historians. In reckoning with its own colonial history and its legacies, decolonisation in Canada

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<sup>25</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 10-11, Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 22 and Nikolai Bukharin, “Historical Materialism, A System of Sociology,” *Historical Materialism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1925), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/bukharin/works/1921/histmat/index.htm>

<sup>26</sup> Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 4, and Remnick, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, 11, 241

must include a rewriting of the dominant narratives of *global* history, which have also been interpreted through the colonial lens - a process to which this project strives to contribute. The leaders of anti-colonial movements in the 20th century have rarely referred to the American Revolution for ‘liberty’ and ‘freedom,’ nor to Canada’s more peaceful road to self-government - notably distinct from national self-determination. Rather, they speak of the importance of the October Revolution in which colonised peoples united to throw off the Tsarist yoke and also that of foreign imperialism, or in some cases of San Domingo to which the October Revolution is connected, which must be understood through the dramatically different places held by these movements for colonised peoples, both in real material support in their struggles which are examined throughout this project, but also in terms of imagination.<sup>27</sup> The dubious promoters of the “evil empire” and “totalitarian” theories of Soviet history, including Terry Martin’s depiction of the Soviet Union as “the highest form of imperialism” meanwhile come from quite another tradition, a complete understanding of which must be traced through the development of its predecessors in colonial white-supremacy, through Nazi fascism, and ultimately to the present more insidious forms of anti-communism and neoliberalism - as Canadian-Ukrainian author Douglas Tottle writes, “from Hitler to Harvard.”<sup>28</sup>

The first chapter of this work examines the political and theoretical writings of pre-revolutionary Marxists including this school’s ideological founders Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, including most significantly, *Capital*, “The Future Results of British Rule in India,” and a letter from “Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York.” *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) are also referenced however for their recognition of the importance played by indigenous communal societies to the

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<sup>27</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 13

<sup>28</sup> Douglas Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1987)

development of Marxist theory. These writings are used to draw connections with Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin as the primary architects of the first socialist state, whose own writings on nationalism and imperialism are contextualised amidst a backdrop of debate with other European socialists and communists, particularly around the national and colonial questions, but also in light of observations of the pre-war revolutions in China, Iran, Turkey, and the Dutch East Indies as noted in Lenin's 1913 pamphlets, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia" and "The Awakening of Asia." Vital to these questions is the significance of the responses to the outbreak of war in 1914 by European social democrats, which would lead Lenin to write the historically substantial 1916 work, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.<sup>29</sup> Lenin's theory of imperialism with its roots in stagnating monopoly and characterised by finance capital will remain of significance throughout this project both as a point of reference for other historical actors and commentators and as a clearly defined yardstick for observations and analyses around concepts of empire.

Also important to this chapter and the following are Stalin's 1913 writing on "Marxism and the National Question," as well as Lenin's "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1916), and "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (1913), as the national question plays an important role in the Marxist understanding of imperialism. Too often it is forgotten that Stalin's perspective on the national and colonial questions were reflective of his own socio-cultural positioning as a racialised minority, frequently scorned as "Asiatic," however this is important context to keep in mind when examining Stalin's works, and one not lost on many other Third World observers included in this thesis such as W. E. B. Du Bois.<sup>30</sup> While Lenin and Stalin's writings are central to this work as primary sources, the

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<sup>29</sup> Nazeef Mollah, John Riddell, & Vijay Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2020), 16

<sup>30</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, "On Stalin," *National Guardian*, (1953), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/biographies/1953/03/16.htm>

contextualisation of the Bolsheviks and the October Revolution are assisted by political actors and historians who themselves play more central roles in later chapters, such as Walter Rodney and Vijay Prashad, and benefits from their distinct socio-political positions outside the imperial core and/or outside of the dominant narrative of bourgeois historiography and ideological interpretations of these events. Tracing these authors through their analyses of the October Revolution helps to situate their place in intellectual history and the developments of Soviet historiography throughout the century, as well as ideological currents in political thought that evolved in following decades such as pan-Africanism. The study of the October Revolution would be significant to many anti-colonial scholars both as a demonstration of the power of subjective over strictly objective forces in bringing about revolution in various conditions. However, the Russian Empire's status as a primarily agricultural society with relatively little industrial development, and moreover its domination by foreign capital, made comparisons with many colonised nations in Africa and Asia quite relevant. European financial investment in the Russian Empire as a mechanism of control and a driving factor in colonial expansion would be essential to Lenin's theory of imperialism - a dynamic which would become even more important in understanding Kwame Nkrumah's analysis of neo-colonialism in the post-war years.

The second chapter centres on early Soviet engagement with Eastern nationalisms and theoretical debates around the dialectic between Soviet socialism and these movements in the context of the global anti-imperialist struggle during the interwar years. With assistance from Masha Kirasirova, the Bolsheviks' use of "the East" is discussed here as a dynamic socio-political category as opposed to a purely geographical one, which encompassed a number of oppressed nations that would later come to be included under concepts like the "Third World," and included even blacks living in the heart of the west, the United States. While Lenin and

Stalin's writings from the previous chapter are continually referenced, of essential importance to this segment are the discussions between Lenin and M. N. Roy at the Comintern around the national and colonial questions. In addition to demonstrating the multilateral and discursive complexity of Soviet foreign and domestic policies, in contradiction with "great-man" and "top-down" theories of Soviet history, these debates would represent a vital development in Marxist approaches to these issues globally. The significance of these developments are explored through case studies of the Communist University of Toilers of the East (KUTV), and Soviet engagement with national liberation movements near their borders, including the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku. Soviet affirmative action, anti-racism, and *коренизация* (indigenisation) are also examined as measures utilised to combat colonial legacies of Great Russian chauvinism. One of the most significant primary sources noted in this chapter is Roy's "Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question," which is situated alongside Lenin's "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions For the Second Congress of the Communist International," as well as the Comintern discussions around these documents. Roy attended the Second Congress as a delegate from the Communist Party of Mexico, and his own ideas reflected his unique situation as an international revolutionary as well as his recent experiences with the Swadeshi avant garde and observations of the situation in India, making him a distinctively fascinating theoretician. Kris Manjapra's biography, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism* (2010), serves very well in adding context to Roy's political thought.

In regard to Baku, the Comintern Executive Committee's appeal "To the Enslaved Popular Masses of Persia, Armenia and Turkey," is included, as well as Lenin's "Address To The Second All-Russia Congress Of Communist Organisations of The Peoples Of The East," along with a number of interventions from delegates such as Tashpolad Narbutabekov, John Reed,

Jalaluddin Korkmasov, and Najiyeh Hanim. On the Communist University of Toilers of the East (KUTV), Stalin's "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East" is essential, as much due to its evident influence from Roy's theoretical contributions as its importance to establishing Soviet foreign and domestic policy. Quotes from the Deputy Commissar of Nationalities and KUTV's first rector, the ethnic Tajik Grigory Broydo, are also instructive, in addition to reflections from the American Harry Haywood on his experience at KUTV recorded in his autobiography, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood* (2012, but originally published under another title in 1978), which also offers remarkable anecdotes on Soviet anti-racism he witnessed during his years living in the USSR. The experiences of civil rights activist and bass singer Paul Robeson and Trinidadian historian C.L.R. James are also noted. Additional Soviet documents which appear include the "Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia," and "Council of People's Commissars, Appeal to the Moslems of Russia and the East," jointly issued by Lenin and Stalin, as well as the 1936 "Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." This chapter is important in establishing a clear break regarding questions of race and colonialism with the Russian Empire outlined in chapter one, as well as irreconcilable distinctions with the Third Reich, which is examined in the following chapter, each of which the USSR is frequently compared with in bourgeois historiography, including in works by Richard Pipes, Snyder, Northrop, Suny, Kivelson, and Martin.<sup>31</sup>

Chapter three features an array of anti-colonial thinkers and political actors operating in the wake of the Lenin/Roy debate at the Comintern, and who provide invaluable contributions to

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<sup>31</sup> Richard Pipes quoted in Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, 509, Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, x-xi, Northrop, *Veiled Empire, Gender & Power in Stalinist Central Asia*, 22, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 228, 313-314, and Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 25-26

the study of the colonial question, racism, and fascism. An important primary source highlighted in this chapter is Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India* (1946), written as a political prisoner during the Second World War, and offering frequently ironic observations on the hypocrisy of British statesmen in their fight against fascism in light of their own colonial endeavours. Nehru was not himself a communist - indeed, he came from a highly educated and well-off family background and held various political ideas - but his role in India's national liberation movement compelled him towards a sympathetic view of Soviet affirmative action domestically and anti-imperialism internationally. His comments on the elimination of racial prejudice in the USSR come across as characteristically unemotive and matter-of-factly.

Similarly, Trinidadian Pan-Africanist George Padmore's writing is referenced throughout chapter three, including his 1931 book, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, in addition to the provocatively titled articles, "British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews," and "Fascism in the Colonies." Like Nehru, Padmore aimed to draw a clear correlation between fascism and colonialism, though he would lead a very different life, spending time living in the United States where he studied medicine and would become a member of the CPUSA, as well as in the USSR and throughout Western Europe before settling in Ghana where he would be instrumental in shaping the politics of Kwame Nkrumah. During his time in the USSR, he would even be elected to the Moscow Soviet, however the Communist Party's policy of pursuing a united front against fascism with the imperial powers of Britain and France who possessed African colonies would lead him to break with the Soviet Union in 1935, though he remained a socialist.

In addressing problems with psychopolitical theories of history which proliferate with particular frequency around WWII and subjective comparisons between Hitler and Stalin, as well

as the way the language of fascism and anti-communism are clearly derivatives of an older colonial tradition, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) is utilised alongside Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955). Césaire, like Nehru and Padmore, would not hesitate to speak of the hypocrisy of colonial imperialism, and indeed, to lay responsibility for fascism at its feet. Each hailing from Martinique, Césaire and his student Fanon both look back on the recent events of WWII through a lens reflective of their own experiences and observations as colonial subjects under French domination. While Césaire's powerful writing is clearly that of a poet, Fanon's education as a psychiatrist is on full display in his engagement with colonialism, Marxism, and Négritude, a movement founded in part by the elder Césaire.

Césaire had not come from a wealthy background, but was able to attend school, and eventually study in Paris thanks to scholarship funds. Inspired by the USSR, he would be elected mayor of Fort-de-France and deputy to the French National Assembly for Martinique as a member of the Communist Party of France, but his interpretation of Soviet intervention in Hungary would cause him to leave the party in 1956, shortly after writing his most famous work.

Fanon meanwhile came from a middle-class background, which had allowed him to attend the prestigious highschool where Césaire was a teacher. Fanon's writings would also be influenced by his active participation in the fight against fascism during WWII, the oppressive Vichy regime established in Martinique during this period, and later Jean-Paul Sartre who would preface his book. Fanon would also spend time in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Disgusted with French colonialism, Fanon would enlist in the fight for Algerian independence with the FLN and even serve as GPRA ambassador to Ghana, ultimately resulting in a wide range of political and intellectual experience.

Also essential to this chapter is R. Palme Dutt's iconic book, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay* (1934). A leading theoretician and journalist from the Communist Party of Great Britain of mixed Indian and Swedish descent, Dutt's detailed study is unmatched in outlining the historical rise of fascism, the role played by social democracy, and contextualising fascism as unique to a specific historical stage of capitalist imperialism, and corresponding to a specific class base in the interests of maintaining the ruling class dictatorship of monopoly capital. Dutt's observations on fascism are supplemented by other contemporary Marxist anti-fascist works with which there is a good deal in common, including Stalin's "Concerning the International Situation," Palmiro Togliatti's "On the German Situation," Dmitrii Manuilski's "On Fascism," Ernst Thälmann's "The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD," and Georgi Dimitrov's, "The Working Class against Fascism." French anarcho-communist Daniel Guérin's *Fascism and Big Business* (1939) is also used to support the class analysis of fascism and its ideological superstructure. Together, these authors provide a far more persuasive framework for understanding the phenomenon of fascism than is presented by Snyder, Martin, and all those relying on subjective, hyper-individualist theories rather than class based analyses.

The last chapter examines the final form of imperialism which remains dominant in the present, and through a close analysis of Soviet policies of trade and aid demonstrates that imperialism is not a force which could have operated in the USSR during this period (or any other), in contrast to the United States. By far the most important primary text here is Kwame Nkrumah's 1965 study, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism*. As a leading pan-African theoretician, accomplished revolutionary, and leader of Ghana's national liberation movement, Nkrumah experienced neo-colonialism intimately, ultimately being deposed from the

presidency and forced into exile from the country he had led to independence a decade prior. The world-historic significance of the Ghanaian victory over imperialism is frequently overlooked, however as the first sub-Saharan African state to gain independence, and only the fourth black state after Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia, Ghana's importance in the Cold War era of national-liberation movements should not be understated.<sup>32</sup> If the October Revolution provided state backing to Marxism, Ghana, while much more short lived, represented the same for pan-Africanism - precisely why figures like Padmore, Fanon and others would all converge here at some point or another.

Nkrumah grew up in a small village in the British colony of the Gold Coast, and was raised by his mother, who sent him to a Catholic run elementary school where, proving to be a remarkable student, would finish his education early and attend a teachers' training college in Accra. Here his exposure to scholars including Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois would have a significant effect on his intellectual development.<sup>33</sup> He would go on to attend Lincoln University and later the University of Pennsylvania relying on scholarships and low-wage jobs to make ends meet during his time in the United States, but ultimately received a number of undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in sociology, economics, theology, and education.

Nkrumah's book picks up where Lenin left off, observing in immaculate detail the dynamics of imperialism which had not yet come to the fore in Lenin's time, but which Lenin had nevertheless predicted with remarkable accuracy. However, since Lenin, much had changed in the global situation that Lenin could not have foreseen, and which made Nkrumah's analysis of essential importance. In particular, the establishment of a strong socialist bloc in Eastern Europe and the existence of nuclear arsenals had locked the capitalist and socialist worlds of the

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<sup>32</sup> Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019), 1-2

<sup>33</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1963), 133

west and east in something of a stalemate, leading to the necessity of an autonomous third force in the south which would materialise at Bandung, the Non-Aligned Movement, and in pan-Africanism - a movement in which Nkrumah would play a leading intellectual and political role.<sup>34</sup> It is Nkrumah's work which clearly sets the tone of the postwar period of independence struggles not only in Africa but in Asia and Latin America also. Indonesia's president Sukarno for example is shown to share a similar understanding of neo-colonialism.

This chapter also incorporates various government documents and communiques from China, Algeria, the USSR, the UK, Albania, Indonesia, and Hungary, made accessible through the Cold War International History Project. Declassified CIA documents are also employed where useful, particularly in regard to the employment of former Nazis by the United States.

Regarding Afghanistan, the first-hand experience of American journalist and labour-activist Phillip Bonosky is undoubtedly the most comprehensive source featured. Bonosky, a close friend of the noted anti-racist, women's rights advocate, and Marxist scholar Angela Davis, had been among the first American journalists to visit China following the revolution, one of only a handful ever to interview Hồ Chí Minh, and most importantly for our purposes, an eye-witness to the events in Afghanistan of 1979 and much of what followed. Bonosky's reputation earned him the unmatched trust of the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which allowed him privileged access to many of its leaders in the Central Committee and Politburo, including Mahmud Baryalai, Nizamuddin Tahzib, Anahita Ratebzad, and even Babrak Karmal to a lesser extent. In the case of Indonesia, primary sources can be difficult to find, precisely because as Vincent Bevins informs us in his recent book, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World* (2020), the majority of those even remotely suspect of communist sympathies

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<sup>34</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 254

were massacred in 1965, but Bevins has done his best to track down witnesses to this horrific event whose voices are central in his work.

This project also utilises a number of additional authors throughout various chapters whose writings are reflective of the developments in intellectual history and political thought around the subject, and which add additional scholarly evidence to claims by various political actors. For example, the immaculate studies by American sociologist Albert Szymanski including *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today* (1979) and *Human Rights in the Soviet Union* (1984) clearly represent at once both impressive theoretical evaluations and intricately researched assemblies of statistical data from the UN and other authoritative sources, his article “On the Uses of Disinformation to Legitimize the Revival of the Cold War: Health in the U.S.S.R.” even being included in the peer-reviewed scientific publication, the *International Journal of Health Services*. Also focused on Soviet trade, aid, and capital flows is the book by James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World* (2020).

A voice from Soviet Central Asia included in this work is that of R. Tuzmuhamedov, who in his book, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)* (1973) addresses the significance of the October Revolution to the Central Asian republics, as well as of the defeat of fascism in Europe, while also speaking to serious problems present throughout anti-communist historiography. Adeb Khalid’s *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR* (2015) similarly goes a long way towards restoring agency to Soviet Central Asians as conscious and diverse political actors as opposed to simply passive objects, and problematizes dichotomies of foreign communists versus local nationalists, as well as authentic/traditional versus inauthentic/modern.

Another very important individual is Guyanese scholar and pan-African activist Walter Rodney, particularly his posthumously published book, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World* (2018), assembled from his lecture notes and various writings. Rodney came from a working-class family, and would study history at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, eventually becoming an accomplished professor who had seen socialism applied in the USSR, the Caribbean, and Africa, and continually stressed the need to apply the Marxist methodology as Lenin had in 1917 to understand and to bring about the conditions for revolution across the entire African continent. Tragically however, Rodney's activism and scholarship would make him the target of a political assassination by the U.S. backed government of Forbes Burnham in Guyana at only thirty-nine. Rodney argued that "one has to live with a revolution to get its full impact," however that "the next best thing is to go there and see a people actually attempting to grapple with real problems of development."<sup>35</sup> Rodney's work looms large in this project, and a consideration for his own methodology is reflected in the selection of sources featured in this text.

That said, Rodney's investigation of and contributions to Soviet history, while valuable, took place during the Cold War, and as such he was unable to benefit from the substantial information which has been made available in the decades since the Soviet collapse. Here American political scientist and historian Michael Parenti comes in very useful. Coming from a working-class Italian-American family in Harlem, Parenti combines a proletarian outlook with a Yale education to produce works both accessible to the broader public and of great academic value, including most significantly to this thesis, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism* (1997) and *The Face of Imperialism* (2015).

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<sup>35</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, viii

Similarly, the studies undertaken by Italian philosopher and historian Domenico Losurdo play an important part in this work both in terms of Losurdo's powerful criticisms of the liberal intellectual tradition which problematize concepts like "totalitarianism," and also his compelling arguments around the relationship between the Soviet Union and anti-colonial movements, which he situates as central to the history of the 20th century. In particular, Losurdo's *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century* (2015) provides a comprehensive up-to-date study of Soviet history in the context of imperialism, colonialism, and fascism.

At least two other scholars hailing from the formerly colonised countries have provided highly significant contributions to this work through their research published in the decades since the Soviet collapse, the first of which is Iranian-American economist and sociologist Bahman Azad's *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR* (2000). Of greater importance still is Indian historian and executive-director of the Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, Vijay Prashad, whose prolific works include such titles as *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (2007), *Red Star Over the Third World* (2017), and *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations* (2020), in addition to collections of essays he has edited, such as *Red October; The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon* (2017), featuring the writings of Jodi Dean, Amar Farooqui, Irfan Habib, Prakash Karat, Shahrzad Mojab, Prabhat Patnaik, Prabir Purkayastha, B.T. Ranadive, and Sitaram Yechury.

In terms of methodology, this project is one which strives to trace relevant dynamics in intellectual history and political thought - in particular via historical materialism - alongside real, material developments in Soviet policy and engagement with decolonisation in order to ultimately provide a meaningful analysis of imperialism in the context of global history. The

socialist and anti-colonial projects of the 20th century examined in this text are situated not as moments of individual nation building, but rather as worldmaking, and as deeply interconnected parts the construction of a new egalitarian international order free from domination, as Adom Getachew describes, or what James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung refer to as an “alternative globalization.”<sup>36</sup> To combat the global system of imperialism, nothing less would be adequate. Discussions of theoretical questions amongst Soviet leaders and anti-colonial revolutionaries played a significant role in determining Soviet policy, and putting these policies into practice in turn frequently led to reassessments and renewed theoretical debate, making the study of the dialectic between theory and practice an important aspect of approaching the questions tackled in this work.<sup>37</sup>

While Lenin’s political thought plays an undoubtedly foundational role in this text, it will be demonstrated that many of the most important anti-colonial, anti-fascist, and anti-racist thinkers and leaders of the 20th century were able to build on and apply Lenin’s methodology in their own struggles and analyses of imperialism as a world system. In the case of KUTV we find an institution where intellectual history and Soviet policy combine in a fascinating singular unit, simultaneously a product and purveyor of anti-colonial and internationalist thought, as well as a tangible policy of aid for revolutionaries from colonised nations. KUTV is significant for its development of methods and exploration of questions which would become vital to many of the scholars and revolutionaries explored in this work, and in many cases having provided them with educations and skills they would employ for years to come. KUTV is remarkable in its linkage of

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<sup>36</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 1-3

<sup>37</sup> Galia Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, (Boston: Allen & Unwin Inc., 1988), 7-8, Masha Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Volume 18, Number 1, (Winter 2017), <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/article/650067>, and Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 8-9

Lenin, Roy, and Stalin to students like Harry Haywood, and George Padmore, who himself was key in the development of Kwame Nkrumah's political thought, and whose struggle for Ghanaian independence and pan-African unity would be observed by the likes of Julius Nyerere, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King and others.<sup>38</sup> It is precisely this long chain which this work attempts to capture and illuminate.

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<sup>38</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 2, and Amílcar Cabral, *Unity & Struggle, Selected Speeches and Writings*, Michael Wolfers trans., (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2012)

## Chapter 1

### Lenin, the National Question & The Social-Imperialists

Until its final days, the revolutionary theory of Lenin remained at the foundation of Soviet policy towards the Third World.<sup>39</sup> Much of the existing literature has failed to adequately represent Lenin's anti-imperialism, and as such does not provide good faith arguments which aid in understanding Soviet engagement with the colonies and former colonies in later years. In order to establish a consistent yardstick regarding the nature of imperialism and of Soviet policy, this chapter is dedicated to tracing Lenin's political thought, inseparable from the anti-colonial wave of the 20th century, beginning with its roots in Marx and Engels, through his application of historical materialism to analyse the conditions of the Russian Empire, his clash with the "social-imperialists" at Zimmerwald, and his consequent elaboration of his theory of imperialism in 1916 linking the national question with the question of the colonies. Anti-imperialism was not an afterthought that arose following the October Revolution, nor representative of pragmatic "concessions" forced on the Bolsheviks as argued by Suny and Kivelson.<sup>40</sup> Rather, Lenin's admiration for the independence struggles he observed in the colonies, (China, Iran, Turkey, and the Dutch East Indies,) the importance he placed on global unity between the advanced workers of Europe and the peasantry in the maldeveloped countries, and the right of self-determination for colonised peoples were central to Lenin's political understanding long before 1917.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Jodi Dean, Amar Farooqui, Irfan Habib, Prakash Karat, Shahrzad Mojab, Prabhat Patnaik, Prabir Purkayastha, B.T. Ranadive, & Sitaram Yechury, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2017), 62, 142, Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 10, 14, 229, Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, (New York: The New Press, 2007), 156, 210, Vijay Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2017), 104-105, Bahman Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, (New York: International Publishers, 2000), 19-25, 137, and Jeremy Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ix, 69

<sup>40</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 288

<sup>41</sup> Nazeef Mollah, John Riddell, & Vijay Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2020), 17, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 10, 39, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 107, R. Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia*

The period during which the nation state would come to eclipse the empire as the most legitimate socio-political unit, especially following the French Revolution, provided unique historical conditions and contradictions around questions of inequality and exploitation, both in the form of colonial exploitation in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, but also in the exploitation of European nationalities and minorities within the imperial core, which Marxists and other revolutionaries sought to understand and to end.<sup>42</sup> The theories and questions that developed as to just what each of these units really were, and what it was that distinguished them remain of interest to many scholars today, but of far greater significance to those still struggling with how to achieve economic and social development without mortgaging their country's future to an imperialist superpower.<sup>43</sup>

While frequently, interpretations of empire suggest multiple peoples or even 'nations' under imperial yolk, empires originate in a time before nations existed in any modern sense.<sup>44</sup> For most Marxists at this time however, particularly the Bolsheviks, the origin of the nation would be sought in the rise of industrial capitalism, the creation of economic centers, and the consolidation of ethnolinguistic boundaries on such basis.<sup>45</sup> While this work strives to clarify the meaning of imperialism as understood by the relevant historical actors, some context is needed. Imperialism and capitalism operate on a world scale, and in global systems, class is the motivating force behind their dynamics rather than nations, such that these relationships could be analysed using a variety of units.<sup>46</sup> However, it is far more difficult to understand where these

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(*A Reply to Falsifiers*), David Fidlon trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 52-53, and Walter Z. Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1959), 9

<sup>42</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1960), 1-5

<sup>43</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 5

<sup>44</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 2-3

<sup>45</sup> J.V. Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question", *Prosveshcheniye*, Nos. 3-5, (March-May 1913), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm>, and V.I. Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1968), 38

<sup>46</sup> Albert Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), 15-21

relationships originate from without the use of states and national economies, and as such the Bolshevik understanding of the national idea must also be clarified.<sup>47</sup> During Marx's life, the historic significance of nationalism had yet to be fully revealed, but Marx nevertheless was able early on to provide a powerful materialist analysis of this phenomenon that Lenin would build on and expand.<sup>48</sup> When Marx writes about "nationalisation" of the means of production, for example, Marx is referring to nations as he had observed to have developed in Europe, particularly Western Europe, such as France or England representing territories in which political and economic cohesion have congealed in the form of a state - although clearly this is not the only sort of nation Marx would acknowledge.<sup>49</sup> Marx did not discuss in depth what specific criteria should constitute the definition of a nation however, and consequently this question would be hotly debated by Marxists following his death, including notably the debates had by Lenin and Stalin with the Austro-Marxists Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, as well as other European Marxists including Karl Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg, and later Third World Marxists as is discussed in chapter two. Lenin correctly asserted however that Marx's writings are nevertheless "as far from ignoring national movements as heaven from earth."<sup>50</sup>

Marx and Engels developed a consistent method of analysis which led in some cases to their support for national liberation movements, while at others cautioning against them, such as when Czech independence would have objectively provided "an outpost for reactionary Tsarism," and delay or set back the historic march towards democracy and eventually

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<sup>47</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 18-21

<sup>48</sup> R. Palme Dutt, "Marxism after Seventy Years," *The Labour Monthly*, (March 1953), <https://www.unz.com/print/LabourMonthly-1953mar-00097/>, 100-101, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 46-48

<sup>49</sup> Robert R. King, *Minorities Under Communism, Nationalities as a Source of Tension Among Balkan Communist States*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 7, 15, and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1983), 39

<sup>50</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 86

communism - a methodology that Lenin would follow closely and expand on.<sup>51</sup> While recognising the importance of achieving Irish independence, in another example, they nevertheless suggest this should be only a temporary measure prior to a future federative union with England in order to secure independence and development in the long run.<sup>52</sup>

Marx and Engels were historical materialists, and *nowhere* do they condemn capitalism in universal or abstract terms. Neither for that matter do they offer blanket advocacy of socialism, on the contrary, writing positively of, and defending the advancement of capitalism as progressive at a *historically specific point*.<sup>53</sup> Certain commentators have suggested that Marx's theory failed to explain the historical trajectory of Russia, however Marx himself responded to such claims long ago, stating that in *Das Kapital*, "The chapter on primitive accumulation does not pretend to do more than trace the path by which, in Western Europe, the capitalist order of economy emerged from the womb of the feudal economy."<sup>54</sup> Marx and Engels had also discussed the possibility of "skipping" capitalism via the remnants of the Russian village commune, the *община*, and by no means presented dogmatic or inflexible theories of socialist development.<sup>55</sup>

Indeed, by the end of his life, Marx's writings had touched almost every corner of the globe, even exploring such societies as the Incas and their own unique form of common land ownership to the best of his ability, and without pretension.<sup>56</sup> Some scholars, such as Edward

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<sup>51</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 145

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 87, 113

<sup>53</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 12

<sup>54</sup> Karl Marx, "Letter from Marx to the Editor of the Otecestvenniye Zapisky," *Marx-Engels Correspondence 1877*, Donna Torr trans., (International Publishers, 1968), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1877/11/russia.htm>

<sup>55</sup> Frederich Engels and Karl Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party, (Russian Edition, 1882)*, Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/preface.htm>, and Kevin B. Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 230

<sup>56</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Eden and Cedar Paul, trans., (London: J.M Dent & Sons Ltd, 1933), 63, Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, S.W. Ryazanskaya trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive,

Said, have accused Marx of eurocentrism, however if this was at one time the case, an examination of his later writings demonstrate a decisive shift away from such attitudes, especially by the end of 1853, as Marx observed political events taking place in India, as well as the Taiping Rebellion in China.<sup>57</sup> By this time, Marx frequently referred to the “inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization,” one of few, if any, European scholars to reverse the common ethnocentric distinction between ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ peoples, placing the Europeans as the barbarians.<sup>58</sup> His first clear articulation that Asian societies followed a different course of development and must be studied separately can be observed in *Grundrisse* (1859), and by the time he was producing the manuscript for the third volume of *Capital* in 1861-1863, his language around “Oriental despotism” had been altered to “the Asiatic Communal System,” clearly demonstrating an appreciation for certain redeeming aspects of many pre-capitalist societies.<sup>59</sup> India, which at one time he referred to as a place “without history,” by 1879 had been transformed in Marx’s understanding to a country with a greater “variety in forms of land relations” than any other.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, as early as 1853, Marx was already theorising the global importance of events in the colonised world, even suggesting that the rebellion underway in China could cause revolution to break out in Europe.<sup>61</sup> Marx similarly placed Indian national liberation in a global context, prompting Irfan Habib to assert that,

“In 1853 to set colonial emancipation, not just colonial reform, as an objective of the European socialist movement, and still more, to look forward to a national liberation

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<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/index.htm>, and Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 220-224

<sup>57</sup> Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 2, 20

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 23-31

<sup>59</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse, Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, Martin Nicolaus trans., (London: Penguin House, 1973), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive,

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/ch09.htm#p471>, and Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 168-169

<sup>60</sup> Karl Marx quoted in Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 209

<sup>61</sup> Karl Marx, “Revolution in China and in Europe,” *New York Daily Tribune*, (June 14, 1853), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/06/14.htm>

movement... that might even precede the emancipation of the European working class - such insight and vision could belong to Marx alone.”<sup>62</sup>

Marx explicitly rejected the idea that the conditions which he had theorized might bring about socialism in the most advanced capitalist economies could necessarily be re-created elsewhere, and clearly articulated an understanding of multilinear development.<sup>63</sup> The only aspect of Marxism which claims to be universal is the scientific method of dialectical materialism.<sup>64</sup> It is for this reason that Kwame Ture would compellingly argue that this was not Marx’s invention, but an observation of a universal truth - one observed also by African scholars and indigenous societies.<sup>65</sup> Ture’s position is hardly unfounded, as demonstrated in works such as *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in which Engels would praise the Iroquois constitution as “communistic,” noting their society’s respect for gender equality, and even their inclusion of former enemies as equal nations in the confederacy as early as 1651.<sup>66</sup> While Marx and Engels would refer to such societies as practicing “primitive communism,” a more useful term today might be “pre-Marxist,” as their usage of “primitive” was not intended with the condemnatory implications of the coloniser used to justify colonial conquest by a more “advanced” civilisation, but would more accurately be understood as corresponding to an earlier stage of social and economic development - developments that they initially believed would take place in each nation separately rather than in the global context on which Lenin, Roy, and

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<sup>62</sup> Irfan Habib quoted in Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 23

<sup>63</sup> Marx, “Letter from Marx to the Editor of the *Otecestvenniye Zapisky*,” and Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 2

<sup>64</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 70, and Mao, “On Contradiction”

<sup>65</sup> Kwame Ture quoted in Steve Lalla, “Marx didn’t invent socialism, nor did he discover it,” *Monthly Review*, (Dec. 9, 2020), <https://mronline.org/2020/12/11/marx-didnt-invent-socialism-nor-did-he-discover-it/>

<sup>66</sup> Frederick Engels, “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,” *Marx/Engels Selected Works*, Volume 3, Alick West trans., (1942), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/index.htm>

Nkrumah would later expand.<sup>67</sup> For this reason, Ture directs our attention to the Tunisian economist and historian Ibn Khaldun, who wrote *The Muqaddimah* in 1377, and which lays out with astounding similarities the economic principles observed much later by Marx, even using terms corresponding to “surplus labour,” the “origin of the state,” and the “origin of private property.”<sup>68</sup> In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx clearly acknowledges, as Ture argues, that communal societies were something *observed* and recorded by European authors, but not *invented* by them, having been practiced by societies across the globe, “everywhere from India to Ireland” well before modern scholars in Europe had rediscovered such histories.<sup>69</sup> Regardless of whether Ture’s analysis of Marx is correct, however, the fact that black civil rights leaders like Ture would claim Marxism as their own is itself an indication of the importance of Marx’s writings to these movements over a century on.

In Engels’ writings on the nation, he sternly cautioned against national oppression, writing that “the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing.”<sup>70</sup> Similarly, Marx warned that “a nation that enslaves another forges its own chains.”<sup>71</sup> The importance of global class unity for Marx and Engels was vital not only to those suffering in the colonies, but to the workers in the imperialist countries, Marx clearly identifying the belief held by members of the “ruling nation” in their stake in the conquests of “their own” bourgeoisie as the primary inhibitor to class consciousness. And indeed, case studies such as that of the English in India clearly disprove the notion that

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<sup>67</sup> Engels, “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,” Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, (London and New York: Verso, 1998), 34, and Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 255-256

<sup>68</sup> Kwame Ture quoted in Steve Lalla, “Marx didn’t invent socialism, nor did he discover it,”

<sup>69</sup> Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 34

<sup>70</sup> Frederick Engels, “Engels to Karl Kautsky In Vienna”, *Gesamtausgabe*, (International Publishers, 1942) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1882/letters/82\\_09\\_12.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1882/letters/82_09_12.htm) and Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 158

<sup>71</sup> Karl Marx, “Confidential Communication on Bakunin,” *The International Workingmen’s Association, 1870*, accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/03/28.htm>

English workers or even English society as a whole benefitted from the colonial relationship, paying far more in the cost of maintaining the empire than was gained - though not so for English capitalists.<sup>72</sup> Marx gives an important example:

“The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the ruling nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself... His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the “poor whites” to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman... sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rulers in Ireland... This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power.”<sup>73</sup>

The significance of this explanation by Marx should not be understated, as it captures an important aspect of *Imperialism* decades before Lenin would write it. Marx here has given an early description of not just the domination of one state over another, but has gone further in what is clearly a reference to racism in his analysis, which though the term had not yet been coined, was evidently on Marx’s mind, and which he also referenced in *Das Kapital*, speaking of “the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population... the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins.”<sup>74</sup> In his writings on the US Civil War, Marx made many vital connections between race and class, and Kevin B. Anderson demonstrates that Marx’s most sustained involvement with the labour and revolutionary movements occurred at a heightened period of resistance to national oppression, racism, and slavery, thus playing a fundamental role in Marx’s political thought.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 28-29

<sup>73</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York,” *Selected Correspondences*, (Progress Publishers, 1975,) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/letters/70\\_04\\_09.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/letters/70_04_09.htm)

<sup>74</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1. ch. 31., Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling trans. (Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch31.htm>

<sup>75</sup> Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 89-90, 238-240

Marx had a clear view of primitive accumulation, but in his era the advanced imperialism of finance capital, the era of imperialist decline and the general crisis of capitalism that would be described by Lenin remained in an incubatory phase, though arguably both he and Lenin remained ahead of their times, as is discussed further on.<sup>76</sup> Roger Keeran and Thomas Kenny argue that for this reason even Marx himself underestimated how important the national question would come to be.<sup>77</sup>

The concept of ‘nation’ would be essential in Lenin’s theory of imperialism, but this concept was not clearly defined by Marx or Engels, who had observed capitalism at an earlier phase in its development, and had made observations primarily based on advanced capitalist western European nations.<sup>78</sup> Lenin understood however that “the living soul of Marxism” was the “concrete analysis of concrete situation[s],” and this was the method by which he studied the conditions of his time, and would determine where revolutionary potential could be harnessed - a vital concept for future Third World revolutionaries like Rodney and Mao.<sup>79</sup> It was amidst empires and colonies juxtaposed with democratic ideals, and of peoples fighting for independence to escape imperial domination that many of Lenin’s ideas regarding the national question would be formed, taking particular account of his experiences with Russian chauvinism towards the colonised peoples, but also of the pre-war revolutions in China, Iran, Turkey, and the

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<sup>76</sup> Dutt, “Marxism after Seventy Years,” 100-101, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 48, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 525-526

<sup>77</sup> Roger Keeran & Thomas Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 253

<sup>78</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 46-50

<sup>79</sup> V.I. Lenin, “Kommunismus, Journal of the Communist International,” *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Volume 31, Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/12.htm>, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, xi, Mao Tse-Tung, “On Contradiction,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 1, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1971), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1\\_17.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_17.htm), and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 48-50

Dutch East Indies, as clearly indicated in his 1913 pamphlet, “The Awakening of Asia,” writing that “The workers of the advanced countries follow with interest and inspiration this powerful growth of the liberation movement, in all its various forms, in every part of the world.”<sup>80</sup> The same year, Lenin wrote “Backward Europe and Advanced Asia,” and awe-struck, stated that “*Hundreds* of millions of people are awakening to life, light and freedom. What delight this world movement is arousing in the hearts of all class-conscious workers, who know that the path to collectivism lies through democracy!”<sup>81</sup>

The Austro-Marxists, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, on the other hand, drew their conclusions from their attempts to adapt Marxism to nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian context.<sup>82</sup> Renner’s theory defined the nation through native language, spoken language, and “ethnological features,” a description notably absent of common territory as emphasised by his opponents.<sup>83</sup> Lenin, Kautsky, Stalin and other Bolsheviks however understood a ‘nation’ as something inherently arising from material considerations in keeping with the historical materialist tradition. In one of his most historically significant contributions to Marxist theory, *Marxism and the National Question*, written in 1913, Stalin challenged what he considered a philosophically idealist perspective on the part of the Austro-Marxists, asking “How can one isolate and divorce national character from the soil that gives rise to it?”<sup>84</sup> Stalin contested that Bauer had confused ‘nation’ with ‘tribe,’ “an ethnographic rather than historical category.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> V.I. Lenin, “The Awakening of Asia,” *Lenin Collected Works*, vol. 17, George Hanna trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/may/07b.htm>

<sup>81</sup> V.I. Lenin, “Backward Europe and Advanced Asia,” *Pravda* No. 113, May 18, (1913), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/may/18.htm>

<sup>82</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 308

<sup>83</sup> Bill Bowring, “Burial and Resurrection, Karl Renner’s Controversial Influence on the ‘National Question’ in Russia”, In *National Cultural Autonomy and its Contemporary Critics*, Edited by Ephraim Nimni, (Routledge, 2005), 191-192

<sup>84</sup> Stalin, “Marxism and the National Question”

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

Lenin and Stalin during this time insisted that only through self-determination – that is, the right of national communities to total autonomy and independence, including secession and the formation of a separate political entity – could national oppression and chauvinism be overcome, but Renner’s model of ‘cultural-national autonomy’ granted only cultural rights, and was charged by the Bolsheviks with prioritising the territorial integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire above real political equality.<sup>86</sup> Lenin argued that national oppression could only be eliminated by granting complete freedom of secession, which would lead in practice to an “accelerated merger,” and withering of the state, but secession was impossible in Bauer’s model, which had been contrived as a way to address the hopelessly intermixed populations characteristic of Eastern Europe.<sup>87</sup> Not only this, but the Austro-Marxist model - which Lenin noted, not even the Austro-Marxists themselves had adopted in their program - was one which made nationality a seemingly immutable, ethnic category, “consolidating nationalism... and securing the separation of all nations from one another,” rather than guaranteeing the freedom of cultural and economic exchange that Lenin fought for.<sup>88</sup> Lenin and Stalin’s views on nationality would be echoed in many future Third World national liberation movements, as the Bolsheviks prioritized territoriality over ethnicity.<sup>89</sup>

Consequently, the historical materialist interpretation of the nation taken by the Bolsheviks would make Soviet federalism and the creation of national republics tied to actual territory the logical choice in political structure of the future Soviet state, and indeed, demands

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<sup>86</sup> Yuri Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism”, 419, Bowring, “Burial and Resurrection, Karl Renner’s Controversial Influence on the ‘National Question’ in Russia”, 194

<sup>87</sup> Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism”, 419, and Lenin, ““Cultural-National” Autonomy,” *Za Pravdu* No. 46, November 28, 1913, George Hannah trans., Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/nov/28.htm>, and Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 113-120

<sup>88</sup> Lenin, ““Cultural-National” Autonomy”

<sup>89</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 4-5, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 73

for self-determination by the nationalities of the Russian Empire necessitated nothing less if the Bolsheviks were to receive mass support.<sup>90</sup> For Lenin, “No Marxist could argue against the importance of making territories conform as much as possible to the national composition of populations,” with further divisions into autonomous units, “however small,” determined democratically through a central parliament.<sup>91</sup> Lenin was characteristically biting in his denunciation of Renner’s plans for segregated schools, a form of “refined nationalism” which could only have originated in “the most reactionary circles.”<sup>92</sup> In his article responding to the Austro-Marxist theory of “cultural-national autonomy,” Lenin points to the “segregated, “national” or racial, whichever you please, schools for Negro children” in the United States as the only example of such “nationalisation” of educational institutions.<sup>93</sup>

While Lenin clearly outlined that the nation is “inseparably connected with capitalism,” this is not to say that a lack of capitalist development could be used to justify the forcible retention of nations within a state, and more significant still, that the development of capitalism within the framework of a given country is not a necessary prerequisite for revolution.<sup>94</sup> Kedourie’s crude oversimplification of Marxism asserted that Marxists had believed nationalism could only develop in nations which had undergone industrialisation - in other words, that Marxism prescribed a narrow developmentalist path along European lines for all would-be nations.<sup>95</sup> Benedict Anderson meanwhile posited that the national forms developed in Europe which he famously termed “Imagined Communities” would indeed become the modular forms

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<sup>90</sup> Bowring, “Burial and Resurrection, Karl Renner’s Controversial Influence on the ‘National Question’ in Russia”, 199, and Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds. *Liberate the Colonies!* 16

<sup>91</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 42-43

<sup>92</sup> V.I. Lenin, ““Cultural-National” Autonomy”

<sup>93</sup> Ibid

<sup>94</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 38, 126

<sup>95</sup> Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 142-143

which were exported across the globe.<sup>96</sup> Partha Chatterjee however objected to this, asking what left was there to imagine at all if such were the case.<sup>97</sup> Chatterjee contested that for Anderson, Europe and America were the only true subjects of history, the west dictating not only the terms of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but even the forms of anti-colonial resistance.<sup>98</sup> But Lenin understood capitalism as a global system, and thus any case study of conditions in a given country by Lenin would necessarily be viewed in light of this system, the development of capitalism in Europe having had an effect on the entire globe - but this is entirely distinct from suggestions that anti-colonial nationalisms would look identical to those which had developed in Europe.<sup>99</sup> On the contrary, these projects would be understood as part of efforts at global reordering.<sup>100</sup> As engagement with the colonial world deepened, Lenin would plainly state by 1920, under influence from Indian scholar M.N. Roy, that capitalism under certain conditions could be avoided and that it was “incorrect to assume that the capitalist stage of development is necessary” for colonised people’s fighting for liberation from imperial powers.<sup>101</sup>

Lenin divided the world into three different developmental categories. These were the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States, where the ‘national question’ had more or less been solved, with nationalities having a state under bourgeois rule; the countries of Eastern Europe, including Austria and the Balkans, where capitalism, itself still ripening, had not yet had time to clearly define and sort the mixed populations into national

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<sup>96</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London and New York: Verso, 1986), 113-116

<sup>97</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 5

<sup>99</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 18, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 171, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 5, and Amin, *Global History: A View from the South*, 177

<sup>100</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 1-3

<sup>101</sup> V.I. Lenin, “Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 41-42

units; and lastly the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the Third World, where neither local capitalists nor “nations” in the Western European sense had yet taken form, with pre-capitalist relations of production remaining predominant.<sup>102</sup>

But precisely because of these differences, the nationalisms that developed in the imperialist countries during industrialisation would take on an inherently different, anti-worker character than in the less developed countries after 1917.<sup>103</sup> Lenin understood that nationalism was always associated with capitalist development, but in contrast to Bukharin, observed that it was not always favourable to the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries.<sup>104</sup> Lenin, as a materialist, believed that the role of nationalism relied on objective conditions.<sup>105</sup> Lenin asserted that a “categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits” in order to be rightly placed in its political and historical context, and thus interpreted correctly.<sup>106</sup> In “Backward Europe and Advanced Asia,” Lenin noted that while in Europe, the bourgeoisie was backwards, allying with landlords, monarchs, and other reactionary forces, in Asia, “the bourgeoisie there is *as yet* siding with the people against reaction.”<sup>107</sup> The reason for this being that the bourgeoisie of these countries could not be considered a true bourgeoisie in the classical sense, as it was foreigners who possessed the capital, and with no bourgeoisie, neither could there be a clearly defined proletariat.<sup>108</sup> The low level of productive forces in pre-capitalist societies as well as their lack of access to capital had

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<sup>102</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 118

<sup>103</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 48; Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 537-538, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View From the Third World*, 163-164, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 12

<sup>104</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View From the Third World*, 164

<sup>105</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 309, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View From the Third World*, 167

<sup>106</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 51-52

<sup>107</sup> Lenin, “Backward Europe and Advanced Asia”

<sup>108</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 40

helped to suppress the development of such classes.<sup>109</sup> However, Marx and Lenin had each believed that local bourgeoisies would develop as autonomous local forces took increasing shares of the profits in their alliance with imperialism and international capital, calling for increasingly greater control and for the ability to take measures to stabilise and legitimate their rule - nationalist policies in contradiction with the needs of imperialist exploitation.<sup>110</sup> While they may join in the national liberation struggle, particularly the urban petty bourgeoisie, pushed to the left by national oppression, Lenin by 1920 warned that they would do so for self-serving purposes, only in the hope of enlarging their share in the profits, as “a certain understanding has emerged between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that... the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries - although they also support national movements - nevertheless fight against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes.”<sup>111</sup> However, as early as 1916, Lenin was already placing emphasis on the need to render support exclusively to “the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries,” as outlined in “The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination.”<sup>112</sup>

Marx had laid out three stages he observed in the history of the relationship between advanced capitalist countries and the less developed ones, the first being primitive accumulation, the second being exploitation through trade, namely the highly disruptive export of manufactured goods, and the third phase represented by capitalist investment in industry, and indeed, capitalist development.<sup>113</sup> This last phase represented a qualitative difference, as industrial capital for the

<sup>109</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 50, Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 143, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 526

<sup>110</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 525, 533-542

<sup>111</sup> Lenin, “Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 40, Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 50, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 45-46

<sup>112</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 18-19

<sup>113</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 23-26

first time began to flow to the colonised countries from the imperial metropolises for the purpose of developing productive powers for the creation of exports to the metropole.<sup>114</sup> These investments would not lead directly to increased living standards, “will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people,” but rather, flowed “with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses, the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures”<sup>115</sup> However, Marx in 1853 theorized that industrialisation would create the material conditions for emancipation, and for “progress” - it need only be appropriated by the people, though they be “dragged through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation.”<sup>116</sup> But by 1857, Marx spoke rarely of the ‘progressive’ aspect of this relationship, but as he had in the manifesto, took the more dialectical approach in clarifying that colonialism, like capitalism, created its own gravediggers.<sup>117</sup> Marx, Lenin and even Rosa Luxemburg - with whom Lenin frequently debated these issues - had agreed that the effect of capital export to less-developed countries would result in the capitalist industrialisation of the capital recipient, and Lenin had seen this development as providing the tools for national liberation even while oppression intensified.<sup>118</sup> Where Lenin diverged however was a recognition of the possibility arising of “deliberately retarding technical progress” due to late imperialism’s increasingly stagnant and parasitic nature, and the slowing of development in the imperialist country due to conditions of deepening monopoly.<sup>119</sup> Therefore, because imperialism suppressed industrialisation and the growth of a local proletariat, Lenin believed it would be necessary to support even bourgeois-led revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial areas in order to weaken imperialism in the

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<sup>114</sup> Karl Marx, “The Future Results of British Rule in India,” *New York Daily Tribune*, (Aug. 8, 1853), <https://marxists.catbull.com.archive/marx/works/1853/07/22.html>, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 23, 25-26

<sup>115</sup> Marx, “The Future Results of British Rule in India”

<sup>116</sup> Ibid

<sup>117</sup> Anderson, *Marx at the Margins, On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, 40

<sup>118</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 40

<sup>119</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 99

advanced capitalist countries, which he noted in “The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination,” and in “The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up,” also written in 1916.<sup>120</sup>

Marx, Lenin, and Luxemburg had all been incorrect, however, as the first stage of monopoly capitalism did not lead to the industrialisation of these countries or the development of local proletariats, as formal colonialism and imperialist monopoly in alliance with local compradors had prevented this - at least, for a time.<sup>121</sup> A more appropriate criticism would recognise rather that Marx and Lenin’s analysis of the dynamic of imperialism was premature, as both had shown incredible foresight in identifying this dynamic decades before its tendencies became the dominant force in the capitalist world economy.<sup>122</sup> Only by laying down the material basis for economic independence would it thus be possible to create a unified proletariat with the collectivist consciousness necessary for the construction of socialism - but this was by no means a guarantee.<sup>123</sup> Lenin argued that communists had a duty to support “bourgeois-democratic” revolutions against colonial rule, regardless of if the proletariat played the leading role, as well as to offer assistance against imperialist oppression.<sup>124</sup> Lenin’s language could hardly be interpreted ambiguously, having written that socialism “*cannot* be carried out without championing the right of nations to self-determination,” and that “If we do not want to betray socialism, we *must* support *every* revolt against our chief enemy, the bourgeoisie of the big states, provided it is not the revolt of a reactionary class.”<sup>125</sup> Lenin indicated that a socialist revolution for proletarian

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<sup>120</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 118-119, 137

<sup>121</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 50, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 50

<sup>122</sup> Dutt, “Marxism after Seventy Years,” 100-101, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 48, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 525, 531

<sup>123</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 130

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 46, 118-119, and V.I. Lenin, “Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions For the Second Congress of the Communist International,” *Collected Works*, Julius Katzer trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/05.htm>

<sup>125</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 118-119, 137

emancipation, “will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie - no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism... the civil war of the working people... combined with national wars against international imperialism.”<sup>126</sup>

The Russian Empire occupied a unique position in Lenin’s categorization, straddling Europe and Asia, a backwards, semi-feudal society with more peasants than industrial workers, at once practicing imperialism against its subjects while simultaneously itself a victim of imperialism - a process which cannot be explained by commonplace liberal definitions of empire. The Empire utilized strategies of cultural domination, and the “superiority” of ‘Great Russians’ justified imperialist exploitation.<sup>127</sup> Imperial Russian rule was essentially the same as other colonial powers, with formal and informal distinctions between the Russian citizen and the colonial subject, and discriminatory measures along national and religious lines, not at all dissimilar to South African and Rhodesian apartheid according to Rodney - similarities which would help motivate his own studies of the October Revolution.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, despite the abolition of serfdom decades prior, slavery continued to exist up until the Revolution.<sup>129</sup> The Tsarist government moreover sent European colonists abroad who directly expropriated the lands of Indigenous peoples.<sup>130</sup> If one saw a school in Central Asia, “one could be quite sure that it was

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<sup>126</sup> V. I. Lenin, “Address To The Second All-Russia Congress Of Communist Organisations of The Peoples Of The East,” *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition, (Progress Publishers: Moscow, 1965), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/nov/22.htm>

<sup>127</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 155-156

<sup>128</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 4-5, Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 32-38, 41, Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 8, 29-30, 56, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 154

<sup>129</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 68

<sup>130</sup> Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 117, 166 Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 4-5; Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 155; Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 64, and Serhy Yekelchuk, *Ukraine, Birth of a Modern Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 54

for the children of the Russian settlers who were taught in Russian,” a language inaccessible to local people - the occasional religious school offering primary education under the guidance of the mullahs being the sole exception for the sons of local landlords and religious elites.<sup>131</sup> Prior to the Revolution, studies of local religious customs and cultural traditions were used only to the benefit of the Empire, at times emphasising a “special connection” to justify annexation, or conversely pushing a sense of difference to advance policies of divide and rule.<sup>132</sup> In other words, the Russian Empire was fundamentally racist, racism being the primary ideological weapon of imperialist policies there, as elsewhere.<sup>133</sup>

But racial or cultural superiority are not in fact the *motive force* behind colonial expansion and territorial annexations. While certain authors depict colonial projects as “well-intentioned” and “civilizing missions,” such rhetoric, historically used as justification to subjects in the metropole increasingly uneasy with the widening gap between democratic ideal and life in the colonies, is belied by the realities of enslavement and extermination, the moral and political highground taken by the west utterly in contradiction with the empirical details recorded by history.<sup>134</sup> In fact, European liberalism developed in relation to the rights of the colonial subject, with slavery reaching its numeric apogee and most radical form not in spite of, but

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<sup>131</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 92; Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 156, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 65, 157, 159

<sup>132</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 213

<sup>133</sup> Domenico Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, Vol. 12:2, (Leiden: 2004), 30, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 239-240, Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 32-33, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 155-156, and Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 4-5

<sup>134</sup> Kivelson and Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 265, Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 254, 284, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, (New York: The Monthly Review Press, 2020), 60

during and *because* of “the golden age of liberal enlightenment.”<sup>135</sup> This contradiction, noted by Michael Parenti, and which Domenico Losurdo refers to as the “liberal exclusion clause” prompted Marx’s observation that “the profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, moving from its home, where it assumes respectable form, to the colonies, where it goes naked.”<sup>136</sup>

The notion that nationalist movements were able to arise from the “success” of the “well intentioned” colonial regimes, as is suggested by Suny and Kivelson, comes across as alarmingly outdated - even apologetic.<sup>137</sup> Chatterjee on the other hand offers another explanation of anti-colonial nationalism, arguing that defeat in the “outside” material domain of statecraft and technology leads imperial subjects to seek an “inner” domain in which they retain control, and which even while studying successful tools used by their conquerors, the importance of the maintenance of spiritual culture remains, and indeed, grows.<sup>138</sup> For the Bolsheviks most firmly in Lenin’s camp however, it was rather a question of uneven development inherent to capitalism, as well colonial policies which (at times deliberately) fostered tribal tension, forced assimilation, and other harmful, though distinguishing factors that heightened and sharpened a common sense of exploitation where the naked oppression of capitalism was most exposed - a distinctly materialist explanation.<sup>139</sup> “Finance capital doesn’t want liberty, it wants domination,” wrote Lenin, the ideological rhetoric constructed around colonialism representing part of the

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<sup>135</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 79, Domenico Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, (New York: Verso, 2011), 35, 37, and Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 30

<sup>136</sup> Michael Parenti, *Against Empire*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1995,) 39, Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 344, and Marx, “The Future Results of British Rule in India”

<sup>137</sup> Kivelson and Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 228, 265

<sup>138</sup> Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, 6

<sup>139</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1939), 125, Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 30, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 46

superstructure, completely secondary to the economic needs that drive imperialism.<sup>140</sup> Or as Césaire explains, the plunderers and conquerors came first, “the slaving apologists came later.”<sup>141</sup>

To repeat, racism and cultural superiority were the primary *ideological* weapon of Russian imperialism, however, the principal force driving Russian imperial expansion was economic exploitation, as is the case with all colonial endeavors.<sup>142</sup> By the end of the 19th century, Russia was imperialist not only in the fashion of ancient Rome, where a collection of colonies grew into an empire, but also in the modern Leninist sense, in which the key element of the imperialist relationship is the investment of capital.<sup>143</sup> In his 1916 book, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin emphasised that imperialism can develop in any social formation, such as the Roman example, but that its logic subverts them all.<sup>144</sup> One of Suny and Kivelson’s defining traits of empire is that it be especially large - a “vast domain.”<sup>145</sup> Despite the size of the Russian Empire however, it was nevertheless utterly dependent on and dominated by the capitalist, imperialist West, and the Tsar protected foreign capital while the Russian bourgeoisie and aristocracy exhibited features of compradorism, its relationship with Britain, France, and Germany being itself in many ways colonial.<sup>146</sup> “Great Russian” landlords and capitalists invested in grain production in European Russia and Siberia, while various capitalists

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<sup>140</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 84

<sup>141</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Joan Pinkham trans., (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 33

<sup>142</sup> Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 39, George Padmore, “British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews,” *Labor Action*, Vol. 5, No. 42. October 1941. Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1941/xx/britimp.htm>

<sup>143</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 62, 91, and Rodney *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 155

<sup>144</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 131

<sup>145</sup> Kivelson and Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 4

<sup>146</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 49, Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20, 37, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 74, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 77-78, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 28

invested in oil and cotton in the Caucasus and Central Asia.<sup>147</sup> Many Western European, especially French capitalists held vital investments in ports and railroads in the Far East, including the Trans-Siberian, a key tool of colonial expansion and consolidation.<sup>148</sup> Symbolic of the degree to which capital's power penetrated the Russian Empire, the industrial centre of Donetsk in Ukraine was at one time named after the Welshman, John Hughs.<sup>149</sup>

For Marx, Lenin and Stalin, the nature of the imperialist relationship was not simply one of power and domination, but a *specific process* of transnational investment and capital accumulation. There are two components in what would become the Marxist-Leninist tradition: (direct or indirect) military, economic, or ideological domination, on one hand, and exploitation via plunder, trade, or investment on the other.<sup>150</sup> Imperialist exploitation in this tradition refers to the appropriation of part of the wealth, or “economic surplus” of the dominated country by economic interests based in the dominating country, and need not necessarily represent a net transfer of wealth between nation states.<sup>151</sup> Such relationships, moreover, are not strictly between core and periphery, as is suggested by Suny and Kivelson, nor are they limited to the annexation of agrarian regions, as would be advanced by Kautsky.<sup>152</sup> Rather, one advanced country can dominate and will exploit another, as capitalism, already having divided the world, now “must reach for anything.”<sup>153</sup> Lenin articulated that the characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial capitalism, but finance capitalism.<sup>154</sup> The nature of the capitalist mode of production,

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<sup>147</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 146-147, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 155

<sup>148</sup> Yekelchuk, *Ukraine, Birth of a Modern Nation*, 55, Benjamin Isitt, *From Victoria to Vladivostok, Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917-1919*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 7, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 62-64

<sup>149</sup> Yekelchuk, *Ukraine, Birth of a Modern Nation*, 55

<sup>150</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 5

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, 5

<sup>152</sup> Kivelson and Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 4, and Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 91

<sup>153</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 91, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 6

<sup>154</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 91

with the exploitation of “surplus” from the workers, means they are perpetually unable to buy back the product of their own labour - on this Marx and Lenin agreed.<sup>155</sup> This surplus therefore *must* be invested abroad, which is what had led Western European investors to take interest in the Russian Far-East.<sup>156</sup>

Lenin was clear, the economic quintessence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism, and imperialism was the product of a rotting, parasitic capitalism in decline.<sup>157</sup> As capital grew faster and faster, it nevertheless grew unevenly - an unevenness which was resulting in the decay of those countries richest in capital, such as England.<sup>158</sup> Imperialism then was to blame not only for colonial exploitation and national oppression, but would also be essential to Lenin’s interpretation of the war, which Lenin viewed as an inevitable manifestation of inter-imperialist rivalry stemming from the financial interests of the newer, but more developed economies with fewer colonies, who would be forced to initiate wars of expansion against older capitalist powers to maintain their profits and access colonial markets for capital export in an already monopolised world, such as Germany and Japan.<sup>159</sup> Expropriation of the “surplus” from the domestic working class could not be used to raise the living standards at home, for this would mean a decline in capitalist profits.<sup>160</sup> If capitalism could do this, there would be no “surplus” to begin with, “it would not be capitalism.”<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Karl Marx, “Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,” *Works*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1954,) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/preface.htm>, and Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Edited by W. Stark, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1951) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1913/accumulation-capital/index.htm> and Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 63

<sup>156</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 63, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 154

<sup>157</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 123-124

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid*, 65

<sup>159</sup> Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 10, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 39, 91-97

<sup>160</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 63

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 63

Ultimately, it would be the question of imperialism which permanently divided communists from social democrats, when at the outbreak of the war social democratic parties sided with their respective governments rather than fighting for peace.<sup>162</sup> The rupture came not over a preference for reform versus revolution, but for white supremacy rather than genuine democracy; from the social democrats' support for colonialism.<sup>163</sup> But what was the source of this bitter divide? Why had the European 'socialists' so readily consigned the millions of colonial conscripts - including some 50 million Africans and 250 million Indians - to fight and to die as "canon fodder" on behalf of imperial powers in a war of conquest, and why has history failed to record this massive slaughter as genocide?<sup>164</sup> Despite the militant organisation of the labour movement in the most advanced capitalist countries like England, the super-profits acquired by the ruling classes of these countries from colonial exploitation over and above those wrung from "their own" proletariat were great enough to share with *key segments* of the working class in the imperial metropol, ensuring their disproportionate influence in trade unions and working class political parties.<sup>165</sup> These elements would act as a beachhead for the advancement of reformist and even explicitly pro-imperialist policies within these movements, having been bribed "in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert."<sup>166</sup> These "bourgeoisified workers" who Lenin, echoing Engels, referred to contemptuously as "labour aristocracy," served not only as the "principle prop of the Second International" but indeed "the principle *social* (not military) *prop of the bourgeoisie*. For they are the real *agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement*, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real channels of

<sup>162</sup> Amar Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 39

<sup>163</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 292-293

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 309, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 68, and Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 41

<sup>165</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 13-14

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 13-14

reformism and chauvinism.”<sup>167</sup> It was no surprise therefore to Lenin and the Bolsheviks that the Second International had collapsed, and at the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915, the manifesto drafted by Lenin, Alexandra Kollontai, and Karl Radek, pointed squarely to imperialism as the source of the war, “the attempt on the part of the capitalist classes of each nation to foster their greed for profit by the exploitation of human labour and of the natural treasures of the entire globe.”<sup>168</sup> Lenin lambasted the social democrats as “opportunists” guilty of “social-chauvinism.”<sup>169</sup> “The leaders of the so-called “Social-Democratic” Party of Germany are justly called “social imperialists,” that is, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds.”<sup>170</sup> The German-Polish Marxist and one-time SPD member Rosa Luxemburg was no less critical, lamenting that the social democrats of Germany, precisely where the working class was strongest, had been under their leadership and that of the Second International, “yoked... completely to the service of imperialism... The international proletariat [therefore must] become the pilot to the goal of its own history.”<sup>171</sup> Reflecting on these events not long after the Revolution, Stalin would recall that,

“The scores and hundreds of millions of Asiatic and African peoples who are suffering national oppression in its most savage and cruel form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They hesitated to put white and black, "civilised" and "uncivilised" on the same plane. Two or three meaningless, lukewarm resolutions, which carefully evaded the question of liberating the colonies - that was all the leaders of the Second International could boast of.”<sup>172</sup>

It is these red-hot contradictions that would lead to a crisis in the weakest link of the imperialist chain not long after - the Russian Empire, and to the October Revolution that would

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<sup>167</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 14

<sup>168</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds. *Liberate the Colonies!* 16-17

<sup>169</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 108

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, 109

<sup>171</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, “The Junius Pamphlet: The Crisis of German Social Democracy,” David Hollis trans., (Zurich: 1915), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1915/junius/>

<sup>172</sup> J.V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1924/foundations-leninism/ch06.htm>

inspire global anti-imperialist resistance and alter the balance of forces, the Soviet Union immediately becoming a “beacon of light” for national liberation movements around the world.<sup>173</sup> It is no coincidence that during their war with France, substantial literature from Wilhelmine Germany, frustrated in their attempt to build a colonial empire, spoke of the people’s unanimous commitment against the “ideas of 1793.”<sup>174</sup> Both Domenico Losurdo and Sheila Fitzpatrick mention that a number of notable historians have compared Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the Jacobins, however Losurdo points out that many such historians are highly dubious, if not outright reactionary, including Nazi apologist Ernst Nolte who, significantly, Fitzpatrick fails to touch on in her own analysis.<sup>175</sup> Fitzpatrick’s comparison of Stalin with Robespierre carries a certain irony however, as her condemnation of Stalin’s “revolutionary terror” in the former Russian Empire, like most such comparisons, is abstracted and uncoupled from its political and revolutionary content, as with Robespierre’s decree that ended slavery in the colonies in 1793 - a connection not lost on Sartre in his own reference to Patrice Lumumba as a “black Robespierre,” or Vijay Prashad who also refers positively to this linkage between 1793 and 1917.<sup>176</sup> On the eve of the American Civil War, and in freeing the slaves in the United States, Abraham Lincoln was also accused of Jacobinism by his ‘liberal’ opponents.<sup>177</sup> While perhaps not what she had in mind, Fitzpatrick was for this reason correct to note that the October Revolution would represent hope and freedom to some, while provoking the worst nightmares of others.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 152, Michael Manly quoted in Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 209-210, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 36

<sup>174</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 1, 103

<sup>175</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 12-13, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 1-5

<sup>176</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 13, 114, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 8

<sup>177</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 98, and Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 6-7,

<sup>178</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 171

At the turn of the century, Lenin had been the very first to recognise, predict, and theoretically substantiate the role and significance of the future national liberation movements, and their inexorable connection with the working class struggle for socialism, even as colonial empires reigned confidently over two thirds of the world - only he would not live to see it.<sup>179</sup> It was through the elaboration of Marxist theory in the historical conditions of Lenin's time that he was able to reveal that the national question had become an acute international socio-political issue.<sup>180</sup> For Lenin, the anti-colonial struggle was not a question of charity, but was indispensable to the success of the socialist movement in the lands of the former Russian Empire and across the globe, and consequently argued that communists had a duty to support even "bourgeois-democratic" revolutions against colonial rule, "otherwise, socialism in Europe will not be secure."<sup>181</sup> As such, scholars including Suny and Kivelson who attempt to isolate policies which are driven by "pragmatism" versus those which are purely "ideological," or who claim that Soviet policy "zig-zags" inconsistently, are guilty of oversimplification which does not lead to a greater understanding of these concepts.<sup>182</sup> Lenin had a long ideological struggle with theoreticians and revolutionaries across Europe, from the Austro-Marxists Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, to Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Nikolai Bukharin and others on this question, and during the war, he refined his theory of imperialism as a wide gulf was created between communists and the "opportunistic" social democrats, whose leaders had sided with the bourgeoisie. No one wanted freedom for "their own" colonies, as Lenin opined, and this is what

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<sup>179</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 48

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, 48

<sup>181</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds. *Liberate the Colonies!* 20, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 40, Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 43, Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 118, Lenin, "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions For the Second Congress of the Communist International," and V. I. Lenin quoted in Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 53

<sup>182</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 288, Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 1, and Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 78

would make what would become the Marxist-Leninist model fundamentally distinct from the tepidity of the “social-imperialists” - an unwavering insistence on the right of self-determination for *all* nations, including the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.<sup>183</sup> Stalin, who would synthesise this ideology over the following years, explained that,

“Leninism laid bare this crying incongruity, broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between European and Asiatics, between the "civilised" and "uncivilised" slaves of imperialism, and thus linked the national question with the question of the colonies. The national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.”<sup>184</sup>

And indeed, Lenin would be vindicated by the overwhelming support received from the oppressed nations - support given later to Stalin for his firm adherence to and defence of Lenin’s line.<sup>185</sup> Lenin’s political thought would prove fundamental not only to the construction of the Soviet state’s eventual 15 national republics and its internal policies over the coming years, but with this transformation of the question as described by Stalin, would also be inseparable from the Soviet Union’s anti-imperialist foreign policy and commitment to decolonisation on an increasingly global scale corresponding with their strength and capabilities, and in keeping with the materialist methodology laid out by Marx and Lenin.<sup>186</sup> As Nkrumah would note, by threatening the imperialist world system in strategic spots, the October Revolution had in fact dealt a “serious blow” to the strength of monopoly capitalism as a whole.<sup>187</sup> Inevitably however,

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<sup>183</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism*, 114, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 10

<sup>184</sup> J.V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*

<sup>185</sup> Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 36, 59, 246, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 9, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 23, and Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, “On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959) <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/hedp.htm>

<sup>186</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 10, and Bill Bowring, “Burial and Resurrection, Karl Renner’s Controversial Influence on the ‘National Question’ in Russia,” 199

<sup>187</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 39

this meant that conflict with the forces of imperialism would be unavoidable, and the challenge posed by the Bolsheviks would not go without response.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Interwar Years & Anti-Imperialism in “The East”**

The following chapter aims to demonstrate several things. Firstly, that in spite of major challenges and limitations, the interwar years represent continuous attempts to apply Lenin’s theory of imperialism and use of historical materialism in geopolitical analyses as the primary basis for Soviet policies both domestically within the “Soviet East” as well as in the “non-socialist East,” with the category of “East” receiving special attention. Next, that these theories and their corresponding policies had measurably significant consequences, both material and ideological in the development of the struggle against colonialism on a *global* scale which would be seized upon, utilised by, and developed by autonomous indigenous actors as tools to achieve their goals. Furthermore neither the relationship between Europeans (particularly ethnic Russians) and the “Eastern” minorities within the Soviet Union, nor that between the Soviet Union and the countries of the “Third World” may be said to fit Lenin’s definition of imperialism during these years, demonstrating instead a commitment to proletarian internationalism and an alternative mode of international relations where imperialisms of the past did not confer advantages in the present.<sup>188</sup> The stark differences in the Soviet approach are made clear in documents such as the Soviet constitutions of 1918 and 1936, the treaty of friendship signed with Persia, Lenin’s “Report on Peace,” the Karakhan Manifesto renouncing extraterritoriality and claims to Chinese territory, as well as in studies of capital flows, and economic, cultural, and social development by Szymanski, Tuzmuhamedov and others.

Since it is impossible to examine every aspect of this relationship within the scope of this work, this chapter presents several examples, at least briefly, which typify the nature of Soviet

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<sup>188</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 10, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 166, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 166

policy during this period, and furthermore, which emphasise the way in which these policies and ideas were shaped through multilateral discourse and exchange as opposed to a unidirectional or inequitable flow. The first of these is an examination of M.N. Roy's debate with Lenin and subsequent contributions to Comintern policy on national liberation struggles. In attempting to demonstrate and measure the role played by the Comintern and Soviet state as a significant force for decolonisation, this chapter proceeds with a case study of the Communist University of Toilers of the East (KUTV), followed by a summary of direct and indirect Soviet support for national liberation struggles on their borders, such as in Afghanistan, Turkey, Mongolia, China, and Iran, including the ideological significance of the October Revolution in demonstrating the power of subjective versus strictly objective forces, and lastly, a summary of Soviet policies of *коренизация* (indigenisation), affirmative action, and anti-racism inside the USSR.

In Western Europe, the concept of the "East" and its changing demarcations have historically been linked to an othering dichotomy of "us" versus "them," notably the fabrication of the colonial subject as noted by Fanon, however, the lands of the former Russian Empire had always occupied a unique position in the Orientalist vision - one which has served various geopolitical purposes depending on the circumstances.<sup>189</sup> For example, Domenico Losurdo demonstrates the way in which the language used by western analysts and political leaders frequently positioned Russia as a privileged member of the "civilised" peoples' club while ruled by the Tsar, only to be unanimously expelled and recast as "Asiatic" and "barbaric" after the October Revolution brought about the end of the war and the liberation of colonised peoples - even as Hitler would be given legitimacy and encouragement in constructing an empire.<sup>190</sup> The leader of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Noe Zhordaniia, scornfully referred to the

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<sup>189</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), 9-11, and Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Constance Farrington trans., (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), 2

<sup>190</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 23, 145 293, 301

Bolsheviks as “Asian Socialists” in contrast to the “European” Mensheviks.<sup>191</sup> In Lenin’s division of the globe too, as outlined in the previous chapter, the Russian Empire had held a distinctive position at the very edge of the imperialist world, a position which had led to a unique combination of conditions which facilitated the creation of history’s first socialist state. While this had also been a national liberation movement, the relatively advanced state of the Russian Empire economically had made possible the combination and elevation of the national movements into a distinctly proletarian, socialist revolution.<sup>192</sup> Within the territory of the former Russian Empire, the colonized peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Eastern parts of the RSFSR, came to be closely associated with the Soviet conception of “the East,” however it is important to note that this concept, like the “Third World,” or even “Global South” which would gradually overtake the “Eastern” label as the anti-imperialist struggle broadened and flowered, was not so much a specific place as it was a project, and one taken up by increasingly distinct and autonomous forces.<sup>193</sup> Unlike in the West, or the way in which this notion was employed by the Tsars, this project represented not the dichotomising othering historically associated with orientalism and imperialist policies of divide and conquer, but on the contrary, was one which was equally introspective as it was outward looking, as the Soviet understanding of “East” and later “Third World” was simultaneously both internal and external, with the USSR itself as much a subject of this project as the non-socialist “East.”<sup>194</sup> These concepts, and those of Eastern nationalisms, stood for a distinctly political rather than cultural or racial unity present in

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<sup>191</sup> Walter Z. Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1959), 8

<sup>192</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 34

<sup>193</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, xv, Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, and Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2011), 116-117, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/lib/uvic/reader.action?docID=847471#>

<sup>194</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 160, 213, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 9, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 94

reactionary Western nationalisms and categorizations, and indeed, in many cases even deterritorial and global notions that radically defied the cartographic form inseparable from colonial impositions.<sup>195</sup>

Of equal importance was that this vision of “the East” was dynamic, fluid, and the Soviet-Comintern project presented a litany of indigenous actors who would take part in shaping it, not simply as static and unchanging objects defined by their difference from “the West,” or as powerless victims, but as active subjects participating in constructing and reconstructing their identities and their visions for a revolutionary state and culture.<sup>196</sup> This project, far from being a top-down “civilising mission” as described by certain liberal scholars of empire such as Suny and Kivelson, was one which would be shaped through mutual exchanges of information, culture, people, and more with the colonised and semi-colonised countries, especially through the “Soviet East” and its leaders, and moreover one which utterly defies common liberal notions of the Soviet Union as a closed off or restrictive hermitage where the movement of ideas and individuals were tightly controlled, segregated, or imposed strictly from above - though that is not to say that local nationalisms did not at times clash with the goals of communist leaders.<sup>197</sup>

The duality of the Soviet Union as simultaneously part of, and at once distinct from “the East” made the relationship between the Soviet Union and the countries struggling against imperialism a unique one, in which international policies theorised and developed in the colonial and semi-colonial countries would in fact have a significant effect on shaping domestic Soviet

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<sup>195</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 12, 25, 34, and Kris Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, (New Delhi: Routledge University Press, 2010), xvi, xxi, 5-7, 12-14, 21

<sup>196</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 3, Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration,” Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 1-3, 14-15, and Adeb Khalid, “Nationalizing the Revolution in Central Asia, The Transformation of Jadidism 1917-1920,” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 159

<sup>197</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 265, 313-314, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 8, 118, 191, 196, 198, Amin, *Global History: A View from the South*, 177, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 1-2, 92

policies in the USSR's "internal" East, and vice versa.<sup>198</sup> Lenin viewed the struggle for socialism in the USSR, the struggle of the colonies against imperialism, and the global struggle for communism as linked in a mutually dependent relationship, and as such it is little surprise that domestic and foreign policy would be closely aligned - however the precise nature of the dynamic of the relationship between the Soviet Union, the international communist movement, and the national liberation struggles during this period is one which owes perhaps as much to Indian scholar M.N. Roy as to Lenin, with the application of these theories in real revolutionary struggles and national independence movements further refining them and playing decisive roles in future decisions.<sup>199</sup> These events represent a powerful indication of the essence of the Soviet-Third World dialectic, as well as of the irrelevance today of historical narratives which posit the colonised countries and peoples as mere battlegrounds and passive objects under the feet of opposing superpowers during the Cold War - narratives which underplay the contradictions and conflicts already arising within these nations and their own revolutionary national movements, that seized on - and at times even exploited - but predate the October Revolution of 1917.<sup>200</sup> One clear example of this is the Jadids in Uzbekistan, modernist Muslim reformers primarily made up of the intelligentsia based in the cities of Central Asia following

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<sup>198</sup> Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration"

<sup>199</sup> V.I. Lenin quoted in Nazeef Mollah, John Riddell, & Vijay Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2020), 38-42, V.I. Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1968), 118-119, Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 1-4, 6, 89, John Patrick Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 12, 42-43, and Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration"

<sup>200</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 3, 18, 213, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 347, Daniel E. Schafer, "Local Politics and the Birth of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1917-1919," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 166, Jeremy Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 90, Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11, 42, 87, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 28, Khalid "Nationalizing the Revolution in Central Asia, The Transformation of Jadidism 1917-1920," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 156, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 1-4, 14-15, 89

their conquest by the Russian Empire in the 1860s and 1870s, and who shared much in common with the Bolsheviks, many Jadids even joining the Communist Party in the years following the Revolution as a means to attempt to fulfil their goals - goals however which were explicitly national rather than class oriented.<sup>201</sup>

While it could easily compose a topic in itself, for the purpose of, and within the limited scope of this project, the Russian Civil War cannot be gone into in great depth. However it is important to recognise that faced with the combined forces of the White Army, Basmachi, and of no less than fourteen invading countries, including *every* imperialist power, the Bolsheviks were only able to achieve victory through the mass support of the many national minorities across the lands of the former Russian Empire - something otherwise unthinkable, and a clear vindication of Lenin's line.<sup>202</sup> Only a month after the Revolution, the unity of the struggle against colonial and national oppression had been firmly emphasised in the "Appeal to the Moslem Toilers of Russia and the East" issued by Lenin and then Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Stalin, who promised that "Henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are free and inviolable."<sup>203</sup> It should come as a surprise to none the obvious reasons for which oppressed peoples overwhelmingly sided with the forces whose slogans and deeds were for multinational unity and self-determination of peoples over those of "white terror," "Great

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<sup>201</sup> Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 6-7

<sup>202</sup> Benjamin Isitt, *From Victoria to Vladivostok, Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917-1919*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), preface, Colin Leys and Leo Panitch eds., *Fighting Identities: Race, Religion and Ethno-Nationalism*, (London: The Merlin Press Ltd., 2002), 97, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 80-81, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 20-22, Michael Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997), 55, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 9, Dean et al., *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 59, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 35, Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), and Carl Marzani, *We Can Be Friends*, (New York: Topical Books, 1952), 116-117

<sup>203</sup> V.I. Lenin and Stalin, J.V., "Council of People's Commissars, Appeal to the Moslems of Russia and the East," *Izvestiia*, No. 232, (December 7, 1917), <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1921-2/the-muslim-east/the-muslim-east-texts/appeal-to-the-moslems-of-russia-and-the-east/>

Russian” chauvinism, and who promoted antisemitic pogroms and mass deportations of Jews, “the secret inspirers of the Bolshevik Revolution,” already foreshadowing the tragic future that lie ahead in the coming decades for European Jews - thousands of which however were rescued by the Red Army.<sup>204</sup> In contrast, by 1922 in the USSR, antisemitism had become legally punishable with one year solitary confinement, or death in times of war, and Jews were vastly overrepresented in the Party and its leadership, and would remain so for much of Soviet history.<sup>205</sup> Makhno’s anarchist bandits are also owed recognition for their own part in the murdering of Jews.<sup>206</sup> This antisemitism was distinct from the old religious antisemitism, constituting what Peter Holquist refers to as “civic antisemitism,” which had distinctly political aims - a clear predecessor of Hitler’s “judeo-bolshevism,” and which would not be limited strictly to Jews.<sup>207</sup> Such antisemitic violence and rhetoric was employed not only by local nationalists and anarchists, but airdropped from British planes in the form of racist leaflets, the reactionary White Army garnering the complete financial and military support of the Entente powers.<sup>208</sup> Indeed, British tanks had even participated directly in the “Kornilov Affair” prior to

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<sup>204</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 127, 280, Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, 39, Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 41, Peter Holquist, “To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate, Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia,” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 124-128, Schafer “Local Politics and the Birth of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1917-1919,” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 168, Christopher Dobson and John Miller, *The Day We Almost Bombed Moscow: The Allied War in Russia 1918-1920*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), 269-271, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 35, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 59, Frederick L. Schuman, *Soviet Politics At Home and Abroad*, (New York: Knopf, 1946), 152-153, and A.N. Merezhin, “Oppose Anti-Jewish Pogroms” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 81-84

<sup>205</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 88-89, 94, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 81, and Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 31

<sup>206</sup> Dobson and Miller, *The Day We Almost Bombed Moscow: The Allied War in Russia 1918-1920*, 270

<sup>207</sup> Holquist, “To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate, Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia,” in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 124, and Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 114

<sup>208</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 173, Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” 39, Dobson & Miller, *The Day We Almost Bombed Moscow: The Allied War in Russia 1918-1920*, 269, and Schuman, *Soviet Politics At Home and Abroad*, 152-153

this, and British troops in Russian uniforms were among the few not to desert.<sup>209</sup> The British were also the main supporters of the Basmachi.<sup>210</sup> President Hoover meanwhile hadn't hesitated to use starvation politics as collective punishment indiscriminately against entire peoples, to use "food as a political weapon," while further utilising his American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross to provide aid to the Whites as they murdered civilians with impunity, as well as to Hungary, Austria, right-wing dictatorships in the Baltic states, and a massive \$40 million to the fascistic Pilsudski regime for the Polish invasion of Russia.<sup>211</sup> It was under these extremely difficult conditions that delegates to the Comintern's Second Congress in July-August of 1920 would seek to develop a clear analysis and plan of action for precisely how to approach nationalist movements in the colonized world - or more specifically at this time, as Masha Kiriasova argues, "the East," a somewhat flexible category used to denote oppressed nations and peoples, especially, but not exclusively in Asia, where pre-capitalist modes of production remained predominant.<sup>212</sup>

The Comintern had been created by Russian communists in 1919 inspired by Lenin's internationalism, having declared in 1918 that "the interests of world socialism, rank higher than national interests, higher than interests of the state."<sup>213</sup> Lenin's articulation of his theory of imperialism had revealed that the national question had become an acute international socio-political issue, and that moreover, "the democratic interests of *one* country must be subordinated to the democratic interests of *several and all* countries."<sup>214</sup> While anti-colonial struggles had already been ongoing for a generation at this time, it was the immense international

<sup>209</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 76-77

<sup>210</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 76, 87

<sup>211</sup> Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 258, Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 310-311, and Vladimir Iu Cherniaev and William G. Rosenberg, *Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution, 1914-1921*, Edward Acton ed., (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 111

<sup>212</sup> Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration"

<sup>213</sup> V.I. Lenin quoted in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 8

<sup>214</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism*, 150

network of the Comintern, patiently built through the work of dedicated revolutionaries, which would provide them with the boost required to qualitatively alter the outcome of these struggles.<sup>215</sup> Indeed, Vijay Prashad does not hesitate in stating that the decolonisation wave of the 20th century took place, at least in part, “because... of the USSR, and because of the material support provided by the Comintern.” In emphasising its complete break from the “social chauvinists” of the Second International, the Statutes of the Comintern’s Second Congress included a notable statement, condemning the Second International for its de facto recognition of the existence “only of people with white skin,” while the Third International set its goal as the liberation of working people of the entire world, and that “the ranks of the Communist International unite people whose skins are white, yellow and black in a fraternal union,” which was adopted unanimously, firmly establishing anti-colonial and explicitly anti-racist unity.<sup>216</sup> For the party representatives of those countries “whose bourgeoisies possess colonies and oppress other nations,” membership requirements were especially strict, demanding clearly articulated positions around the national and colonial questions, and the backing of those positions not only with lofty words but in deeds.<sup>217</sup>

Present at this congress was Indian communist Manabendra Nath Roy, a well-travelled internationalist who came representing the Communist Party of Mexico, and whose contributions over the coming years to the development of fundamental communist policies for the underdeveloped parts of the world are difficult to overstate - at least in the 1920s, though with

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<sup>215</sup> Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 15-16 and Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 17

<sup>216</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 100, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 39

<sup>217</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 19-20, 100-101, and John Reed, “The World Congress of the Communist International,” *The Communist*, (New York: UCP, 1920), 3

lasting resonance.<sup>218</sup> Two lines had arisen at the Congress around whether to form alliances with national bourgeoisies in colonised countries or not.<sup>219</sup> Having circulated his draft thesis on the national and colonial question for comments and criticism, Lenin was deeply impressed by the remarks received from Roy, who was invited to write an alternative draft to that of the leader of the October Revolution.<sup>220</sup> Roy argued that the Comintern needed to carefully distinguish between movements where “reformist” nationalists held sway, who could be expected to support foreign imperialists in order to preserve their own privileges should a revolutionary situation actually occur, and those movements and leaders which were truly revolutionary.<sup>221</sup> Roy additionally felt that support for explicitly communist parties should be emphasised over nationalist parties wherever possible.<sup>222</sup> Roy’s conclusions on this question were based in no small part on his analysis of the conditions in India, which he believed had congealed in a certain degree of solidification of proletarian class consciousness and capitalist development, opening the possibility of revolution without need for an alliance with elements of the national bourgeoisie - a point however on which he and Lenin disagreed to some extent.<sup>223</sup> Lenin did not share in Roy’s assessment, and believed that it would be necessary for Indian communists to be patient and settle for less ambitious goals in order to create a unified movement for independence in coordination with the national bourgeoisie - at least for the time being.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, xiii, Mollah, Riddell, & Prasad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 18, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11-12

<sup>219</sup> Prasad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 20

<sup>220</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, 11, and M. N. Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prasad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 45

<sup>222</sup> M. N. Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prasad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 45, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 15

<sup>223</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 15

<sup>224</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 15

An ally of Roy's, Iranian communist Avetis Sultan-Zade also shared Roy's concerns about the national bourgeoisie, warning that the evolution of the class struggle would in the very near future force them "to abandon all and every revolutionary idea."<sup>225</sup> Despite Roy's revolutionary optimism about conditions in India being ripe for communist revolution, reminiscent of a young Karl Marx, there was after all at the time of the Second Congress no communist party yet established there.<sup>226</sup> The disagreement with Lenin however was more a quantitative than a qualitative one, and hardly represents a fundamental divide, but rather a question of timing and of strategy. Roy clearly agreed that proletarian consciousness had been suppressed as a result of imperialism, but like Lenin, observed that the contradictions of imperialism were beginning to bring about the conditions of its undoing, and moreover, that the Comintern and Soviet peoples had an important role to play.<sup>227</sup> What was in question was whether there was a need for a national liberation movement *prior* to a communist revolution, as a first step, or if the October Revolution could be recreated in India and national liberation coupled with the establishment of socialism from the outset.

The Comintern's international policies, and indeed, the Soviet Union's domestic policies on the national and colonial question were developed in no small part due to Roy's experience in Indian revolutionary politics, and the dialectics of those politics in their interconnection with broader, in many cases deterritorial notions of decolonization that transcended colonial concepts of nation, and which Manjapra argues are obscured by territory fixed narratives.<sup>228</sup> That is to say, neither policy nor fundamental theoretical principles flowed unidirectionally from Moscow or

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<sup>225</sup> Avetis Sultan-Zade quoted in Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 79

<sup>226</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 15-17

<sup>227</sup> Lenin, "Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations," in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 40-41, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 15

<sup>228</sup> Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, xvi, xxi, 5-14, 21

Petrograd, but resulted from a distinctly internationalist discourse with historical actors and revolutionaries from the colonies, whose own ideas had similarly been shaped not from cut-off or inward looking introspection, but often distinctly global, cosmopolitan worldviews that defied European ethnonationalist notions and borders drawn along racial rather than political lines.<sup>229</sup> It is for this reason that Vijay Prashad would come to refer to the nationalism of the Third World as “internationalist nationalism,” though Szymanski and other Marxist historians make similar distinctions.<sup>230</sup>

While it has been argued by various Soviet and Indian scholars that Roy misunderstood the concept of the ‘proletariat,’ stating at one point that “the most oppressed, ill-treated and unfortunate strata of the population were synonymous with the proletariat,” Kris Manjapra asserts that Roy’s confidence in the revolutionary potential of the peasantry was rather a deliberate reinterpretation of Marx which reflected his roots in the Swadeshi avant garde.<sup>231</sup> A close reading of Roy’s “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Questions” however does not appear to indicate a deviation to the extent that Manjapra and others have suggested, at least at this time. In this crucial work, Roy clearly emphasises that the peasantry were not yet prepared to lead the movement on their own, that “the underdeveloped spirit of outrage that lives in the masses can find expression only in the numerically small intellectual middle class,” and that the Comintern and the proletariat of the advanced countries had a vital role to play in providing material and ideological guidance and leadership in order to prevent the leadership of these worker and peasant movements from falling into the hands of the bourgeois democrats,

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<sup>229</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 84-85, 169-170, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 8-9, and Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, xii-xvi, 5-6

<sup>230</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 12, Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 536-537, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 14

<sup>231</sup> Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, 43

reformists, and social democrats.<sup>232</sup> Only by this means could a capitalist phase of development be ‘skipped’ and proletarian class consciousness instilled - but it *was* possible, and indeed, of immense importance to attempt this, as Lenin agreed.<sup>233</sup> Roy’s statement about the peasantry is comparable to Marx, who in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* wrote that French peasants “cannot represent themselves, they must be represented.”<sup>234</sup> In the “Supplementary Theses” Roy makes his priority clear, opening with the assertion that “one of the most important questions facing the Second Congress... is to establish exactly the mutual relations between the Communist International and the revolutionary movement in the politically oppressed countries dominated by their own capitalist system.”<sup>235</sup>

Where the greater point of contention among delegates at the 2nd Congress lies would appear to occur rather as to whether revolution necessarily must first take place in the colonies or the advanced economies of Europe and America.<sup>236</sup> First outlined in his article published in July of 1919, “The Awakening of the East,” Roy re-asserted his position at the Congress that the “superprofits” from the colonies represented one of the most vital sources of stability and strength of contemporary capitalism, and significantly, that “the European working class will not succeed in overthrowing capitalism until this source is stopped up,” and that only the end of colonialism could bring down capitalism in the West.<sup>237</sup> So long as the labour aristocracy, the

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<sup>232</sup> Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 45

<sup>233</sup> V. I. Lenin, “Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 41-42, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11, 42, 87, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 21

<sup>234</sup> Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1937), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/>

<sup>235</sup> Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 43

<sup>236</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 41-42

<sup>237</sup> M. N. Roy, “The Awakening of the East,” *The Call*, (1920), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/roy/1920/07/15.htm>, and Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 43-44

agents of the bourgeoisie, the likes of the leaders of the Second International and even various socialist and communist parties *in name* were supported by these superprofits, socialist revolutions there could not be expected to triumph.<sup>238</sup> In the “Supplementary Theses,” Roy also emphasised the importance of colonial possessions as essential for the sale of manufactured goods and as a source of raw materials, especially in the case of Britain, “the bulwark of imperialism, [which] has already suffered from overproduction for a century.”<sup>239</sup> Additionally pointing to the use of colonial troops and workers at the front lines during the imperialist war, Roy made clear that the centralisation of world capitalism had necessitated a global approach to questions of both the proletarian movement in Europe and revolutionary movements in the oppressed non-European countries, which were “indissolubly bound up” and could not be viewed in isolation.<sup>240</sup>

Lenin agreed that the immediate task in Asia was to encourage national revolt, but at first did not share Roy’s emphasis on the need to have these movements led by the proletariat explicitly, instead positing that the establishment even of bourgeois-democratic governments would be enough to weaken the imperialist powers, to cut off the profits used to bribe the labour aristocracy of the oppressor countries, and thereby create the conditions for revolution in the west.<sup>241</sup> Beneath this lies an important question about the nature of imperialism, namely, whether imperialism was a policy of capitalism, or a necessary condition for the existence of capitalism in its current advanced form. In *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin had argued that the motive force of imperialism was a *need* to export capital, as if capital could not be

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<sup>238</sup> Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 43-44, and V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 13-14

<sup>239</sup> Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 43

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, 43

<sup>241</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 41, and Lenin, “Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions For the Second Congress of the Communist International”

exported to growing markets, the imperialist countries would suffer stagnation, and as such, advanced capitalism both generated imperialism and could not survive without it.<sup>242</sup>

In a highly unusual occurrence, the Comintern adopted both theses, and at the suggestion of Sultan-Zade, Lenin's was altered in key aspects to accommodate Roy's criticisms, stating that the form of alliance with national and colonial liberation movements should be "determined by the degree of development of the communist movement in the proletariat of each country, or of the *revolutionary liberation movement* [emphasis added] of the workers and peasants" in less developed countries.<sup>243</sup> Lenin's original draft had instead referred to "bourgeois-democratic" movements throughout, but this was altered in order to better distinguish between revolutionary and reformist movements in countries where peasants formed the majority.<sup>244</sup> That Lenin as a result of his exchanges with Roy and Sultan-Zade would conclude that support for nationalist and anti-imperialist movements should be followed only in cases where such support would not hinder the development of class struggle is a point of historic significance that would have substantial consequences over the coming years.<sup>245</sup> While emphasis was not placed entirely on the East, as suggested by Roy, the finalized conclusions represented a significant compromise and a shift towards the middle, with all agreeing on the mutual dependency of these movements in one way or another due to the global nature of capitalism.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 154

<sup>243</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11, 42, 87, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 18, and V.I. Lenin, "Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions," in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 96

<sup>244</sup> Lenin, "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions For the Second Congress of the Communist International," and Lenin, "Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations," in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 39-40

<sup>245</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 87

<sup>246</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 42, and Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 116-118

Another important conclusion to come from this Congress was around the division of nations into those relatively few “oppressor” nations, enormously rich and militarily powerful, and a much larger number of oppressed ones.<sup>247</sup> This would have great significance not only in the way the Comintern approached the anti-imperialist struggle internationally, but in the Soviet Union’s approach to dealing with its own local nationalisms domestically, particularly “Great Russian” chauvinism, articulated in 1922 in Lenin’s “greater danger principle” which posited that the nationalism of small and oppressed nations should be given greater leniency than those of the historic oppressors.<sup>248</sup> This would be especially important in regard to the policies of *коренизация* (indigenisation) which are discussed later in this work, and in which Russians were asked to “make up for the inequality which [they obtain] in actual practice... compensate for the past.”<sup>249</sup> Stalin’s experience with Georgian nationalism, interestingly, made him less lenient than Lenin, particularly towards his countrymen, and he would be scolded by Lenin for his “haste,” and his “spite against the notorious “nationalist-socialism.”<sup>250</sup>

By the 5th Congress however, global events, including first the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and then in 1923, the crushing of revolution and the imprisonment of seven thousand workers in Germany by the social democrats in their anti-Bolshevik alliance with Hindenburg forged in 1918, would lead the Comintern to shift decidedly towards Roy’s position, and to renewed focus on the East - at least for the time being.<sup>251</sup> Increasingly it would appear as though the export of capital alone to the colonised

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<sup>247</sup> Lenin, “Our Basic Idea: The Difference Between Oppressor and Oppressed Nations,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prasad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 39

<sup>248</sup> Terry Martin, “The Affirmative Action Empire - The Highest Form of Imperialism,” in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 71

<sup>249</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 168-169

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, 166

<sup>251</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 42-43, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 39, Michael Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1996), 40, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 5, Andreas Dorpalen, *German History in Marxist Perspective, The East German Approach*, (Detroit: Wayne State

countries and reliance on the national bourgeoisie would not be enough to trigger an imperialist collapse as Lenin had hoped in earlier years, and that the alliance between the capitalists of the imperialist countries and local compradors would prove stronger than anticipated. Following the betrayal of the Kuomintang and massacre of Chinese communists, Lenin's thesis would be sidelined entirely at the 6th Congress in 1928, and alliances with bourgeois-led forces rejected, with only Communist Parties now considered capable of leading anti-imperialist national democratic revolutions.<sup>252</sup> By the 7th Congress in 1935 however, renewed optimism about the role of the national bourgeoisie would lead to a reevaluation of Lenin's thesis, and the need for a "popular front."<sup>253</sup> Perhaps Lenin had been correct - simply early.

That said, regardless of vacillations and debates in Comintern and Soviet policy around whether or not to form alliances with national bourgeoisies of various countries over the coming years, the support given by the Bolsheviks to national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and increasingly across the globe is undeniable.<sup>254</sup> The debates had in the Comintern represented not the meaningless babble of utopian philosophers, but would be rapidly followed by real revolutionary action, including hosting the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, the capital of the Azerbaijani Soviet Republic that September, as the "Eastern" concept became increasingly institutionalised, though hardly crystalized.<sup>255</sup>

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University Press, 1988), 313-316, 318-319, and R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, (New York: International Publishers, 1935), 128-134

<sup>252</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 47-48

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, 48-49

<sup>254</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 20-21, Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 46-47, Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 257, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 144-145, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 15, 62

<sup>255</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 102, Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration," and Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 119

As its name suggests, this Congress was directed towards the peoples falling under the loosely formulated category of “The East,” although even representatives from the Americas were present, including John Reed.<sup>256</sup> At the Comintern’s Second Congress a month earlier, Reed had dedicated his speaking time to address the oppression of blacks in the United States and to secure the invitation of black delegates to the following Congress through the CPUSA, an issue the Comintern had insisted the CPUSA address since 1919.<sup>257</sup> Despite being a people situated in the heart of the geographic West, they would nevertheless come to hold an important place in the Eastern political project as it developed, and later the “Third World” according to Kwame Ture and others.<sup>258</sup> Reed repeated his emphasis on this struggle to the delegates at Baku.<sup>259</sup>

Also in attendance at this historic event were nearly two thousand delegates representing at least thirty distinct peoples who would discuss the situations in their homelands, appeal to the leaders of the October Revolution for aid, and moreover to offer criticisms regarding the limits of Soviet power to be deliberated by the Bolsheviks and leaders of the Comintern.<sup>260</sup> Of greater significance still, many of these delegates would go on to found a number of national communist parties in their countries.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Executive Committee of the Communist International, “To the Enslaved Popular Masses of Persia, Armenia and Turkey,” *Kommunistichesky Internatsional*, no. 12, (July 20, 1920), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/baku/call.htm>, and Liberate the Colonies, ??

<sup>257</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 21, Reed, “The World Congress of the Communist International,” 3, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 229

<sup>258</sup> Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) quoted in Deepa Bhashti, María Berríos, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Pankaj Mishra, Revati Laul, Rossen Djagalov, Sudhanva Deshpande, Sumayya Kassamali, and Wang Chaohua, *The East Was Read: Socialist Culture in the Third World*, Vijay Prashad ed., (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2019), 101

<sup>259</sup> John Reed, “Speech at the Congress of the Peoples of the East: Baku, Azerbaijan - Sept. 4, 1920,” *Congress of the Peoples of the East: Baku, September 1920: Stenographic Report*, Brian Pearce trans., (London: New Park Publications, 1977), 2

<sup>260</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 102

<sup>261</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 21, and Ivar Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World, 1917-1958*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959), 88

One of the original Central Committee members of the Tashkent Soviet, Tashpolad Narbutabekov, during the third session articulated a clear vision of a world divided in two, and argued that “it is either the British capitalists or the working masses of Russia and the whole world,” and that freedom for the East was dependent on Soviet victory over imperialism.<sup>262</sup> “For this reason,” he stated, “Soviet power can find no better ally at the present time than the working people of the East,” echoing the widely held sentiments of mutual dependency.<sup>263</sup>

While Narbutabekov and other delegates had emphasised the need to respect the differences and the customs of those nations in the East however, this was not intended to suggest that the reactionary forces of feudalism propped up by foreign imperialism - the mullahs, sultans and beys in the pockets of British, French, and other powers - should be given a free hand to continue the oppression of Eastern peoples, though such oppression may come decked in ‘traditional’ form to the benefit of the old social classes.<sup>264</sup> Jalaluddin Korkmasov, a delegate from the Caucasus lambasted these “parasites” and called for a “holy war” against the representatives of imperialism both locally and abroad, even should they be an Imam or religious leader, condemning the local ruling classes who owed their positions to their alliances with Bicherakov’s Cossacks, White Army officers, Turkish imperialists, and other forces backed by the British.<sup>265</sup> One such example is the bourgeois nationalist Mustafa Chokayev, who had been the head of the so-called Kokand Autonomous Government which existed for a few months in 1917-1918, and who sought support from Russian capitalists, local religious elites, and the British, (since none could be found among local peasants and workers,) before fleeing with the White Army and ultimately settling in Berlin where the Nazis later took interest in his activities

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<sup>262</sup> Tashpolad Narbutabekov quoted in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 111-112

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*, 113

<sup>264</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 112-115, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 59

<sup>265</sup> Jalaluddin Korkmasov, quoted in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 116-117

and use as a propaganda tool.<sup>266</sup> A similar case can be found in that of the Emir of Bukhara, who beginning in 1917 established close relations with the British forces in Persia who sent weapons and officers, and with their support relied on terror in his attempt to maintain power, though unsuccessfully, being overthrown in a revolt led by the Young Bukharans with assistance from the Red Army leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of Bukhara.<sup>267</sup> These are just two of many cases in which foreign interventionists and tsarist generals attempted to create anti-popular “governments” and “autonomies” under the cynical guise of “self-determination” with the goal of setting up weakened semi-colonies, not unlike would be undertaken during the decolonisation of Africa in later decades.<sup>268</sup>

The aim of communists in support of national liberation movements in the East had never been to “nationalize backwardness” as contemptuously claimed by historian Douglas Northrop, who evidently fails to understand the historical materialist conception of the nation, but with the removal of imperialist coercion, to create the conditions for the flourishing of progressive aspects of national cultures in the East, as elsewhere - not to “deliver [working people] over to the tender mercies of the reactionary mullahs,” as Stalin scoffed, but as Lenin clearly articulated, taking from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements, not bourgeois nationalism.<sup>269</sup> In reality, the idea of backwardness as authentic and indigenous, and of

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<sup>266</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 40-41, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 35-36

<sup>267</sup> Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 117, 125, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 36

<sup>268</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 79-83

<sup>269</sup> Northrop, “Nationalizing Backwardness, Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity,” in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 192-214, J.V. Stalin, “The National Question and Leninism: Reply to Comrades Meshkov, Kovalchuk, and Others, March 18, 1929,” *Works*, Vol. 11. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1929/03/18.htm>, J.V. Stalin, “The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East,” *Pravda*, No. 115, May 22, 1925, accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1925/05/18.htm>, J.V. Stalin, “Marxism and the National Question”, *Prosveshcheniye*, Nos. 3-5, (March-May 1913), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive,

communism as foreign and imposed are oversimplistic ideas that would be increasingly woven into mainstream liberal and left anti-communist narratives in the post-war years through the efforts of the CIA, its offshoots, and private organisations including the Ford Foundation, even while these same forces and other imperialist powers supported the most violent, patriarchal, and reactionary regimes.<sup>270</sup> Northrop's works would appear to fall under this category, which indeed, attempts to depict the USSR as a colonial empire.<sup>271</sup> This text however, like those by Adeb Khalid, rejects such depictions, as the refusal to acknowledge modernist intellectuals, including Central Asian Bolsheviks and the Jadids alike, while reducing and limiting the "authentic" to the "traditional" means to make a monolith of indigenous peoples, eliminating their contours.<sup>272</sup> Khalid argues that the Basmachi revolt for example had become a distinctly Central Asian civil war fought primarily by Central Asians.<sup>273</sup> Most urban Muslims considered the Basmachi even worse than Russian settlers, and the Basmachi's *go'rboshi* (warlords) meanwhile could not have cared less whether city governments were staffed by Europeans or Muslims, hating the Jadids and Young Bukharans as much as the Bolsheviks, being concerned exclusively with maintaining local power and customary practices in the countryside, and not national or progressive movements.<sup>274</sup>

The progressiveness of the national cause would be underlined in the 5th session, in which the importance of electing women to the Congress Presidium was driven home, and a motion to guarantee this adopted, demonstrating that the national and colonial question for oppressed nations was one in which nationalism played a distinctly progressive role, being in

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<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm> and Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 17, 25, 27-28

<sup>270</sup> Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 12, and Vijay Prasad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 91-93

<sup>271</sup> Northrop, *Veiled Empire, Gender & Power in Stalinist Central Asia*, 22

<sup>272</sup> Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 9-10, 12

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid*, 88-89, 139-140

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid*, 86-88

many cases closely associated with the emancipation of women.<sup>275</sup> In 1957 Egyptian activist Aisha Abdul-Rahman, granddaughter of the grand imam of al-Azhar who had himself encouraged her in her struggle for equality, would point out that indeed, “the renaissance of the Eastern woman has always coincided with the liberation movements,” and that the elimination of the fetters of imperialism created the opportunities to escape “social slavery” and “moral death.”<sup>276</sup> On the final day of the Congress, Turkish communist Najiye Hanim, one of only 55 women delegates at Baku, despite the efforts of Comintern organisers, warned that unless women were summoned “to become real helpers in your work” and not simply “beasts of burden,” all these efforts would be fruitless, and set out a clear list of demands which to this day would be seen as radical by many - however, as Vijay Prashad notes, Hanim was not an idealist, but understood that patience and perseverance would be necessary.<sup>277</sup> At the Second International Conference of Communist Women the following year, there would be extensive discussion on the question of “Eastern women,” and Alexandra Kollontai, leader of the Zhenotdel (women’s department) would see to it that a Congress of Eastern Women would follow soon after, which in addition to clarifying the main issues facing Eastern women and establishing a clear plan of action, would lead to the creation of Zhenotdel chapters across Soviet Central Asia over the 1920s.<sup>278</sup> Women would not be “compelled to give up the veil” as mourned by Suny and Kivelson with their implications of authoritarian coercion from Moscow, but rather, would carry out a determined struggle against patriarchy *themselves* - and indeed, at first in spite of lack of initiative from male Bolshevik leaders, though this soon became a key Bolshevik policy in which

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<sup>275</sup> Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 126, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 66

<sup>276</sup> Aisha Abdul-Rahman quoted in Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 53

<sup>277</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 93-99, and Najiye Hanim, “We Will Prove Your Most Loyal Comrades... We Are Not Afraid” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 143-145

<sup>278</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 94-97

Communist Party members were expected to take part - flooding the streets of major Uzbek cities on International Women's Day in 1927, burning their veils, and confronting directly the clergy and landlords whose power and interests lay with the maintenance of old customs - though not without frequently violent retribution.<sup>279</sup> That Soviet power was a force of immensely popular appeal, both in nature and in scope, is testified by the large number of Eastern women who in many cases fled deeply oppressive circumstances to join the ranks of the communists.<sup>280</sup> Outside of the USSR too, communist women inspired by the Soviets set up women's fronts to lead their own struggles, to bring these issues to local communist parties, and eventually, to create the Women's International Democratic Federation in 1945.<sup>281</sup> Clearly the struggle against patriarchal and reactionary aspects of Eastern cultures and religions was for many in no contradiction whatsoever with the struggle for national liberation and for the freedom of culture and religion promised by Lenin and Stalin; there was no antagonistic contradiction between the development of national cultures and proletarian internationalism.<sup>282</sup>

It was from this new and growing "Eastern" infrastructure developing in the Comintern and at Baku that a unique institution would emerge in 1921, and at which Roy would be employed as a professor: the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV), itself one of a number of universities which opened during this period open to international students and minorities from within the countries that would become the USSR.<sup>283</sup> Students who had studied

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<sup>279</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 297, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 87-88, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 95-98

<sup>280</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 73

<sup>281</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 100

<sup>282</sup> V.I. Lenin, and J.V. Stalin. "Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia," *The Nation*, (1919) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/1917/11/02.htm>, and Harry Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 129

<sup>283</sup> Manjapra, M. N. Roy: *Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*, 46, Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration," and Irina Filatova, "Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937," *Paedagogica Historica*, 35:1, 41-66, (1999), <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0030923990350104>, 44

at bourgeois universities however were not allowed, and ‘toilers’ were preferred wherever possible to students from families possessing too much land.<sup>284</sup> While initially created under the Commissariat of Nationalities of the RSFSR, the distinctly internationalist mission of KUTV and the growing number of foreign students led the Comintern’s recently formed Eastern Section to seek greater input and control, eventually taking complete control of administration in 1923.<sup>285</sup>

Although Chinese students most frequently attended the more specialised Communist University of Toilers of China, or Sun Yat-sen University, some went to KUTV.<sup>286</sup> But more often, KUTV hosted students and teachers from other “Eastern” countries, or minorities from these countries living abroad.<sup>287</sup> African students were generally divided between the International Lenin School and KUTV, though were in close contact with KUTV one way or another, since it was KUTV that had developed a specialised African Studies Department.<sup>288</sup> It is well worth noting that KUTV was one of only a handful of institutions *anywhere* at this time which were accessible to Africans from British territories.<sup>289</sup> Black students from the Americas were also welcomed at either university.<sup>290</sup> The historic significance of the African Studies

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<sup>284</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 46, and Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 132

<sup>285</sup> Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration,” and Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 44

<sup>286</sup> Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 128, Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 44, and Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 133

<sup>287</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 44, Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration,” and Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 131

<sup>288</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 44

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid*, 56

<sup>290</sup> Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 131, and Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 44

Department in particular should not be taken for granted, offering the first class-based approaches to African history in an academic setting anywhere in the world - an approach which would not be seen outside the USSR for many years to come, but which in the post-war years would be looked back on as incredibly innovative, having laid the foundations for a school of thought which would come to play a leading role in anti-imperialist educations offered in many newly independent former colonies.<sup>291</sup> Even students who would come to veer from or outright reject communist ideology in later years - and indeed, some who had never adopted it - clearly retained the tools utilised by the class approach taught at KUTV, not to mention increased assertiveness and self-respect, including Trinidadian pan-Africanist George Padmore.<sup>292</sup> Despite their limitations at that time, instructors at KUTV had indisputably greater knowledge of the labour movement in Africa “than historians and political scientists elsewhere cared to know,” according to Irina Filatova.<sup>293</sup> Indeed, the study of many of the most significant problems of modern history can be traced back to KUTV, though it rarely receives such credit - in part due to the deliberate destruction of Communist Party archives of various countries by forces wishing to repress this history for political and ideological reasons.<sup>294</sup>

KUTV was not simply intended for the education of students, but rather, those who taught there understood their task as much as to push forward with innovative research around questions of colonialism and anti-colonialism.<sup>295</sup> The university’s first rector, Grigory Broydo, an ethnic Tajik who had headed the Tashkent Soviet, and former Deputy Commissar of

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<sup>291</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 56

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*, 65-66

<sup>293</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 57

<sup>294</sup> Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

<sup>295</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 56, and Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

Nationalities, emphasised that the goal must be to “chart untrodden paths,” and advance Marxist theory for the benefit of real world struggles.<sup>296</sup> Indeed, for Broydo, the expertise of the students was *more* important to the construction of socialism than that of Soviet and Comintern staff members, with students providing invaluable information about their homelands.<sup>297</sup> Many senior students worked as researchers with the Scientific Research Association for the Study of National and Colonial Problems, frequently having their research published in its journal, *Revolutionary East*, while others provided information to the Comintern directly regarding local social movements, or details regarding the strength and capacities of colonial military forces.<sup>298</sup> As Masha Kirasirova skillfully articulated, students were thereby transformed from the objects into the subjects of history, into “Toilers *for* the East,” and active participants and leaders in this unprecedented experiment, in many cases playing defining roles in shaping Soviet and Comintern policy.<sup>299</sup> Hami Selam, for example, a KUTV student from Egypt, would translate the works of Lenin, Stalin, Bukharin, and Zinoviev into Arabic - a significant intellectual feat, and a notable responsibility considering the political importance placed on the Arab world by Soviet leaders - and would additionally write a treatise on the dialectical history of Islam.<sup>300</sup> Through their interpretations provided to Soviet and Comintern leadership, their published research, and the roles they would come to play in various scholarly and political institutions in the USSR, students were able to play a decisive role in the way Soviet and Comintern leaders approached theoretical and political questions in regard to “the East.”<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*, 132, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 12, and Grigory Broydo quoted in Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

<sup>297</sup> Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid*

In 1925, Stalin, now General Secretary of the CPSU, would be invited to speak at KUTV which had been renamed in his honour, being closely associated by many with an extraordinary commitment to the creation of national republics, the growth of national cultures, and unyielding advocacy on behalf of the Eastern nationalities and oppressed peoples despite significant political risks which earned him many enemies, even within his own party.<sup>302</sup> Indeed, one of his first articles published as Commissar of Nationalities had been entitled “Do Not Forget the East!”<sup>303</sup> In his speech, “The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East,” Stalin would draw an important distinction, dividing the East into two categories, each with separate tasks.<sup>304</sup> While on one hand, there was the “Soviet East,” in which socialist construction was already underway, on the other there remained the many oppressed nations which formed the “colonised East.”<sup>305</sup> KUTV, he stated, had one foot in each. In addition to clearly laying out the goals the university must aspire to in either case, most notably the training of capable revolutionaries worthy of the requirements of the national liberation movements in their countries, Stalin cautioned against deviations present in certain leading cadres in the East.<sup>306</sup> In the Soviet East, this included the oversimplification of the question, and attempts to mechanically transplant models of economic construction which proved suitable to advanced industrial centres to the border regions, and similarly, attempts to apply what is effective in one border region to another, emphasising that these regions possessed many differences which needed to be respected.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Schafer, “Local Politics and the Birth of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1917-1919,” in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 181, Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 129, and *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 22

<sup>303</sup> J.V. Stalin, “Do Not Forget the East!” *Works*, vol. 4, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1918/11/24.htm>

<sup>304</sup> Stalin, “The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East”

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid*

As early as the Comintern's Second Congress, Roy had played a major role in drawing a sophisticated distinction between revolutionary and reformist national movements - a distinction which would be clearly echoed by Stalin, who similarly addressed the division taking place in the growing revolutionary movements in the non-socialist East.<sup>308</sup> Here, the most significant deviations included the underestimation of the potentialities of the liberation movement and the overestimation of the idea of a unified national front without taking into consideration the degree of that country's development, and alternatively, the reverse of this.<sup>309</sup> Like Roy, Stalin observed that the revolutionary movements in Eastern countries were witnessing the division of the national bourgeoisie into two parts, one which held revolutionary potential, namely the petty bourgeoisie, and that part which was in league with foreign imperialism in order to preserve its privileges and power, and which it was necessary to isolate by one means or another.<sup>310</sup> Only through serious research and analysis which relied on the experience and knowledge of local peoples equipped with adequate skills and education could it be correctly determined whether or not this in each case would require a broad, anti-imperialist national front, the explicit leadership of an overtly communist party, or a bloc of multiple forces.<sup>311</sup> This was the immense historic responsibility which was placed on the shoulders of the students and staff of KUTV, and one which most took on with the utmost seriousness.<sup>312</sup>

The benefits of this institution were multifold, not only to the researchers and staff, to the Soviet state and to the Comintern, but to the anti-colonial movement more generally, as well as the individuals who took part in it. "Theory was regarded not as dogma but as a guide to action,"

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<sup>308</sup> Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 87, and Stalin, "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East"

<sup>309</sup> Stalin, "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East"

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>312</sup> Kirasirova, "The "East" as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration"

states Harry Haywood, who admired the emphasis on practical education.<sup>313</sup> Students were not simply “indoctrinated” but provided with legitimate and practical educations that opened countless opportunities for upward mobility both in the USSR and in their homelands, the methods and contents of these educations which were arguably more advanced than in many other universities even in the most economically developed countries.<sup>314</sup> The lengthy and impressive list of KUTV’s famous alumni stands as strong evidence of this, the university having trained countless future national liberation leaders, prime ministers, presidents, Communist Party general secretaries and Central Committee members, and many of the 20th century’s most remarkable pan-African, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist scholars.<sup>315</sup> KUTV, through the actions of its many well-known students and staff, and its dedicated efforts in bringing the problems of colonialism to the world stage through its research and widely read scholarly publications, would ultimately come to play a decisive factor in the outcome of numerous national liberation and anti-colonial struggles.<sup>316</sup>

While KUTV represented no small contribution to these struggles, and played a disproportionate role in the formation of Comintern and Soviet policies in this regard, it must nevertheless be recognised as only one emblematic piece of the Soviet Union’s consistent engagement with and support for oppressed peoples and nationalities both domestically and beyond its borders amidst the challenges of the interwar years.<sup>317</sup> The limitations of Soviet power meant that while this support began in the immediate vicinity of the RSFSR and later the USSR,

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<sup>313</sup> Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 129

<sup>314</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 56, 59, and Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

<sup>315</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 59, 64-65, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 23-24

<sup>316</sup> Filatova, “Indoctrination or Scholarship? Education of Africans at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the Soviet Union, 1923-1937,” 66

<sup>317</sup> Kirasirova, “The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration”

it emanated outwards from its geographical borders taking on increasingly global proportions. Deputy head of the USSR's International Department in the 1970s, Karen Brutents, an Azeri national, pointed to some of the first successful national liberation movements having taken place in Turkey, Afghanistan, and Mongolia as evidence of the October Revolution's significance in this regard.<sup>318</sup> Brutents asserted that this represented the beginning of the "crisis of the colonial system of imperialism," and that the defeat of imperialism in the Russian Empire had left imperialism weakened, creating the conditions for a new and formidable alliance of forces which included the newborn socialist state, the global proletariat, and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies.<sup>319</sup> He nevertheless retained, however, that internal rather than external factors loomed larger in Third World national liberation movements, and that the role of the USSR was primarily instructive as an example - that is to say, that subjective factors outweighed objective ones.<sup>320</sup>

Lenin had himself stated that the Soviet state's main influence on world revolutionary process was demonstrative, exerted by its economic policies and an increasing standard of living and of equality for Soviet peoples, however he certainly had not ruled out Soviet assistance to colonised and formerly colonised countries in order to help "skip" to socialism, or at the very least, ensure the most fertile ground for socialist development.<sup>321</sup> Adeb Khalid, like Brutents, writes of the inspirational effect of the victory over Tsarism, as an example which "allowed many to imagine a world without empire," though certainly doesn't fail to credit the efforts of the Bolsheviks in their material support for independence movements.<sup>322</sup> Amar Farooqui also shares

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<sup>318</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 34, 222

<sup>319</sup> Karen Brutents quoted in Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 34

<sup>320</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 34

<sup>321</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 144

<sup>322</sup> Khalid "Nationalizing the Revolution in Central Asia, The Transformation of Jadidism 1917-1920," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 152-154

Brutents' position regarding the weakening of imperialist powers following 1917, as well as the profound inspirational effect of October, both of which he believed had a direct link with uprisings including Egypt's independence, the March First Movement in Korea in 1919, the revolt against British rule in Iraq in 1920, the Mongolian Revolution of 1921, as well as the establishment of the Communist Party of China the same year, not to mention the broad radicalisation of the Indian independence movement.<sup>323</sup> Farooqui and Prasenjit Duara each remind us that it is Lenin's position on the colonial question and the victory of the communists in Russia which in this moment also had a decisive impact on a young Hồ Chí Minh.<sup>324</sup> Disgusted by what he viewed as a cynical and hollow proclamation from Wilson on the right to self-determination, he would begin organising Vietnam's independence movement in 1919, with its eventual victory over three imperialist powers itself representing a historic feat.<sup>325</sup> Getachew asserts that Wilson's self-determination was not only hollow, but indeed, counterrevolutionary, neutering and repurposing the Bolshevik principle in order to preserve racial hierarchy and maintain imperial rule.<sup>326</sup>

While theoretical debates on the precise nature of the Soviet role in aiding and inspiring national liberation movements would be significant in determining Soviet policy throughout its history, it is nevertheless undeniable that in the 1920s a number of important examples of Soviet internationalism and aid must be recognised. In his history of *The Darker Nations*, Prashad asserts that since the 1920s, the USSR had been "the one state that gave enormous ideological,

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<sup>323</sup> Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 37-38, 50, and Prasenjit Duara ed., *Decolonization: Perspectives from Then and Now*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 29-31

<sup>324</sup> Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 38-39, and Hồ Chí Minh, "The Path That Led Me to Leninism," in Duara ed., *Decolonization: Perspectives from Then and Now*, 29-31

<sup>325</sup> Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 38-39

<sup>326</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 10

diplomatic, and material support to many independence struggles.”<sup>327</sup> This included the creation of the Comintern and the work it carried out at Baku and beyond, as well as hosting the 1927 League Against Imperialism conference in Belgium - much to Leopold II’s humiliation, and at which future national independence leaders Nehru and Sukarno would be present - among countless other projects.<sup>328</sup> The spaces and connections they made, in addition to the material assistance they provided, facilitated the creation and growth of *hundreds* of Communist Parties in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and played a major role in the success of national liberation movements there.<sup>329</sup> From the earliest days of its existence, the first socialist state had renounced imperialist claims, calling for immediate peace, “without annexations or indemnities,” publishing and dissolving the secret treaties by imperialist powers which had promised even Constantinople to the Russian Empire.<sup>330</sup> And in 1920, the Bolsheviks issued the Karakhan Manifesto and relinquished all rights to extraterritoriality and to Chinese territory taken by the Tsar.<sup>331</sup> In 1921 the Bolsheviks also negotiated a friendship treaty with Iran, which similarly renounced extraterritorial privileges, canceled debts, removed Soviet troops, and returned all Russian owned properties to Iran, helping to oust the British.<sup>332</sup> Within the lands of the former Russian empire

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<sup>327</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 156

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid*, 19-20, 156

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, 156, Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!* 15-16, and Farooqui, “The October Revolution and the National Movement in India” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 47

<sup>330</sup> V. I. Lenin, “Report on Peace,” *Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies Collected Works*, Volume 26, accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/oct/25-26/26b.htm>, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 156

<sup>331</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 166, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11, 42, 87, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 23

<sup>332</sup> Ali Gholi Khan Mochaverol-Memalek, O. V. Tchitcherin, and L. M. Karakhan, “Treaty of Friendship Between Persia and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Signed at Moscow, February 26, 1921,” Secretariat of the League of Nations trans., (Feb. 21, 1921), <http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/LNTSer/1922/69.html>, and Aomar Boum and Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *A Concise History of the Middle East*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2016), 213, and George E. Kirk, *A Short History of the Middle East, From the Rise of Islam to Modern Times*, (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1964), 252

too, vast stretches of land which had been seized by Russian settlers were returned to local Muslim peasants thanks to forceful intervention by the Bolsheviks, and thousands of Europeans deported from Central Asia for *kolinizatorstvo* (settlerism).<sup>333</sup> Beginning in 1922 the Comintern provided support for Algerian independence through the Communist Party of France.<sup>334</sup> Indeed, the survival of the Armenian nation to this day may not have been were it not for the intervention of the Red Army in the genocide committed by Enver Pasha and the creation of the Armenian SSR in 1920.<sup>335</sup>

The Soviets also had a historic role of no minor significance in its support for Kemal Ataturk's struggle against imperialism and the establishment of Turkish independence, as well as his program of reforms, returning the provinces of Kars and Ardahan annexed by the Tsars, though they would quickly be betrayed by Turkey.<sup>336</sup> The so-called "Socialist King," Amanullah Khan, "Afghanistan's Kemal Ataturk," impressed by Turkish reforms and the October Revolution, also looked to the Bolsheviks for support, who would immediately recognise Afghan independence, and support it not just in rhetoric but in deeds, with Lenin securing one million gold rubles in addition to military equipment and ammunition for Afghanistan to establish a modern army even as the Soviet economy was in shambles and the Bolsheviks faced multiple invading forces.<sup>337</sup> From the very first moment of its independence and throughout its history,

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<sup>333</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 36, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 9, 115-116

<sup>334</sup> Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, "Report attached to 'Development of Relations with Socialist Countries since March 19, 1961,'" (March 19, 1961), Pierre Asselin and Paulina Kostrzewski trans. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121589>

<sup>335</sup> Benjamin A. Valentine, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*, (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 166

<sup>336</sup> Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 38, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 79, Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 11, 42, 87, Laqueur, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, 27-28, and Kirk, *A Short History of the Middle East, From the Rise of Islam to Modern Times*, 252

<sup>337</sup> Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihad and Modernity*, (London: Verso, 2002), 203, Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World, 1917-1958*, 101, Phillip Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, (New York: International Publishers, 2001), preface, 46, Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire,*

consistent Soviet military and economic assistance had been relied on to guarantee this independence in practice.<sup>338</sup> Afghanistan was able to achieve victory in 1919 against the modern and experienced British forces in no small part also due to the uprising in their rear in India, the exiled provisional government of which had been in regular contact with Petrograd since 1918 through the assistance of Amanullah.<sup>339</sup> From 1919 through the 1920s the Soviets would assist in the construction of many economic infrastructure projects, including power plants, water resources, transport, and communications, training thousands of Afghan students at Soviet universities and technical schools, as well as helping Afghanistan survive the worst of the Great Depression by extending highly favourable commercial relations in 1932.<sup>340</sup> Even as the political situation in Afghanistan changed throughout the 20th century, Soviet aid remained consistent over coming decades, and had never been conditional on the maintenance of a particular social or economic system, as would be emphasised in the 1931 Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression.<sup>341</sup> When Pakistan closed its borders to Afghanistan in 1955, the Soviets would allow Afghans to trade their products duty-free to the USSR.<sup>342</sup>

Inside the USSR itself, attempts to ensure national equality had resulted in the creation of a genuine federation with the national rights to self-determination, and which was neither an administrative facade nor a matter of expediency according to Jeremy Smith, Bahman Azad, R.

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*and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 104, and Khalid, "Nationalizing the Revolution in Central Asia, The Transformation of Jadidism 1917-1920," in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 154

<sup>338</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 238, and Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, "Afghanistan: Dependence on Soviet Economic and Military Aid," General CIA Records, (January, 1973), accessed via Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T00875R001700050003-2.pdf>

<sup>339</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 32-33, and Farooqui, "The October Revolution and the National Movement in India" in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 45

<sup>340</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 46-47, 238

<sup>341</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, "Afghanistan: Dependence on Soviet Economic and Military Aid," and Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 47

<sup>342</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 47

Tuzmuhamedov and others, a point which liberal scholars do not accept, contemptuously referring to the union as a “pseudo-federation which eliminated political sovereignty,” albeit an “ostentatious” fake.<sup>343</sup> The national-territorial delimitation and consolidation of Soviet republics as an expression of the right to self-determination took place democratically and at the initiative of local people themselves, which in Central Asia included through the Fifth All-Bukhara and All-Khorezm congresses of people’s representatives, and of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as in keeping with the resolutions passed by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva, ultimately approved by the USSR’s Central Executive Committee.<sup>344</sup> Khalid notes that Moscow played almost no part in this, and that national delimitation was a triumph for the political achievement of indigenous Central Asians, who carried and reshaped the debate around this question in crucial ways.<sup>345</sup> Tania Raffass in her book on Soviet federalism, in dispelling a common mythology of consensual origins of various Western federations like the US and Canada, notes that the apparently violent beginnings of the USSR in the Civil War fail to set it apart.<sup>346</sup>

While this period represented a time in which national cultures flourished, the late 1930s in the leadup to the war are described by many liberal and Cold War era scholars including Suny, Kivelson, Benedict Anderson and others as a period of Russification and a reversal of national

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<sup>343</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 69, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 36, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 15, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 24, 132, 206, Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, “On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie*, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 290, Martin, “The Affirmative Action Empire - The Highest Form of Imperialism,” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 75

<sup>344</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 86-97, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 272-277

<sup>345</sup> Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 272

<sup>346</sup> Tania Raffass, *The Soviet Union - Federation or Empire?* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5

rights.<sup>347</sup> Smith, Azad, and others however provide substantial and highly detailed evidence to the contrary, with even Martin and Suny rejecting suggestions that the 1930s could be referred to as “Russification.”<sup>348</sup> Rather, elements of Russocentric propaganda which had been introduced as a result of desperate efforts to mobilize the population *by any means* in the leadup to the war created the explicitly false impression of Russification which would ironically be used against Stalin by his opponents and anti-communist historians for years to come.<sup>349</sup> While formal rights and civil liberties, that is, the existence of such rights on paper is not enough to guarantee said rights - as Lenin argued, they are hemmed in by the realities of class inequality and cannot be substantiated - those laid out in the astoundingly progressive Soviet constitutions of 1918 and of 1936 existed *in practice*, as B. T. Ranadive, R. Tuzmuhamedov, and Walter Rodney compellingly demonstrate, including the right to secession - the ultimate right of self-determination, which had existed since the October Revolution.<sup>350</sup>

Consider the significance of the Soviet bicameral parliamentary system which, in contrast to Canada’s unelected senate which negates suffrage, provided a second house elected on the basis of equitable representation for all constituent nationalities - “the Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to Union and Autonomous Republics,

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<sup>347</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 192, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 56, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 296-297, 307, and Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 46

<sup>348</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, ix, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 192, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 192

<sup>349</sup> Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 13, 15, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 141

<sup>350</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 9, V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution, The State and Revolution, The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State*, (Bolton ON: The Leftist Public Domain Project, 2019), 71, Russian Soviet Federated Republic, *1918 Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Republic*, (July 10, 1918), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/constitution/1918/>, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 130-139, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 156-157, 165, and Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 80

Autonomous Regions and national areas on the basis of twenty-five deputies from each Union Republic, eleven deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each national area” - a system which if applied in Canada would be overwhelmingly Indigenous.<sup>351</sup> The rights of the republics were recognised in international law, including by specialists even from the imperialist states.<sup>352</sup> Despite having reputations as multinational federations, neither Switzerland nor Canada include representation for constituent nations within their central governments.<sup>353</sup> Neither has the protection of ethnic minorities or socio-economic equalisation been a concern to these countries, nor the founders of the American federal state.<sup>354</sup> That said, while republics remained constituents of the federation with autonomy within that structure, and recipients of the many benefits that came with it, that is not to say they were not subject to the authority of the central government - “there could no half-in and half-out,” as Rodney puts it, and indeed, the vast majority of Soviet citizens *wanted* a strong central government to protect them, especially after the tumultuous years of WWI, the Russo-Polish War, the Civil War, and historically justified fears of another imperialist invasion.<sup>355</sup>

In the ‘internal’ East, the Bolsheviks implemented the policies of *коренизация* (indigenisation) and historically unprecedented programs of affirmative action, which even liberal scholars and critics of the USSR like Suny, Kivelson, Terry Martin and others are forced

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<sup>351</sup> J.V. Stalin, “Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,” (1936), *Works*, Vol. 14, (London: Red Star Press Ltd., 1978), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1936/12/05.htm>, Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 129, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 295

<sup>352</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 132-133

<sup>353</sup> Raffass, *The Soviet Union - Federation or Empire?* 3

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid*, 3

<sup>355</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 165, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 101, Stephen Velychenko, *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine, A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917-1922*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 262, and Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 71-72

to admit were immensely successful in increasing racial and gender equality, improving education and literacy, stimulating and funding the mass production of national literature and culture, and providing a sound economic basis for this with industrial development and vastly improved healthcare for minorities in European Russia and in the republics.<sup>356</sup> Not only Lenin or Marxist classics, but literature of all kinds was translated into different languages, and from other languages into Russian.<sup>357</sup> While almost no schools had existed in local languages under the Tsar, just ten years after the October Revolution, over 90% of children were receiving education in their own languages, and learned national histories of Shamil, Timur, and others who had resisted Russian colonial expansion.<sup>358</sup> Russian was taught as a lingua franca, and because being a major world language, provided access to far more literary and scientific publications than could ever be translated, despite the massive efforts to do this throughout Soviet history, a history with no evidence whatsoever at any point to suggest a tendency for native languages to be replaced by Russian - in sharp contrast to Canada and the United States' imposition of English at the expense of Indigenous languages, or even European languages like French or Spanish.<sup>359</sup> Indeed, access to the Russian language had been a demand of minorities in the Russian Empire in order to expand their opportunities and integration into the wider world, while only forced implantation

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<sup>356</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 288, 309, Vic George and Nick Manning, *Socialism, Social Welfare, and the Soviet Union*, (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 69-70, Martin, "The Affirmative Action Empire - The Highest Form of Imperialism," in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 67, 78, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 165, Schafer "Local Politics and the Birth of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1917-1919," in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 181, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 191-192, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 123, Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 14, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 151-152, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 9-10

<sup>357</sup> Bhashti et al, *The East Was Read: Socialist Culture in the Third World*, 9-10, and Martin, "The Affirmative Action Empire - The Highest Form of Imperialism," in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 67

<sup>358</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 92-93

<sup>359</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 54-55, 67

of language was opposed, and this demand continued to be voiced by educators from the non-Russian republics in the USSR in the 1930s.<sup>360</sup>

In contrast to capitalist countries like the United States where more money is spent per student in wealthy, majority white areas, and educational costs were extremely prohibitive, especially to systematically impoverished minorities, the USSR allocated resources proportional to the number of students, and all forms of education were provided for free.<sup>361</sup> In the period from 1914-1979, the number of students in European Russia increased proportionally by 3.6 times, while in Uzbekistan, over 200 times, and Tajikistan, where lack of education was most severe, this number increased by a staggering 2000 times.<sup>362</sup> Prior to the Revolution, there was not a single higher educational institution in Central Asia, but by 1966, there were 55, and a greater percentage of students than in the UK, France, or Germany.<sup>363</sup>

These figures were even more significant for women, who in much of Tsarist Central Asia had not been allowed to leave the innermost confinement of their homes called the *ichkari* without thick horse hair coverings, and only a handful of whom ever received educations of any kind, but who in the USSR would increasingly play leading roles as engineers, doctors, scientists, researchers, university instructors, and in government administration at all levels.<sup>364</sup> Soviet affirmative action and mass literacy campaigns would inspire Nehru during his 1927 visit and play a major role in India's own affirmative action program years later, which while impressive, did not live up to the Soviet example.<sup>365</sup> It is altogether inexplicable that Fitzpatrick

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<sup>360</sup> Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 13-14, and Peter A. Blitztein, "Nation-Building or Russification? Obligatory Russian Instruction in the Non-Russian School, 1938-1953," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 254

<sup>361</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 46-50

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, 46

<sup>363</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 148-149

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid*, 146, 156-157

<sup>365</sup> Bhashti et al, *The East Was Read: Socialist Culture in the Third World*, 9-10, 13, Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 89-90, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 14

suggests that this period in Soviet educational development, a period she and others refer to as “The Great Retreat” - particularly the 1930s when greater numbers of students than ever were enrolled, (especially women,) textbooks and curricula becoming more standardized, school uniforms introduced, the learning of local languages and history made compulsory, and post-secondary admissions based on academic merit rather than political allegiance or wealth - resembled Tsarist era oppression, when illiteracy was nearly universal, what few schools which could be found were frequently parochial, and open only to Russian settlers and a handful of local elites.<sup>366</sup>

In terms of healthcare, what would become the five Asian republics had a per capita ratio of hospital beds of 2:10,000 in 1913, and most of these were reserved for European immigrants and officials.<sup>367</sup> By 1968, this number was 99.8:10,000, and medical care was not only free, and widely accessible even in remote areas, but of extremely high quality and uniformity.<sup>368</sup> In 1961, the UN Economic Commission for Europe noted that medical care in Soviet Central Asia had improved so tremendously that comparisons with neighbouring Asian countries had become irrelevant, and that even the most backwards republic, Tajikistan, now compared favourably with Western European countries.<sup>369</sup> In 1913, Kirgizia had just 0.2 doctors per 10,000 of the population, but by 1971 this number would reach 43.9, while corresponding data for 1968 only a few years earlier shows Britain could claim a mere 15.2, and the U.S., despite its immense wealth, with its privatized and grossly inequitable system, just 18.7 - though this is an average,

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<sup>366</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 158-160, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 92-93, Blitstein, “Nation-Building or Russification? Obligatory Russian Instruction in the Non-Russian School, 1938-1953,” in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 253-254, 258, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 46, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 65, 148, 157, 159, George and Manning, *Socialism, Social Welfare, and the Soviet Union*, 75-76 and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 156

<sup>367</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 44

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid*, 44-45

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid*, 46-47, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 147-148

and does not adequately reflect the far worse conditions in states and colonial territories where poorer ethnic minorities suffer disproportionately, and face serious economic obstacles to accessing healthcare.<sup>370</sup> Pakistan and India respectively had only 1.7 and 2.2.<sup>371</sup> In 1900, the infant mortality rate in Tsarist Central Asia was 333 deaths per 1000, while by 1960 this number would be down to just 35, almost on par with West Germany's 34, and better than Austria's 38.<sup>372</sup> Between 1928-1934, the percentage of women working as Soviet doctors leapt from 52% to 75%.<sup>373</sup>

The rising living standards and rapid industrialization and agricultural development of the Asian republics was largely subsidised by the European parts of the USSR, particularly Russia, and represented a significant net gain of capital to these republics.<sup>374</sup> Soviet Asia, which had been desperately poor under the Tsar, was quickly brought up to Southern European standards of living, in stark contrast to the stagnation and inequality in comparable areas in Central Asia and the Middle East.<sup>375</sup> While Northrop claims that Soviet attention given to improved sanitary conditions, healthcare, reduced mortality rates, women's equality, and the elimination of diseases which plagued Central Asia was merely "rhetoric" used to justify a distinctly colonial project in a self-interested pursuit of power, the undeniable increase in living standards, especially when compared with other Third World countries which had remained colonies or neo-colonies, tells a

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<sup>370</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 151-152, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 45

<sup>371</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 152

<sup>372</sup> Albert Szymanski, "On the Uses of Disinformation to Legitimize the Revival of the Cold War: Health in the U.S.S.R.," *International Journal of Health Services*, Volume 12, No. 3, (Amityville NY: Baywood Publishing Co. Inc., 1982), 485

<sup>373</sup> George and Manning, *Socialism, Social Welfare, and the Soviet Union*, 110

<sup>374</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 42-43, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 132, 138, and Raffass, *The Soviet Union - Federation or Empire?* 206

<sup>375</sup> Szymanski, "On the Uses of Disinformation to Legitimize the Revival of the Cold War: Health in the U.S.S.R.," 483, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 37-43

story which cannot easily be reconciled with Northrop's accusations.<sup>376</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, himself a Central Asian national, fiercely rejects comparisons with European colonial empires, as does Khalid, arguing that the Bolsheviks' cultural agenda, mass education in indigenous languages, fight against illiteracy, land reform, efforts in public health, and promotion of political mobilisation and organisation (especially of marginalised groups), sets them clearly apart.<sup>377</sup> It is interesting to note that Northrop refers to rule by the Tsars on the other hand (almost nostalgically!) as far less "intrusive," and only "allegedly" exploitative, while the Bolsheviks' promotion of science and medicine, we are told, amounted to colonialism and "cultural rape."<sup>378</sup> Gerhard Simon, who while admitting that economic equalisation did in fact occur, argues unconvincingly that this was simply an accidental side effect of resource development, though fails to explain why resource development has not increased literacy or led to reduced poverty and inequality in other imperialist and colonial settings.<sup>379</sup> Even if one attempts to advance claims that Soviet internationalism was accidental or performative, it is impossible to argue that its positive effects on people's lives were not profound, both domestically and abroad.<sup>380</sup> That said, evidence available today strongly indicates that Soviet leaders believed in the authenticity of their anti-imperialist efforts in Central Asia and elsewhere.<sup>381</sup>

The Soviet Union had demonstrated militant anti-racism since its earliest days, and by the end of the Interwar period, Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung argue that they had every reason to congratulate themselves on their well-documented commitment to the anti-racist and

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<sup>376</sup> Northrop, "Nationalizing Backwardness, Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 191-213, and

<sup>377</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 151-152, and Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*, 9-10

<sup>378</sup> Northrop, "Nationalizing Backwardness, Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity," in Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 202, 205-206

<sup>379</sup> Gerhard Simon quoted in Martin, "The Affirmative Action Empire - The Highest Form of Imperialism," in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 75

<sup>380</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 197

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid*, 205

anti-colonial struggles.<sup>382</sup> While individual remnants and examples of racism, including antisemitism, obviously remained, and some suggest briefly increased in the leadup to the war, many scholars and witnesses argue that the systemic racism and national oppression which characterized the Russian Empire had been eliminated, and that there is no evidence to indicate that racist attitudes were ever sanctioned by the Soviet state or its leaders, who made significant efforts to prevent it, and to punish those who engaged in it.<sup>383</sup> Jewish districts existed throughout Southern Russia, Ukraine, and Crimea, and in 1928 the Soviet government created Birobidzhan as an autonomous Jewish Republic to foster Jewish culture and language in the Eastern RSFSR.<sup>384</sup> Despite highly dubious references by western liberal scholars to Stalin's "innate antisemitism" - in the same breath no less as expressions of sympathy for Stepan Bandera and the 'Forest Brothers' - under his leadership, Jews would be given evacuation priority during WWII, such that virtually all of the 250,000 Polish Jews that survived the Holocaust did so by fleeing to the USSR.<sup>385</sup>

Nehru would attest in the 1940s that the Russian people were almost completely devoid of racialism, a view strongly supported by accounts from Harry Haywood.<sup>386</sup> Haywood, who spent time living in the USSR, in his extensive autobiographical account could recall only a single instance of racism from a Soviet citizen, who upon boarding a streetcar, drunk, muttered

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<sup>382</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 229, 234, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 2, 22, and Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 309

<sup>383</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 2, 22, B. T. Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 61, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 143, Grover Furr, *Blood Lies*, (New York: Red Star Publishers, 2014,) 485-524, Felix Chuev, and V.M. Molotov, *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, (Chicago: Terra Publishing Center, 1991), 192, and Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 135

<sup>384</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 89

<sup>385</sup> Furr, *Blood Lies*, 485-524, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 144, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 318, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 90

<sup>386</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 612

something about “black devils in our country.”<sup>387</sup> Upon hearing the remark, Soviet citizens aboard the streetcar immediately seized the man, called for the driver to stop the car, and proceeded with a citizen’s arrest, yelling, “how dare you, you scum, insult people who are the guests of our country!”<sup>388</sup> Famed civil rights activist and pan-African scholar W. E. B. Du Bois asserts that it was Stalin “who first set Russia on the road to conquer race prejudice.”<sup>389</sup>

Throughout the interwar years, people of colour were protected by formal and informal anti-racist measures in the USSR, and fared far better there than in the segregated United States or in European colonies.<sup>390</sup> Du Bois’ 1926 visit had left him in awe, stating he had never felt prouder to be black.<sup>391</sup> Paul Robeson also visited the USSR during this period, and even after some of his friends were killed in purges, categorically refused to budge from his position that the existence of the Soviet Union “has given us Negroes the chance of achieving our complete liberation within our own time, within this generation.”<sup>392</sup> Many other black civil rights and anti-racist leaders such as the poet Langston Hughs and activist/scholar George Padmore would also find inspiration in the Soviet Union and bring their experiences to the struggle for racial equality, with Padmore recognising in the Soviet Union the only country that “has no imperialist aims and supports the revolutionary liberation movements of the workers and toiling peasants of

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<sup>387</sup> Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 135-136

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid*, 135-136

<sup>389</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, “On Stalin,” *National Guardian*, (1953), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/biographies/1953/03/16.htm>

<sup>390</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 241, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 45-49, Stalin, “Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,” and Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 135

<sup>391</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 231

<sup>392</sup> Paul Robeson quoted in Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 231-232

all countries as well as the emancipatory struggles of the Negro toiling masses for self-determination.”<sup>393</sup>

Among the most remarkable accounts is another anecdote from Haywood, who was living in Stalingrad in 1930, writing that “just before my departure, an incident occurred that forcibly brought home to me the contrast between the socialist world that I was leaving and the racist world that I was about to reenter.”<sup>394</sup> 350 highly skilled white American workers had been brought in to assist with tractor production, when introduced to their ranks was Robert Robinson, a native of Jamaica and a naturalized U.S. citizen brought to the USSR to instruct Soviet workers in tool grinding, where he was swiftly insulted and physically attacked.<sup>395</sup> The event was widely publicised, and factory workers throughout the country called meetings, where their slogan became “American technique yes! American race prejudice no!”<sup>396</sup> The culprits were arrested immediately, not for assault and battery but for the far more serious crime of white chauvinism, and subjected to a mass public trial with factory delegates from across the country.<sup>397</sup> The white technicians were sentenced to two years’ imprisonment, but had their sentences commuted to deportation to the United States, even despite the USSR’s dire need of technical assistance and labour. Robinson later became a Soviet citizen, engineer, and deputy to the Moscow Soviet.<sup>398</sup>

The enormous cleavage between the views of colonised peoples and western scholars like Snyder, Suny, and Martin, that argue the USSR shared colonial or imperial features with the Russian Empire or Third Reich cannot be ignored, and should leave little doubt as to where the truth lies.

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<sup>393</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 231 and George Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, (London, 1931) Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1931/negro-toilers/index.htm>

<sup>394</sup> Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 187

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid*, 187

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid*, 187

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid*, 187

<sup>398</sup> Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 187

In summary, it must be made clear that Soviet policies during the Interwar years are consistent with proletarian internationalism, and do not remotely resemble policies typical of an imperialist or colonial relationship, and that these policies were of immense inspirational, theoretical, and material benefit to minorities, colonized peoples, and women living inside and outside the USSR, providing hitherto unknown opportunities, rights, and standards of living. The significance in particular of the discussions between Lenin and Roy must not be understated in their significance for the advancement of anti-colonial nationalisms and theoretical analyses of the Soviet-colonial dialectic that would evolve within intellectual history over the coming decades. Finally, that the Soviet Union occupied a unique position economically, politically, and geographically, which manifested in its special place in the global alliance of anti-imperialist forces as the world's first socialist state, but also its duality as both subject and object of anti-colonial struggles through its administrative category of "the East."

**Chapter 3**  
**The Social-Imperialists Part II**  
**Colonial Fascism: Its Origins and Trajectory**

Continuing with the themes and goals laid out in previous chapters, there are several important questions which must be addressed in regard to the development of the dynamics and form of imperialism, and the role played by the Soviet Union in combating it. This chapter begins with an examination of the nature and origins of fascism, with special attention given to the perspectives of prominent anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, pan-African, and Marxist scholars both during this period and the present, and draws attention to parallels between these positions with those taken by Soviet leaders and theoreticians, as well as the serious deficiencies in liberal western narratives which contrast markedly with the former. By reorienting to a view from the colonies, this work examines claims by Nehru and others that fascism differs from other imperialisms (ie. British, French, American, etc.) only by degree, with Nazi fascism inheriting and radicalising the language and practices of colonial exploitation and oppression which the communists consistently fought.<sup>399</sup> The decidedly abstract concept of ‘totalitarianism’ commonly used to draw correlations between communist and fascist practices by revisionist liberal and social democratic historians will necessarily be liquidated in a serious examination of this subject. Having established that fascism does not represent a fundamental break with colonial and imperialist traditions, and that abstract concepts like ‘freedom,’ ‘despotism,’ and ‘violence’ do not provide a clear definition of what fascism is, it is necessary to elaborate further on the details which make fascism distinct. For example, the Tsarist Empire was a right-wing dictatorship, and like other colonial empires, utilized violent racist and discriminatory practices

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<sup>399</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 467, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 298, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 103-105

outlined in previous chapters of this work - so what separates it from fascism?<sup>400</sup> The answer to this must be sought in fascism's class basis, the system of relations in which it develops, and the objective role performed by it within a specific stage of capitalist development and decay.<sup>401</sup> Elaborating on this will also help to explain how fascism was able to take state power in the Third Reich. In so doing, its irreconcilability with socialism will become clearer, and also the reasons for which this defeat must not be overestimated as final and confined strictly to *historical* study, but must necessarily inform contemporary political observations and the solutions we seek to build a peaceful society based on principles of justice and equality. That substantial differences exist in scholarship around interpretations of Stalin between western liberal and non-western sources must also be explored, as well as the colonial terminology used to describe him and the Bolsheviks, as this chapter and the following will demonstrate that the question of Stalin remains of greater pertinence and relevance ideologically to the present state of colonial and neo-colonial imperialist relationships globally than might at first be surmised.<sup>402</sup> Next, this work proceeds to illuminate the historic significance of the Soviet Union's defeat of the Axis powers in weakening imperialism, and for the second time in the 20th century, creating the conditions for a new global balance of class forces, thereby laying the foundations for the massive decolonisation wave of the post-war years.<sup>403</sup> Finally, we must examine the rehabilitation of the logic and language of imperialism immediately following, and indeed, even before the war's end, as well as the legacy of fascism as taken up by the remaining imperialist

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<sup>400</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 96

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid*, 96

<sup>402</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 8-11

<sup>403</sup> B. T. Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al., *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 63-64, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 166

powers - most notably the United States - and its consequences for colonised and semi-colonised peoples.<sup>404</sup>

In the previous chapters it has already been demonstrated that the Soviet Union in the Interwar period had approached the question of national minorities and relationships with colonised and semi-colonised peoples in a way that decisively broke with the imperialist tradition of the Russian Empire and other colonising powers, offered new forms of international relations which rejected imperial claims and racist policies, and were consistent with Lenin's conception of proletarian internationalism.<sup>405</sup> Lenin published and renounced the 'secret treaties' during WWI precisely because they could afford to be open in their dealings - there was nothing to hide, in contrast to the imperialist powers.<sup>406</sup> The historical record of the Soviet Union is altogether clear, having *never* relied on colonialism in *any* form, actively combatting racism, treating Mussolini's fascists with the utmost contempt, and by the 1930s being the first to launch an attack against imperialist war, confronting fascism directly in Spain while the imperialist powers and powerful corporate interests tacitly or openly supported General Franco.<sup>407</sup> The Soviet Union had from its beginnings recognised that colonialism and fascism shared their objective material foundations in the advanced stages of festering and gangrenous capitalist decay, and that through racism they shared an ideological unity.<sup>408</sup>

Inside its borders, the need to rebuild following WWI, the Civil War, the Pilsudski campaign, immense hostility and economic blockades, and the justified anticipation of another

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<sup>404</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 108, and Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 599

<sup>405</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung eds., *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 10, and Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 62, 142

<sup>406</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 104-105

<sup>407</sup> Ibid, 104-105, Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 107, Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 599, Harry Haywood, *A Black Communist in the Freedom Struggle: The Life of Harry Haywood*, 228, J.V. Stalin, "Concerning the International Situation," *Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1924, accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1924/09/20.htm>, and Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 13

<sup>408</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 104

imperialist invasion did however lead to a number of undesirable consequences, though far from to the extent to which they are often characterised in dominant liberal narratives.<sup>409</sup> Fitzpatrick blatantly denies history by arguing that Soviet fears were ungrounded before Hitler's ascension.<sup>410</sup> Many of the accusations laid against Stalin and the Soviet Union are wildly inflated, or in some cases unsubstantiated altogether, while the well documented and historically unprecedented improvements to standards of living during Stalin's time are ignored or denied - monumental achievements which for many outside the west far outweigh the mistakes.<sup>411</sup> A credible analysis is one which acknowledges both aspects.<sup>412</sup> Claims like Timothy Snyder's that mistakes and excesses made Soviet socialism under Stalin's leadership comparable in any way to fascism, its polar opposite, are patently false, a "crude propaganda device relying on extreme subjectivism" in Rodney's words.<sup>413</sup>

Frequently the consequences of socialism under siege - such as the urgent pace of industrialisation and collectivisation, the repression of kulaks, ethno-nationalists, and other reactionaries, the unintended growth of the cult of personality,<sup>414</sup> and the resettlement of entire

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<sup>409</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 181-184, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 57, and Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 101, 149

<sup>410</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 162

<sup>411</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 181, 183-184, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 78-85, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 225-226, 241-248, Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 70, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 2, 33, and Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959)

<sup>412</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 250-251, and Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

<sup>413</sup> Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, x, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View from the Third World*, 182-183

<sup>414</sup> Stalin consistently opposed the cult of personality, as Lenin had, as can be clearly observed in comments made between 1926-1946 in the following writings: J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 8, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), 182, J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 10, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), 177, J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 12, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), 146, 218, J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 13, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), 20, 107-109, 113, 241, 267, 327, and J.V. Stalin, "Letter of Reply to Col. Rasin," (Feb. 23, 1946), *Bolshevik*, No. 3, (Feb. 1947), in United States Dept. Of State, Division of

peoples who had provided disproportionate numbers of Nazi collaborators - are attributed to Stalin alone, but such circumstances and reactions to them do not exist in a vacuum.<sup>415</sup> In reality, capitalist aggression has played the decisive role in the development of all historical models of socialism throughout their construction, among other objective conditions, and this is certainly the case with the USSR.<sup>416</sup> Obsession with individuals is not consistent with a realistic or scholarly assessment of history, and to divorce the repressive measures that took place in Stalin's time from the circumstances they were formulated under, while serving various political aims quite well, does not lead to a better understanding of history, or even for that matter of Stalin as an individual.<sup>417</sup> The conventional social sciences under capitalism have demonstrated a consistent dedication to avoiding any interpretation which views power in its class dimensions, be that to excuse the ruling classes from culpability (which they label as a non-existent "conspiracy,") or to write off the working class, who they contemptuously dismiss as insignificant, and incapable of playing a role in shaping history, reverting instead to outdated and hyper-individualist Rankean "great man" theories which by no coincidence coincide with the

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Research for USSR and Eastern Europe, *Soviet World Outlook: A Handbook of Communist Statements*, (1952), 65, [https://books.google.ca/books?id=n8oEAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=stalin+answer+to+comrade+razin+embarrassing+to+read&source=bl&ots=dWsl7P8hMx&sig=ACfU3U05iGRIJ2W1Onpc8AH-0kYsW0hCzg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewicgeKXrZjzAhVbJTQIHV\\_DA6MQ6AF6BAgCEAM#v=onepage&q=embarrassing%20to%20read&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=n8oEAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=stalin+answer+to+comrade+razin+embarrassing+to+read&source=bl&ots=dWsl7P8hMx&sig=ACfU3U05iGRIJ2W1Onpc8AH-0kYsW0hCzg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewicgeKXrZjzAhVbJTQIHV_DA6MQ6AF6BAgCEAM#v=onepage&q=embarrassing%20to%20read&f=false). These writings and many other examples are cited by Grover Furr in his book, *Khrushchev Lied*, (Erythros Press, 2014), 7-11.

<sup>415</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 71, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 41, 72

<sup>416</sup> Sitaram Yechury, "Economy: Reforms for Restoration of Capitalism," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 141, Bahman Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, (New York: International Publishers, 2000), 72, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 125, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 305, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 176, 181-182, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 57, 74, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 52-53, Albert Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, (London: Zed Press, 1979), 31, and Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

<sup>417</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 106, 109, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 52-53, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View from the Third World*, 182-183

standpoint of the ruling classes.<sup>418</sup> This is not a problem unique to bourgeois historiography however, but one which at times even Soviet historians have demonstrated, while making efforts to correct this.<sup>419</sup> Rather, as C. L. R. James argues, great men are merely the instruments and personification of social forces, and that while “great men make history... only such history as it is possible for them to make”<sup>420</sup> Similarly, Bukharin writes that “the individual is a collection of concentrated social influences, united in a small unit,” and that their will is not free, their “volition [is] determined by external conditions.”<sup>421</sup> For Marx and Engels, the idea of the isolated individual is an abstract concept altogether for reasons they expound on at length, as does Lenin.<sup>422</sup> Frantz Fanon meanwhile states that individualism is a bourgeois value with “nothing in common with the real life struggle of the colonised.”<sup>423</sup> Hitler in contrast was repulsed by the “democratic mass idea” expressed in Marxism, and instead insisted “that every idea and every achievement is the result of one man’s creative force;” of the “individual personality.”<sup>424</sup>

Too often psychopolitical theories of history have attempted to attribute the events of WWII to the conscious and subconscious thoughts of its individual leaders, and in failing to

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<sup>418</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 134-137, 141-142, 150, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 12, 172, Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 91, and Nikolai Bukharin, “Historical Materialism, A System of Sociology,” *Historical Materialism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1925), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/bukharin/works/1921/histmat/index.htm>

<sup>419</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution: A View from the Third World*, 178-180

<sup>420</sup> C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins, Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1989), x

<sup>421</sup> Bukharin, “Historical Materialism, A System of Sociology”

<sup>422</sup> Karl Marx, “Theses On Feuerbach,” *The German Ideology*, Cyril Smith trans., (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1938), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/index.htm>, Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring, Herr Eugen Dühring’s Revolution in Science*, Emile Burns trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1947), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1877/anti-duhring/>, Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, S.W. Ryazanskaya trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/index.htm> and V.I. Lenin, “On the Question of Dialectics,” (1915), *Collected Works*, vol. 38, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1915/misc/x02.htm>

<sup>423</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Constance Farrington trans., (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), 11

<sup>424</sup> Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, quoted in Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, 41

analyse the broad class forces which these leaders represented, it is no exaggeration to say, do a dangerous disservice to the future of peace and equality, let alone historical truth.<sup>425</sup> Parenti argues that despite the large funding provided for this growing school of pseudo-historical study, such theories rely most heavily on public ignorance, “depoliticisation” of historical events, and ultimately the avoidance of reality.<sup>426</sup> What is reflected in the conclusions of these theories is not so much the psychology of the political actor, but the politics of the historian-psychologist.<sup>427</sup> Even if Freudian psychopolitical analyses could be considered a legitimate form of historical investigation, such analyses have never been applied equally even in actual clinical psychiatric settings for which such methods were intended, as Fanon demonstrates.<sup>428</sup> Under such circumstances, the clinical psychiatrist typically gives priority to the situation that triggered the disorder - but not so with the colonized subject, in whom we find an “ungovernable, rebellious *Nature*, [emphasis added],” which can rarely be cured.<sup>429</sup> Psychoanalysis was simply a refined replacement for racism, explains Aimé Césaire, in which revolt became a “neurotic, collective madness.”<sup>430</sup>

It is easy to understand how neatly then this psychopathological paradigm relying on such ‘science’ as employed by, and in the interests of the ruling classes in the colonies, meshed with Hitler’s ethnologico-racial paradigm.<sup>431</sup> Goebbels considered the Jews the “chief carriers of the Bolshevik infection,” “infection” being the same term used by Hoover for the Bolsheviks in 1922.<sup>432</sup> For Hitler, “inferior races” were those fostering “insane ideas of equality,” the origins of

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<sup>425</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 183-184

<sup>426</sup> Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 241, 245

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid*, 246

<sup>428</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 184, and Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Constance Farrington trans., 183

<sup>429</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. 181-182

<sup>430</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Joan Pinkham trans., (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 59- 61

<sup>431</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 190, 308

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid*, 190

which could be sought in the Jewish/Bolshevik virus, in the Jewish “germ of subversion” which caused revolt in the colonies, and which “provoked the revolt of the weak against the strong.”<sup>433</sup>

The solution then would be no less clinical, with Jews to be quarantined within a ghetto safely away from Europe, which soon developed towards complete extermination altogether.<sup>434</sup>

Theories of disease as a symptom of racial degeneration and the importance of maintaining “uncontaminated” racial pedigree for the health of the social body can be found throughout the foundations of colonial-liberal philosophy from Burke to De Tocqueville to Locke, and more, often in the justification of slavery and inequality - it was simply the emphasis on Jews (and revolutionaries) which became crystalised later on as the separation of colony and metropolis became more difficult to maintain, precisely why American liberalism had emphasised racial rather than spatial delineation.<sup>435</sup> This language was identical to that of Churchill, who referred to Lenin as a “contagion,” as “a typhus or cholera,” or Henry Ford, who gladly loaned money to the Nazis, seeing no coincidence in the Bolsheviks’ protection of Jews, as for him the Russian revolution had been neither political nor economic, but racial - manifestly Jewish.<sup>436</sup> Losurdo explains that Judeo-Bolshevism and the ethnicisation of the revolutionary virus was not Hitler’s invention, but that in fact one could argue the opposite - that this tradition had invented him.<sup>437</sup> Many authoritative western liberal historians cannot begin to comprehend the origins of Hitler’s ‘theory’ of Judeo-Bolshevism, or for that matter racism at all, which they view as an irrational

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<sup>433</sup> Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, Vol. 12:2, (Leiden: 2004), 30, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 196

<sup>434</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 195, 197, and Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 237

<sup>435</sup> Peter Holquist, “To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate, Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia,” in Suny and Martin eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 111-112, 127-128, and Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 1-7, 37, 42-45, 50, 54-56, 265

<sup>436</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 195, and Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 13

<sup>437</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 174, 277

output of an otherwise rational system.<sup>438</sup> This is both lazy and ahistorical, as clearly, while these ideas have evolved over time to fit various circumstances, they have consistently served to justify despecification and exclusion from liberal values and freedoms proclaimed as universal but in practice applied selectively, and always hemmed in by the realities of class inequality.<sup>439</sup> Fitzpatrick acknowledges that such theories attributing Jewish conspiracy to the October Revolution may have influenced scholarly approaches to Soviet history, but unfortunately finds herself falling into similar patterns, writing of the revolutionary “fever” or “virus,” language which Losurdo links with neoliberal historical revisionism, and which is shared by Nazi theoreticians and their apologist historians.<sup>440</sup> But indeed, *all* Nazi keywords may be found pre-existing in the colonial lexicon.<sup>441</sup>

George Padmore convincingly demonstrates that Hitler’s policies were borrowed “lock, stock and barrel” from the practices of British colonialism, which he refers to as “crypto-fascist.”<sup>442</sup> Writing from prison during WWII, Jawarlalal Nehru similarly stated that the difference between the British and the Nazis was “by degree only, not kind.”<sup>443</sup> “England,” asserted Nehru, was “the guiding light for the Nazis,” and “completely in opposition to what Russia represented.”<sup>444</sup> Nehru ironically commented on “how curious” it was that he, who had from its outset opposed fascism wherever it reared its head, having been long acquainted with it through colonisation, was confined to a cell, while those French and British statesmen “who bowed to Hitler and Mussolini,” whose admiration for Hitler could “scarcely [be] concealed,”

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<sup>438</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 133-134

<sup>439</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 7-11, and V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution, The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State*, (Bolton ON: The Leftist Public Domain Project, 2019), 71

<sup>440</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 150-151, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 32

<sup>441</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 287-288

<sup>442</sup> George Padmore, “British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews,” *Labor Action*, Vol. 5, No. 42. (October 1941), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1941/xx/britimp.htm>

<sup>443</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 467

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid*, 461, 601

now hypocritically held up “the banner of freedom, democracy, and anti-fascism.”<sup>445</sup> Even so, for all their “lip service to democracy and self-determination,” the Geneva Convention and protections offered to Italian fascists were not applied to prisoners in India - neither those in jail cells nor those dying in the millions from famine in the streets.<sup>446</sup> Following their brutal war in Afghanistan in the 1920s, the British had concluded that the Geneva Convention and international laws did not apply to “savage tribes who do not conform to codes of civilised warfare.”<sup>447</sup> The people of the colonies were subject to what Losurdo refers to as the “liberal exclusion clause” that had always allowed the slavers and colonisers to claim the moral high ground while sweeping their crimes under the rug.<sup>448</sup> For the leaders of the imperialist countries and colonial empires, Nazism apparently came as a surprise, while previously they had been its accomplices, “had tolerated it, had absolved it, had shut their eyes to it, because before it had only been applied to non-Europeans.”<sup>449</sup> Fanon explains that Nazism had transformed Europe “into a genuine colony.”<sup>450</sup> “Hitler’s crime,” declared Césaire, was “the application of colonial procedures against whites.”<sup>451</sup> Padmore suggests that perhaps this explains the condemnation of Hitler in the British press while remaining silent about the conditions faced by blacks in Southern Africa.<sup>452</sup>

The admiration these European statesmen had had for fascist leaders went both ways. Hitler had idolised the British Empire, saw British war propaganda as “the finest example of

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<sup>445</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 4-5, 459

<sup>446</sup> Padmore, “British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews,” and Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 2-3

<sup>447</sup> Prasad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 32

<sup>448</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 21st Century*, 298

<sup>449</sup> Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 36

<sup>450</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 57

<sup>451</sup> Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 36

<sup>452</sup> Padmore, “British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews”

demagogic lying,” and made many positive references to the British conquest of India.<sup>453</sup> Alfred Rosenberg looked not to Britain, but to the United States, who he took inspiration from as the inventors of the “racial state,” but in fact the Nazi definition of a Jew had never been as stringent as the “one drop” race purity laws of the American South.<sup>454</sup> Hitler himself compared Polish and Russian “natives” with “redskins,” and through such despecification hoped to achieve in Europe what the United States had carried out with impunity against Indigenous peoples in North America.<sup>455</sup> A 1923 manual distributed in Belgian colonies - a place of “perpetual hell,” according to Padmore - stated that “the laziness of the coloured races is a kind of genetic burden” to which violence was the only solution.<sup>456</sup> John A. Macdonald was an open promoter of the cult of the Aryan race long before Hitler arrived on the scene.<sup>457</sup> Under Macdonald, the Métis revolutionary Louis Riel would be dismissed as “insane” for leading a national liberation struggle against the colonial government.<sup>458</sup> In fact, the very term “final solution” was not coined in the Third Reich, but by Canada’s deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, Duncan Scott Campbell, in reference to the elimination of Indigenous peoples and their culture.<sup>459</sup> Tommy Douglas, “the greatest Canadian” and leader of the CCF, would pen his own eugenics plan for Canada in the 1930s, published as his M.A. thesis, arguing for the sterilisation

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<sup>453</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 104, 181, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 136

<sup>454</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 18-19, and Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 337

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid*, 135, 140, 181

<sup>456</sup> George Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, (London, 1931), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1931/negro-toilers/index.htm>, and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, (New York: The New Press, 2007), 17

<sup>457</sup> Timothy J. Stanley, “John A. Macdonald, “the Chinese” and Racist State Formation in Canada,” *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry*, Volume 3, No. 1, (2016), 6-7, 22-24, 26, 28

<sup>458</sup> Jean Teillet, *The North-West Is Our Mother*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 2019), 363-376

<sup>459</sup> Jorge Barerra, “Library and Archives Canada finally releases 98-year-old Document on Sick First Nations Children,” (CBC News: Feb. 17, 2017), [https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/archives-releases-document-health-first-nations-1.4540024?fbclid=IwAR0tfVliHcgWx3Njn46IA1b6g6dnS5I9HbBNbPpDWDBeI\\_6fBKaNr0WF12Q](https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/archives-releases-document-health-first-nations-1.4540024?fbclid=IwAR0tfVliHcgWx3Njn46IA1b6g6dnS5I9HbBNbPpDWDBeI_6fBKaNr0WF12Q)

of criminals, delinquents, those with “mental deficiencies” and the otherwise genetically “subnormal” who would undoubtedly have included most or all of Canada’s Indigenous peoples.<sup>460</sup> In 1932, similarly, the British Labour Party was busy promoting Malthusian theories of “overpopulation,” wishing a plague upon China and India.<sup>461</sup> To repeat, the Nazis and other fascists had not created something fundamentally distinct, but had inherited, and were products of a long established colonial tradition, and the trend towards fascist forms that was already incubating throughout the Interwar period in all capitalist countries due to the objective logic and contradictions inherent in imperialism - and not just from the political ‘right.’<sup>462</sup> In acknowledging Marx’s statement that bourgeois revolutions were at a specific historical moment progressive, Manuilski asserts that such bourgeois democracies cannot be found today, but only bourgeois democratic forms corresponding to the age of imperialism and capitalist crisis - “i.e. bourgeois democracies in the process of fascisation.”<sup>463</sup>

In fabricating the colonial subject, Fanon explains, “the colonist turns the colonized into [the] quintessence of evil... impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values.”<sup>464</sup> Consider the language used to describe Stalin - “one of the despised minorities of man,” states Du Bois - by prominent Cold War historical commentators David Remnick and Moshe Lewin, and even a bitter Leon Trotsky, (who had denounced

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<sup>460</sup> T.C. Douglas, “The Problems of the Subnormal Family,” MA Thesis, (McMaster University, March 17, 1933)

<sup>461</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 27

<sup>462</sup> Ibid, 15, 18, 92-93, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 298, Holquist, “To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate, Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia,” in Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 119, George Padmore, “Fascism in the Colonies,” *Controversy*, vol. 2, no. 17. February 1938. Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1938/fascism-colonies.htm>, Dmitrii Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in David Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2019), 157-159, and Georgi Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 179

<sup>463</sup> Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 157-158

<sup>464</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. 2, 6-7

anti-colonial revolutions and was alienated from the Third World,) such as “Asiatic,” “Ghengis Khan,” a “lowly beast,” a “magical Eastern God,” a “cultic, despotic ruler,” “not European enough,” or simply “evil,” (along with the Jewish Lazar Kaganovich,) and other similar statements.<sup>465</sup> Anti-Soviet historian Richard Pipes meanwhile refers to “revolutionary psychosis” in his writings.<sup>466</sup> In his oft cited work, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of Soviet Empire*, Remnick, a western journalist writing with highly limited access to information, places such importance on this issue that on the first page of the preface he does not hesitate to make the sweeping claim that the entire Soviet people had been made “unbalanced mentally,” and later quotes journalist Sergy Parkhomenko’s condemnation of the Soviet Union as not being “civilized” - precisely the language of the colonizer; the language of the Nazi.<sup>467</sup> By such logic it is altogether natural then that the prescribed solution would be the brutal application of “shock therapy,” as had also been applied in Pinochet’s Chile, to impose neoliberal economics, which refers to the widely discredited and inhumane practice of subjecting those with mental illness to actual electric shocks.<sup>468</sup> Rodney asserted that the dominant interpretation of Stalin is one which has been “culturally colonized” by North America and Western Europe, and the same would appear to remain true today, as a biography of Stalin which does not include racial-pathological or otherwise racist, orientalist terminology can scarcely be found in English.<sup>469</sup> But indeed, “the

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<sup>465</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, “On Stalin,” *National Guardian*, (1953), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/biographies/1953/03/16.htm>, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 82-83, Leon Trotsky, *Stalin – An Appraisal of the Man and his Influence*, Charles Malamuth trans., (1941), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1940/xx/stalin/index.htm>, Remnick, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, 11, 16, 144, 381, and Moshe Lewin, *Lenin’s Last Struggle*, A. M. Sheridan Smith trans., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), xxvii-xxviii, 125

<sup>466</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 11, and Richard Pipes quoted in Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 3

<sup>467</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 11, and Remnick, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, ix, 383

<sup>468</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 173-174, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 148

<sup>469</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 177

colonist makes history and he knows it,” and to argue with the ‘common sense’ of the colonist, or for that matter to fall short of anything less than blanket condemnation of Stalin and “Stalinism,” one risks being branded as mentally unstable oneself.<sup>470</sup>

Even ostensibly left-wing academics in claiming to stand above ideological “orthodoxy” frequently become scarcely distinguishable from their liberal and right-wing counterparts, condemning anything that falls short of complete denunciation of the Soviet Union as “Stalinist,” even in those “apologists” who acknowledge the problems that existed in Soviet society around the at times severe responses to socialism-under-siege.<sup>471</sup> The goal of this work is not to excuse infringements on socialist legality and the imprisonment and deaths of probably innocent individuals, but to contextualise, compare, and demonstrate the problems with and ideological motivations behind abstracting or isolating these events from broader geopolitical movements and their relationship to them, particularly in the history of decolonisation and anti-imperialism. Marxists and revolutionaries, condemned as “manicheans,” do not demand blanket condemnation of capitalism, with even Marx and Lenin seeing merit in bourgeois societies.<sup>472</sup> What mainstream left academics really ask is the blind acceptance of US and imperialist propaganda. Little wonder that Guayanese historian and activist Walter Rodney saw no point in distinguishing social democratic historiography from bourgeois historiography more generally, noting the complete unity of all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois doctrines in condemning Marxism - a perspective which would be instrumental in motivating not only his writings, but his activism.<sup>473</sup> Rodney observed that if ever they should side with a given Marxist scholar or

<sup>470</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 15, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 45-46, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 3, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, ix

<sup>471</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 45-46, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 233, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, vi, and Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 183

<sup>472</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 9, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 48-49, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 308

<sup>473</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 66-67

profess Marxist beliefs, they do so opportunistically only to denounce Marxism, aiming not only to challenge it intellectually, but also to separate it from the concrete revolutionary conditions of 1917 and from state power represented in the Soviet Union, China, and other actually existing socialist countries - precisely why Rodney and others saw a need to develop a distinctly African perspective on these questions.<sup>474</sup> One such ‘left-wing’ example is public intellectual and self-proclaimed anarcho-syndicalist/libertarian socialist Noam Chomsky’s work, “The Soviet Union versus Socialism,” which explains that Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and those that later followed the Leninist model did not build socialism, but destroyed it, and moreover that the Leninist hostility towards socialism had its roots in Marx.<sup>475</sup> A strange paradox indeed considering that before Lenin socialism existed nowhere on earth. “No surprise then that the pure socialists support every revolution except for the ones that succeed,” writes Parenti.<sup>476</sup>

In reality, the failures and excesses of the Soviet Union rest solely on Stalin’s shoulders no more than its many triumphs and successes.<sup>477</sup> Neither can the “national temperament” of the Soviet people more broadly be given such credit.<sup>478</sup> It is relations of production which shape the social psychology of classes, and the motivations of individuals are primarily a result of their position in the social structure - though one does not need to be a member of the ruling class to serve its interests, because ultimately the ruling classes have the final word.<sup>479</sup> A ruler, Rodney argues, “is in the final analysis, as good or bad as the society he represents.”<sup>480</sup> The same is no less true of fascist leaders and countries. For example, let us consider the development of fascism

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<sup>474</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 67, 186, and Albert Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, (London: Zed Press, 1984), vi

<sup>475</sup> Noam Chomsky, “The Soviet Union Versus Socialism,” *Our Generation*, Spring/Summer, 1986, [https://chomsky.info/1986\\_\\_\\_\\_/](https://chomsky.info/1986____/)

<sup>476</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 51

<sup>477</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 180

<sup>478</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 7

<sup>479</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 551, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 24, and Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 4-5

<sup>480</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 180, 184

in Italy, Germany, Croatia, Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, Portugal, Greece, Spain, or even Chile. Despite substantial differences in cultures, histories, and geographies, these countries all reached remarkably similar resolutions to the contradictions inherent to capitalism due to the similarities of class conflict and economic power that inevitably arose in each case, with fascism playing a specific role in the service of capital and the ruling classes, and in the suppression of democracy.<sup>481</sup> The differences between communism and fascism both in theory and practice are enormous - differences which are particularly clear when comparing issues of social equality, private capital accumulation, and above all, class interest.<sup>482</sup> The most common and effective vehicle used to obscure these differences is the abstract and vaguely defined concept of 'totalitarianism,' under which both fascism and communism are grouped - although it seems in practice fascism receives ever less frequent mention - and which liberal scholars and social democrats counter-pose to bourgeois liberal 'democracy.'<sup>483</sup>

As ever, these labels are applied unequally, employ double standards, and focus on isolated instances while ignoring that practices described by these hypocritical abstractions in fact have no distinctive character, and can easily be found in almost every society, from the most 'free' to the most 'despotic' - similarly abstract and schematic terms when divorced from their class content.<sup>484</sup> Often the one-party state is used in the definition of totalitarianism, but it is well worth asking why this should be the defining feature rather than racist ideologies and policies. Despite at times being interpreted (or deliberately mischaracterised) as national discrimination,

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<sup>481</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 6, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 183

<sup>482</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, xii

<sup>483</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 324, Losurdo, "Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism," 50, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 308, 312, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 48, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 96

<sup>484</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 95, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 69, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 39

the most ruthless Bolshevik practices, while portrayed as uniquely criminal, were in no way idiosyncratic, and moreover were never rooted in ethnocultural or racist delineations, but politico-moral ones relating to class and counter-revolutionary politics - not a hereditary, immutable or inherent characteristic like race.<sup>485</sup> For example, one cannot stop being black, Jewish, etc., but one can stop being a counter-revolutionary at any time - and indeed, counter-revolutionaries (fascists, terrorists, kulaks, former Whites, etc.) not liquidated (arrested, exiled, or in severe cases subject to death,) in 1937-1938 would later inform on and provide lists to the Nazis of communist party members.<sup>486</sup> In fact, many practices described as totalitarian do not correspond to any one ideology or social formation, but arise from objective situations and geopolitical context, be that from the violence and exploitation necessitated by imperialism and colonialism, the repressive measures to maintain fascist domination, or during wars and existential crises faced by the state, be it capitalist or socialist.<sup>487</sup> All countries including Canada and the United States have emergency measures in place to suspend democratic institutions and preserve their dominant systems of property relations when deemed necessary - measures which they have used on many occasions throughout their histories and Europe's.<sup>488</sup> Periods of greater or lesser oppression in countries like the USA and USSR have corresponded to the degree of threat to their respective ruling classes, hardly differing in extent, but rather in "who benefits."<sup>489</sup>

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<sup>485</sup> Suny and Martin eds, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 14, 69, 128, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 305, 308

<sup>486</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 126-130, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 272, and Furr, *Blood Lies*, 281-283

<sup>487</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 152, 198, 204, and Losurdo, "Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism," 50

<sup>488</sup> Hal Draper, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Marx and Engels," *Monthly Review Press*, 1987, accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/marxmyths/hal-draper/article2.htm>, Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 257-258, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 29, 152-198, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 18

<sup>489</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 4, 8-9, 29, 152-198, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 46-48

There is in fact no qualitative difference between civil liberties granted in the United States and the USSR, or any other state when threatened by dissidents.<sup>490</sup> But liberal scholars only condemn such measures in anti-imperialist and socialist countries like the Soviet Union, despite their facing greater and more frequent existential threats than have ever been known in North America, including certainly the entire period of 1917-1953, and it is well worth noting that while these threats were primarily imposed from outside, the majority of threats faced by the US ruling class were from their own people, including the labour movement, civil rights activists, communists, the Black Panthers and others.<sup>491</sup>

Ultimately, the theory of totalitarianism does little to explain political phenomena, and even the most surface level examination quickly encounters serious contradictions.<sup>492</sup> Indeed, it is incapable of even formulating the question it strives to answer - precisely because its aim is not to clarify but to obscure, and to draw a false equivalency between communism and fascism.<sup>493</sup> That the capital-owning class equates communism with fascism is not from an equal hatred of each, but because they would prefer to see some of the disgust and revulsion towards fascism transferred to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and to any country that would defy the capitalist order and strive to build socialism - a mortal threat to the class privileges and domination which fascism seeks to preserve.<sup>494</sup> Parenti succinctly explains that the ruling classes do not hate communism for any lack of political democracy, but rather, because communism promotes economic democracy.<sup>495</sup> This much is quite clear in Clement Attlee's cynical use of the term,

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<sup>490</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 4, 152-198

<sup>491</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 304, 307, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 152-198, 205-208, 212-238, 247-248

<sup>492</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 95, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 28-29

<sup>493</sup> Losurdo, "Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism," 52, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 183

<sup>494</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 183

<sup>495</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 26, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*,

noted by Dutt, when in 1953, the Communist Party of India having recently received six million votes in democratic elections, and as the peoples of Asia looked positively towards the example of Soviet Asia and the People's Republic of China, Attlee rushed to New Delhi to proclaim his fears "that all Asia might fall under totalitarian rule," while simultaneously defending the British terrorist dictatorship in Malaya, ignoring the brutal military regime in Siam, and seemingly forgetting entirely that the British had ruled in India as "*gauleiters*" less than a decade prior, by Nehru's description.<sup>496</sup>

With astounding accuracy, Stalin had predicted that the USSR had two possible routes in the 1920s in anticipation of another attack from the imperialist west - either centralisation or decentralisation, and - to achieve in ten years what Britain did in a century, and without reliance on colonialism and slavery.<sup>497</sup> "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under." This Stalin predicted in 1931, *exactly* ten years before Operation Barbarossa.<sup>498</sup> While this does not excuse the Soviet government's infringements on socialist legality, it would be idealistic, unrealistic, ahistorical, and non-falsifiable to imagine that the construction of the massive industrial base East of the Urals needed to resist the Nazis could have been accomplished without disciplined centralisation and emergency measures to protect the integrity of the Soviet state and the lives of its citizens.<sup>499</sup> But collectivisation and industrialisation were achieved, and without any element

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<sup>496</sup> Clement Attlee quoted in R. Palme Dutt, "Marxism after Seventy Years," *The Labour Monthly*, (March 1953), <https://www.unz.com/print/LabourMonthly-1953mar-00097/>, 106, and Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 478

<sup>497</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 55-56, and Irfan Habib, "The Road to the October Revolution in Russia, 1917," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 36

<sup>498</sup> J.V. Stalin, "The Tasks of Business Executives," *Works*, Vol. 13, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1931/02/04.htm>

<sup>499</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 51, 54-57, Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 179, 182, Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 61, 67-69, Yechury, "Economy: Reforms for Restoration of Capitalism," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the*

of exploitation.<sup>500</sup> Perhaps ironically, it is indeed Soviet centralisation, sacrifice, and strength which saved western liberalism from fascism, while the west would reap the fruits.<sup>501</sup> Because of this perseverance, though at great cost to the Soviet peoples and to the healthy development of socialist democracy, the Thousand Year Reich met a rather early demise. But ‘freedom’ and power are not antithetical, because as Rodney states, “real freedom is a function of cultural and economic equality.”<sup>502</sup> Falling short of stated ideals under inconceivably challenging circumstances and external threats does not make the USSR remotely comparable with the Third Reich, and the context under which mistakes occurred is never examined by biased liberal scholarship which inevitably justifies and excuses the worst atrocities of the ‘well-intentioned’ capitalist societies.<sup>503</sup>

Right-wing historians like the Nazi apologist Ernst Nolte depict fascism as a necessary response to communism, describing it as “counter-annihilation,” despite there being no evidence for Soviet aggression towards Europe - rather the opposite in fact.<sup>504</sup> Former French Communist Party member turned colonial apologist Francois Furet on the other hand, who promoted the “totalitarian twins” analysis of fascism and communism, while disagreeing with Nolte’s

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*Communist Horizon*, 141, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 126, Felix Chuev, and V.M. Molotov, *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, (Chicago: Terra Publishing Center, 1991), 27, 195-196, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 101,149, and Frederick Engels, “On Authority,” *Marx-Engels Reader*, Second Edition, Robert C. Tucker trans., (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1978), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/10/authority.htm>, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 46-47, 257, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 96-97

<sup>500</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 182, Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, “On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 204-205, Habib, “The Road to the October Revolution in Russia, 1917,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 36, and Chuev, and Molotov, *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, 26-27

<sup>501</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 125-126, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 170

<sup>502</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 85, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 91, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 184

<sup>503</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 183, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 74

<sup>504</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 139, Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 140, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 1

“counter-annihilation” argument nevertheless asserted that Soviet crimes far exceeded those of the Nazis up until 1941, as Snyder agrees, both completely ignoring the vastly different attitudes towards the colonial peoples.<sup>505</sup> The condemnation by these historians and others of the process that began in 1917, and of the USSR as *worse* than the Third Reich serves to relativise the Nazis’ crimes, including the Holocaust, implying that they were *right* to counter communism and the Soviet Union.<sup>506</sup> While coloured with his own racist and anti-democratic values, Nolte draws nearer to the truth than Furet, and in the process, reminds us that historical assessments are imbued with the values of those who write them, and that there can be no universal, “above-class” principles, morals, or methods of study; no trans-class evaluation of history.<sup>507</sup> These assessments however rely on the erasure of colonial peoples, as indeed, it was scientific socialism which was developed as a weapon against the horrors of colonialism.<sup>508</sup> The profound difference between perspectives is clearly visible in R. Palme Dutt’s explanation, which states that fascism developed in the conditions of threatening proletarian revolution as a counter-revolutionary movement supported by the bourgeoisie to strengthen capitalism, a view which would later be echoed by Nkrumah, who noted that fascism had been called upon “to prop up capitalism” where it was at risk.<sup>509</sup> Dutt, Manuilski, Prashad and others clearly demonstrate that fascism is not a break from bourgeois democracy, not a “belated historical abortion from the middle ages,” but capitalism “completed,” representing the working out of

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<sup>505</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 114, and Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, x

<sup>506</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 16, and Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, x-xi

<sup>507</sup> V.I. Lenin, “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy,” *Lenin Collected Works*, vol. 14, Abraham Fineberg trans., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1908/mec/>, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 10-11

<sup>508</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 281

<sup>509</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 95, and Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 38

conditions and contradictions inherent to capitalism in a state of extreme decay.<sup>510</sup> For Marxists, fascism does not represent a change in the substance of the power under capitalism of industrial and financial monopolies, but rather a transformation to overtly terroristic dictatorship under the conditions of late phase capitalism and imperialism.<sup>511</sup> Many liberal scholars like Suny and Kivelson, who demonstrate a lack of even a rudimentary understanding of class, inform us that Hitler was both anti-communist *and* anti-capitalist, and in so doing indulge the cheap demagoguery of Goebbels and Mussolini, whose “anti-capitalism” is in fact transmuted into ultra-nationalism and antisemitism.<sup>512</sup>

Consider another perspective on the conflict between fascism and socialism found in the October 1938 issue of *Church Life*, the organ of the Ukrainian Catholics published in Winnipeg, which described Hitler as “saving Europe... from the Bolsheviks,” but saving what exactly?<sup>513</sup> Certainly not ‘democracy,’ despite hypocritical claims by imperial governments, as Europe was at this time ruled largely by fascist dictators and colonial empires. The mine owners and big capitalists were only interested in fighting for “democracy” insofar as it furthered the possibilities for imperialist profits.<sup>514</sup> It is altogether clear that what was actually at stake was the colonial conception of civilisation: white supremacy, *herrenvolk* democracy, and class hierarchy and inequality - the natural order.<sup>515</sup> We are necessarily reminded of the fears of Guizot, de

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<sup>510</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 92-93, Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 157-161, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 104

<sup>511</sup> Andreas Dorpalen, *German History in Marxist Perspective, The East German Approach*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 393

<sup>512</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 313, Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 181, and Daniel Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*, Frances and Mason Merrill trans., (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1939), 72-75

<sup>513</sup> Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 108

<sup>514</sup> Padmore, “British Imperialists Treat the Negro Masses Like the Nazis Treat the Jews”

<sup>515</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*, 197, 292-293

Toqueville and others who lamented “popular sovereignty” or “popular dictatorship.”<sup>516</sup> Thus the characterisation the epoch beginning in 1917 as a “crisis for democracy” as has often been done necessarily relies on the liberal exclusion clause, the suppression of the entire history of colonialism, and amounts to what Losurdo aptly calls a “negligible, re-colonising of history.”<sup>517</sup> Indeed, while like the First World War, inter-imperialist rivalry clearly played a substantial role in WWII, this was secondary to the attempt by the Third Reich to repulse the historic process of colonial emancipation of colonised peoples and races.<sup>518</sup>

There is in fact a clear link between the rise of fascism and the historical liberation of colonised peoples associated with the October Revolution, though not as Nolte suggests. This link corresponds rather to the elimination of the distinction between the coloniser and colonised condemned by Marx, Lenin and Stalin not only in the open reactionaries, but in the betrayers of socialism, the social democrats of the Second International, who at the outbreak of the First World War sided with their national governments, abandoning colonial nations, internationalism and Marxism.<sup>519</sup> Togliatti declared that the collapse of the Second International had represented “the direct, logical, and inexorable consequence of its *whole* policy over 14 years,” but while surprise had then played a part in bringing to the fore its opportunism and corruption, the “sensational historical failure, *a new 4 August*, for international Social Democracy” in Hitler’s

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<sup>516</sup> François Guizot and Alexis de Toqueville quoted in Draper, “The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Marx and Engels”

<sup>517</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 298

<sup>518</sup> Leonard Barnes, *Soviet Light on the Colonies*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1944), 8, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 122

<sup>519</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 103, Prashad, Red October, 39, Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 108-109, Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 159, and J.V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), Accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1924/foundations-leninism/ch06.htm>, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 152

ascension to power had long been foreseen.<sup>520</sup> Dutt minces no words: “the seeds of Hitler’s victory were sown in 1918.”<sup>521</sup> The road to fascism in Germany was from the very beginning paved by social democracy, whose adherents, as had been the case in 1914, sided with the old ruling classes and the bourgeoisie against the working class they claimed to stand for, a deal sealed not just in bloody and servile deeds, but even in an exchange of letters between Ebert and Hindenburg directly.<sup>522</sup> The conscious and explicit goal was to “save Germany from Bolshevism,” but for the social democrats and reformist trade union leaders, the nation had objectively come to stand in for capitalism.<sup>523</sup> Dutt argues therefore that it is not communism that leads to fascism, but rather, since it is those countries such as Germany and Italy where the workers instead followed reformism where fascism was able to take root, that social democracy is the source.<sup>524</sup> Indeed, the famed anti-fascist Georgi Dimitrov declared that in glossing over the true class nature of fascism and failing to call the working class to struggle, the leaders of the social democrats “bear great *historical responsibility* for the fact that at the decisive moment of the fascist offensive, a large section of the toiling masses of Germany and a number of other fascist countries failed to recognise in fascsim the most bloodthirsty monster of finance... [and] were not prepared to resist it.”<sup>525</sup> How else could a country like Germany, where proletarian

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<sup>520</sup> Palmiro Togliatti, “On the German Situation,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 169

<sup>521</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 128

<sup>522</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 40, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 131-132

<sup>523</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 132, 177-179, and Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*, 72, 125-126

<sup>524</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 107-108

<sup>525</sup> Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 180

power was absolute in 1918, in just 15 years produce its complete opposite, the brutal subjugation of working people?<sup>526</sup>

Capitalism requires a social base outside the capitalist class in order to maintain its power, particularly in the face of an increasingly united working class opposition beginning in 1917, and this base would be captured through social democracy, which draws on sections of the working class for its mass base, but which increasingly orients itself towards the social base of fascism in the course of its development as it becomes discredited, namely the petty bourgeoisie.<sup>527</sup> This work has already discussed the observations by Lenin, Roy, Padmore, and other Marxists of the strategy by which the bourgeoisie maintained a privileged section of the working class in the form of the “labour aristocracy,” which held the leadership of social democratic parties and trade unions in the imperialist countries, a view shared by Dutt who emphasised the need to keep the working class divided by placing agents of the employers and ruling ruling classes within the ranks of the workers themselves, as otherwise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be overwhelmed.<sup>528</sup> It is not by coincidence that in Italy and Germany alike that vaguely socialist terminology and distortions would be used to provide a fig leaf for monopoly capitalism, as rulers cannot ask their people to make sacrifices for corporate profit and bourgeois dictatorship - they must lie.<sup>529</sup> Instead, they offer a class collaborationist view of the

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<sup>526</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 128-129

<sup>527</sup> Ibid, 171, Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 161, and Ernst Thälmann, “The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 162-164

<sup>528</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 14, M. N. Roy, “Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” in Mollah, Riddell, & Prashad eds., *Liberate the Colonies!*, 43-44, Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 171, 183

<sup>529</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 70, Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*, 71-94, Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 182, Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 158, and Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 180

nation, or “national interest” which is common to both social democracy and fascism, the ideological groundwork for which began in 1914 with the social democrats’ abandonment of Marxism and internationalism and their decision to side with “their own” national governments - or rather, their own bourgeoisies.<sup>530</sup>

This is a key element of the imperialist relationship, as members of the working classes must be deceived into believing that they share in the benefits of the colonial or explicitly fascist project, when in fact, as Padmore argues, white and black workers alike have a common enemy in capitalism, whatever its form, and that race prejudice and white chauvinism are among the chief weapons of the capitalist class and their agents *of all colours*, encouraging workers to hate each other precisely to prevent them from uniting.<sup>531</sup> Padmore observed in great detail how black workers in the United States, and especially in the colonies, were used to lower the standard of living for white workers.<sup>532</sup> As Roy had observed took place in the first imperialist war, Padmore and Nehru each noted that African and Indian troops were being used to suppress colonial revolts, to put down striking workers in France, and were being prepared for the coming imperialist war which European leaders foresaw with the USSR - troops rallied with the help of like the Senagalese Blaise Diagne, who Padmore considered a traitor to his people, and other promoters of bourgeois reformist tendencies content to deceive and sell out their people for a few extra coins.<sup>533</sup> Rodney similarly explains that Germans in the Third Reich were encouraged to *believe* their standard of living would improve by subjugating peoples of other races, just as

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<sup>530</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 177-179, 182, Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 182, 186, and Kivelson & Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, 260-261

<sup>531</sup> Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid*, and Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 460-461, 467-468

whites of all classes in South Africa were convinced that their well-being was dependent on white supremacy - false in both cases.<sup>534</sup>

Dutt contests that while some suggest that “national socialism” had taken over the role of providing the mass base of support for the German bourgeoisie, this view is an oversimplification, demonstrating that both fascism and social democracy exist together and supplement each other as two separate instruments of monopoly capitalism, even after the establishment of fascist dictatorship, as the social base of each - while with some degree of overlap - is largely distinct, a position shared by Thälmann.<sup>535</sup> Their methods also differ, as while social democracy “operates primarily by deception, alongside coercion, fascism operates primarily by coercion, alongside deception.”<sup>536</sup> Dutt’s views on this question align with Stalin’s, which he acknowledges, and who as early as 1924 had already perceived the growing dangers of fascism, while over a decade later bourgeois scholars and leaders would still respond with shock and surprise.<sup>537</sup> Stalin declared that social democracy was objectively the moderate wing of fascism, and that these two formations “do not negate, but supplement each other. They are not antipodes, they are twins... The bourgeoisie cannot retain power without such a bloc.”<sup>538</sup> In Stalin’s analysis, like Dutt’s, neither fascism nor social democracy could maintain power without the active support of the other.<sup>539</sup>

While never providing the main social base for the bourgeoisie, it does however become the primary instrument of oppression and control when the deception of social democracy has left itself fully exposed, discredited, and created mass disillusionment from its failures to

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<sup>534</sup> Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 182-183

<sup>535</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 174-175

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid*, 176, and Thälmann, “The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 162-163

<sup>537</sup> Stalin, “Concerning the International Situation,” and Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 36

<sup>538</sup> Stalin, “Concerning the International Situation”

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid*

improve the lives of workers amidst economic crisis, resulting from its continued hesitation and retreats.<sup>540</sup> It is these failures, their policies of defeatism and “lesser-evilism” and the corresponding demoralisation of the working class which provides the forces of fascism with a growing mass base and an open door, eventually enabling it to push social democracy aside, social democracy being no longer able to prevent the growth of communist ideas and thus no longer of immediate use to the bourgeoisie, though social democracy remains ready to rescue the bourgeois dictatorship should fascism become weakened.<sup>541</sup>

Let us review the development of fascism in Germany. While the German social democrats had refused to vote for war credits in 1870, opportunism and corruption throughout the imperialist era had taken increasing hold within the leadership and reformist trade unions, such that Marx and Engels had warned of the need for a split - warnings which were ignored, leading objectively to a greater alignment with the capitalist state up until the support given for the imperialist war in 1914 against the working class being carried out by the Kaiser, the militarists, and the bourgeoisie.<sup>542</sup> That the main body of workers who carried out the 1918 November Revolution found themselves under the organisation of the SPD from whom Marx had advised they should split, Dutt asserts was the “fatal contradiction” which would lead to the failure of this revolution, and the reestablishment of the bourgeois-militarist regime which had so recently been utterly discredited, but could now count on cover from social democracy while

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<sup>540</sup> Manuilski, “On Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 159, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 107-108, 136, 138-139

<sup>541</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 107-108, 136, 175 and Thälmann, “The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 164

<sup>542</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 129, and Rosa Luxemburg, “The Junius Pamphlet: The Crisis of German Social Democracy,” David Hollis trans., (Zurich: 1915), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1915/junius/>

their forces regrouped.<sup>543</sup> The social democrats proclaimed their goal as saving Germany from Bolshevism, ordered the disarming of the workers while conversely arming and equipping counter-revolutionary corps led by reactionary monarchist officers who would soon after murder Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg with complete impunity and without consequence, going on to suppress and terrorize all workers who resisted the regime throughout 1918-1919.<sup>544</sup> While workers found in possession of arms faced harsh penalties and imprisonment, illegal fascist putschists and terrorists like the Freikorps were protected by both the social democrats and by the Entente, and “disarmament” never applied.<sup>545</sup> Throughout the Weimar alliance of the bourgeoisie and social democracy, the SPD held power in the federal government from 1918-1925 through President Ebert and in several coalitions, from 1928-1930 within the Muller Cabinet, from 1918-1932 in Prussia through the Braun-Severing Cabinets, and during this entire period holding the principle Police President posts.<sup>546</sup> This period saw the social democrats, “true to form,” violently suppress the workers time and time again, resorting regularly to martial law and emergency dictatorship, including the terror in the Ruhr in 1920, the Horsing terror in 1921, the military overthrow of the elected government of Saxony in 1923, the massacre of workers on May Day in 1929, the emergency dictatorship from 1930-1933, and constant harassment of the communists, illegally restricting their rights of press freedom, assembly, and demonstration - and

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<sup>543</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 130

<sup>544</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 40, Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 131-132 and Dimitrov, “The Working Class against Fascism,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 182

<sup>545</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 40, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 5, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 133

<sup>546</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 133-134

ever in the name of “democracy.”<sup>547</sup> In 1932, the social democratic government of Prussia, now being illegally removed by von Papen, boasted openly that it “had caused more deaths on the left than on the right,” the same year in which the Second International openly declared the importance of saving capitalism.<sup>548</sup> In contrast, the Comintern would officially begin calling for a popular front against fascism, including sections of the bourgeoisie by their 7th Congress in 1935.<sup>549</sup> It was not the communists who were inflexible, or who failed to recognise the need for temporary alliances for the benefit of the working class and colonised peoples. Soviet proposals for collective security to halt Hitler’s advances were rejected by the imperialist governments who were practically begging Hitler to attack the USSR, and were moreover sabotaged by the social democratic leaders of Germany, France, and England.<sup>550</sup> Indeed, while bourgeois historians never tire of speaking of the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, which they refer to liberally (and falsely) as an ‘alliance,’ rarely do they mention that this followed non-aggression pacts and alliances with Hitler having been signed by almost every other European power, at least twelve separate pacts since 1933, including those signed by Britain, France, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Romania, and Poland, not to mention the handover of the Sudetenland as part of the Munich Agreement.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> Dorpalen, *German History in Marxist Perspective, The East German Approach*, 389, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 5, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 134

<sup>548</sup> E. Vandervelde quoted in Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 181, and “Braun-Severing Memorandum to Hindenburg, protesting against deposition,” quoted in Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 186

<sup>549</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 157

<sup>550</sup> Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 63

<sup>551</sup> Furr, *Blood Lies*, 307-308, Special Cable to the New York Times, “Hitler Offers Danes Non-Aggression Pact, Following Up Declaration before Reichstag,” *New York Times*, (New York: May 03, 1939), <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/historical-newspapers/hitler-offers-danes-non-aggression-pact-following/docview/102695062/se-2?accountid=14846>, and “NAZI OFFICIALS THINK SUMMER WILL BE QUIET: SEE LITTLE CHANCE OF WAR AS HITLER LEAVES BERLIN AFTER SIGNING TREATIES WITH LATVIA AND ESTONIA PACTS VALID TEN YEARS,” *The Globe and Mail*, (June 08, 1939),

By 1932, the KPD and Red Trade Union opposition had began their calls for a united front in Germany against the looming danger, all of which were rejected, ignored, or unanswered, and all while the SPD barred its members from cooperation with Antifa, and attempted to work out agreements for the toleration of their party under fascist dictatorship, arguing that the Nazis had taken power “legally,” and on this basis should not be opposed - a lie which ignores the horrific violence and terrorism which were required to achieve such a victory, which ignores that legalist tactics had clearly no longer any hope or relevance, and which was uttered only to cover their own subservience and “bootlicking” of fascism.<sup>552</sup> Dorpalen, who is critical of Marxist historiography, argues however that historians (like Dutt) can objectively claim that meanwhile the communists did more than anyone to protect the republic and its democratic institutions, despite the claims of social democrats.<sup>553</sup>

When Hitler’s attack eventually came, captured Soviet prisoners of war were among the first to be murdered with lethal injections and gas.<sup>554</sup> If Russians were especially praised in WWII, it should be noted that they also made up the vast majority of casualties, and furthermore that non-Russians were also given significant recognition.<sup>555</sup> While as many as 27 million Soviet soldiers and citizens alike were annihilated, the British Empire, “half-fascist itself,” prioritised saving its African colonies and its interests in Southern Europe.<sup>556</sup> The Soviet victory over the

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<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/historical-newspapers/nazi-officials-think-summer-will-be-quiet/docview/1325646976/se-2?accountid=14846>

<sup>552</sup> Dorpalen, *German History in Marxist Perspective, The East German Approach*, 389, Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 140-141, Thälmann, “The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD,” in Beetham ed., *Marxists in the Face of Fascism: Writings by Marxists on Fascism During the Interwar Period*, 163, and Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*, 100-104

<sup>553</sup> Dorpalen, *German History in Marxist Perspective, The East German Approach*, 390 and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 150

<sup>554</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 271

<sup>555</sup> Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 122-123, 139-140, and Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 172-173

<sup>556</sup> Du Bois, “On Stalin,” Barnes, *Soviet Light on the Colonies*, 227, and Vincent Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington’s Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020), 11

Third Reich which came at the expense of so many lives, Ranadive refers to as yet another example of proletarian internationalism, and furthermore, the most important event in world history second only to the Great October Socialist Revolution.<sup>557</sup> As Richard Overy points out, there are few scholars today who would contest the view that the Soviet war effort was the most important factor in the defeat of the Nazis.<sup>558</sup> According to Ranadive, Azad, and Yevgeny Primakov - from 1977 to 1985 the Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences - it is this victory against “the foremost detachment of imperialism represented by fascist Germany and Italy, [and] militarist Japan,” that delivered a brutal blow to the economic, military, and socio-political strength of the forces of the colonial order, once again altering the balance of class forces, and which facilitated the disintegration of colonialism, including the achievement of Indian independence, and clearing the path for successful national liberation revolutions in China, Vietnam, Korea, and later Cuba, many of which took on a socialist orientation.<sup>559</sup> The anti-fascist victory had allowed the post war epoch to be one in which the international socialist system would become the decisive factor in global developments.<sup>560</sup>

But as the defeat of the Nazis became increasingly certain, and the danger of a fascist victory receded, so too did the Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, and all the vaguely worded democratic ideals professed by the Allies and the UN.<sup>561</sup> Even before the war had ended,

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<sup>557</sup> Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 63

<sup>558</sup> Richard Overy, *Russia’s War*, (London: Penguin Books, 1998), xi

<sup>559</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 41, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 63-64, and Yevgeny Primakov quoted in Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 32

<sup>560</sup> Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 64

<sup>561</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 599

dictators like Franco could sleep easy knowing that the lofty phrases of the western powers would be quickly forgotten, and that even if there were to be new challenges to colonial domination, they would not come from Britain, the United States, or their allies.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 599

## Chapter 4

### Proletarian Internationalism versus the Empire of Finance

This chapter examines imperialism in its final form, neo-colonialism, as described by Kwame Nkrumah, and its new dynamics in the specific context of the Cold War stalemate between the socialist east and capitalist west, due primarily to the nuclear arsenals possessed by each side which forced a “compromise.”<sup>563</sup> This project has examined clearly the features of imperialism laid out by Lenin, and has traced its development from older colonialisms through Nazi fascism, and now must necessarily explain its modern incarnation in the post-war era, defined by finance capitalism as a weapon of control over former colonies and a reorientation of imperialist ambitions towards the south. In so doing, it cannot be made clearer that the Soviet Union at no point in its history practiced imperialism of the old or new neo-colonial varieties, and significant evidence for this can be observed in an analysis of Soviet policies of trade and aid with the Third World. However, it is an examination of the forces which *were* motivated by the logic of imperialism that also informs us as to how there has come to be so much confusion around this question, how it should come to pass that the Soviet Union would be condemned as an ‘empire,’ and why this definition remains predominant both in popular imagination and in western scholarship. The hideous truth is that contemporary history has been written by the victors, and suffocated through a staggering global campaign of terror and mass murder throughout the entire globe and the deliberate extermination of millions of innocent civilians by the United States and their vassals.<sup>564</sup> It would be impossible to list within the scope of this work the sheer volume of bloodshed which has followed the victory over Nazi fascism and the triumph of the “free world.” However, by following the chain of events and the rehabilitation of the logic

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<sup>563</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 255

<sup>564</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 6-7, 208, 231, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 17-18

of imperialism which began even before the end of WWII, there can be no doubt that the torch of the Nazi fascism and white supremacy was taken up by the United States and its allies, and that the historical vilification of the Soviet Union and its leaders rests precisely on the fact that the history of the USSR was in contrast a contiguous struggle for national liberation and decolonisation within the framework of Lenin's analysis, and for which imperialism was a non-factor.<sup>565</sup> "All these liberatory forces," would write Nkrumah, "have, on all major issues, and at every possible instance, the support of the growing socialist sector of the world."<sup>566</sup> Despite this support however, the threat of the Cold War developing into nuclear war meant that while the USSR could hold some of the worst excesses of imperialism at bay through maintenance of a strong socialist bloc, through economic assistance, and through political maneuvering at the UN, ultimately there was a need for an autonomous third force which would have to unite if victory could be achieved.<sup>567</sup>

For some observers like Nkrumah and Césaire, the new American imperialism was even *worse* than the old colonial powers or indeed, the Nazis, an assessment which time would prove increasingly correct, and is today well documented with evidence in the detailed study by Austin Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil, The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, and Vincent Bevins' *The Jakarta Method, Washington's Anticommunist Crusade & the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*.<sup>568</sup> At that time, Nkrumah gave several reasons for this assessment. For one, neo-colonialism is more difficult to pin down, as rather than a single oppressor state,

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<sup>565</sup> Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 65, Dutt, "Marxism after Seventy Years," 106, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 107

<sup>566</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 253

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid*, 11, 254-255, and Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 218-219, 222, 238,

<sup>568</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, xv, Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 47, Austin Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, (Fucecchio, Italy: European Press Academic Publishing, 2000), 48-57, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*

neo-colonialism is frequently representative of a series of trans-national financial interests, and for many, the obscurement of a clear enemy or occupying force made resistance more complicated.<sup>569</sup> However, that is not to say that these financial interests did not often act on behalf of particular capitalist states, but indeed, frequently these same interests would be the ones deciding what was best for the imperialist state, dragging these states into following their lead.<sup>570</sup> It is the power of monopoly, which while concealed by various shells, in reality united control of resources, industry, and even markets themselves under fewer and fewer financial powers, and which had achieved a vast intercontinental network of domination which included the entirety of Africa.<sup>571</sup> It was the pan-African nature of neo-colonialism which demanded pan-African unity in order to combat it, a point he had articulated previously in his 1963 book, *Africa Must Unite*.<sup>572</sup> Nkrumah's scholarly and political projects clearly situate Ghanaian independence in the context, not of narrow state building, but as part of a worldmaking effort in the struggle for global peace and egalitarian principles, in which local independence was only a stepping stone towards African independence.<sup>573</sup> "There would be no meaning to the national independence of Ghana unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent."<sup>574</sup>

Nkrumah's emphasis on broad, pan-African unity lies at the heart of his work on imperialism, which painstakingly exposes the deep interconnections of international capitalist monopoly and of the extent of finance capital's penetration and control over the global economy. His education in sociology and economics made him well equipped to explore the issues discussed in his impressive text. In addition to citing a range of scholarly works, including

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<sup>569</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, x, 31

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid*, 22

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid*, 35, 82-83, 221

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid*, 36 and Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, xi-xii, 132-138, 140

<sup>573</sup> Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, xi, 136

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid*, 136

Marxists (such as Lenin and Dutt) and non-Marxists, he relies in large part on publicly available UN statistics and reports, as well as a patient raking through of company reports from the likes of the Anglo American Corporation, Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, Consolidated African Gold Fields of South Africa Corporation, and more.<sup>575</sup>

The United States which Nkrumah and Césaire now condemned as the unmatched champions of imperialism had entered WWII as a virulently white supremacist apartheid state, and many of its citizens had sympathised with the Nazis.<sup>576</sup> Indeed, in 1937, a Gallup poll asked Americans, “if you had to choose between Fascism and Communism which would you choose?” to which 61% answered “fascism.”<sup>577</sup> In 1939, the American Bund, a pro-Nazi organisation, held a violent mass rally in the Madison Square Garden with 22,000 in attendance.<sup>578</sup> At its height, the Bund had between 10,000-30,000 members, upwards of 100,000 sympathisers, and a military wing of approximately 5000 uniformed members known as the *Ordnungsdienst*, or OD.<sup>579</sup> Even in 1940 after the war had already begun, 70% of Americans believed the Dies Committee should be prioritizing the investigation of communist activities in the US rather than Nazi activities.<sup>580</sup> In 1941, Harry Truman, soon to become president, argued that “if we see that Germany is winning the war, we ought to help Russia; and if that Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and

<sup>575</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 260-262

<sup>576</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 10

<sup>577</sup> John Kenneth White, “Seeing Red: The Cold War and American Public Opinion,” (Washington: Department of Politics, Catholic University of America, 1998), Accessed via National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/cold-war/conference/white.html>, and Bradley W. Hart, *Hitler's American Friends, The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2018), 10

<sup>578</sup> Hart, *Hitler's American Friends, The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States*, 52, and Times Wide, WorldTimes, “22,000 NAZIS HOLD RALLY IN GARDEN; POLICE CHECK FOES: SCENES AS GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND HELD ITS 'WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY' RALLY LAST NIGHT, *New York Times*, (New York: Feb 21, 1939), <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/historical-newspapers/22-000-nazis-hold-rally-garden-police-check-foes/docview/102959655/se-2?accountid=14846>

<sup>579</sup> Hart, *Hitler's American Friends, The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States*, 53

<sup>580</sup> George Gallup, “The Gallup Poll: Communist Activity Considered More Dangerous Than Nazis,” *The Washington Post*, (Jan. 5, 1940), 2 <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/historical-newspapers/gallup-poll/docview/151327185/se-2?accountid=14846>

in that way let them kill as many as possible.”<sup>581</sup> Which side they would take was at that time still uncertain, and in truth there was little ideological aversion to the Nazis. Indeed, the racial state guided by the ideology of white supremacy would survive the Third Reich by more than two decades, with Jim Crow, segregation, and miscegenation laws continuing well into the post-war years.<sup>582</sup> Even before the war had ended, the language describing the struggle for democracy had become transformed into a strictly military competition rather than ideological.<sup>583</sup> It should come as little surprise therefore that as the war came to a close, there remained no serious obstacle for many American leaders in making use of former Nazis and collaborators to achieve their strikingly similar goals of racial supremacy, subjugation of colonial peoples, and the defeat of communism.<sup>584</sup> The United States even continued to maintain its own “Freikorps” in the form of the KKK and other organisations which carried out indiscriminate terror campaigns and assassinations that the government could not publicly sanction against communists, labour activists, blacks, Jews, and other “nigger lovers” who challenged white supremacy, even after the end of segregation - such repressions ‘from below’ being a key component of fascism.<sup>585</sup>

Unofficial repression was combined with repression from above, with many communists imprisoned for 5-7 years under the Smith Act beginning in 1948, while in Texas, Communist Party membership became punishable with a 20-year sentence, in Michigan with life-sentences

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<sup>581</sup> Harry S. Truman quoted in Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 10

<sup>582</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 10, 254, and Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, 339

<sup>583</sup> Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 599

<sup>584</sup> Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 10, 19-21, 28

<sup>585</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 172, 293, 315, Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*, 95-104, Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 10, Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, and Hart, *Hitler's American Friends, The Third Reich's Supporters in the United States*, 17

beginning in 1950, and the death penalty for ‘unlawful advocacy’ in Tennessee.<sup>586</sup> While some states had banned the Communist Party from participation in elections decades earlier, the federal government banned them across the country in The Communist Party Control Act of 1954.<sup>587</sup> From the 1940s-1970s, literature was banned from schools, professors dismissed, countless citizens put on government lists, intimidated and forced from their jobs, and communists denied (and even forced to return) pension funds, while individuals associated with civil rights, labour, student, anti-war, communist organisations and the Black Panthers were infiltrated, harassed, kidnapped, framed, arrested, exiled, assaulted, experimented on, and assassinated, often publicly, by the FBI, police, and National Guard, until all meaningful opposition had effectively been crushed.<sup>588</sup>

As the Soviets advanced and collaborators from Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, and elsewhere fled westwards with the retreat of the Nazis, tens of thousands took refuge in West Germany, Canada, South America and the United States, where they would be employed in propaganda, intelligence agencies, as university professors, as scientists, as CIA “stay behind” agents and more.<sup>589</sup> General Patton had in fact wanted to rearm the Nazis and send them immediately to the Soviet Union without skipping a beat.<sup>590</sup> Shirō Ishii, the head of the Japanese

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<sup>586</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 175-178

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid*, 179

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid*, 175-195, Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 174-182, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 35-38, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 19-21, 84

<sup>589</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 58-59, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 27-28, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 20-22, Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 121-123, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 239, 294, Ralf Beste, Georg Bönisch, Thomas Darnstaedt, Jan Friedmann, Michael Fröhlingdorf and Klaus Wiegrefe. “From Dictatorship to Democracy, The Role Ex-Nazis Played in Early West Germany,” *Spiegel*, (June 6, 2012), <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/from-dictatorship-to-democracy-the-role-ex-nazis-played-in-early-west-germany-a-810207.html>, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 101, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 38-44, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 28, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 45-46

<sup>590</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 293-294

biological and chemical weapons program which had rivalled the Nazis in its brutality and cruel experimentation on prisoners, was also spared from justice, and put in charge of the American biological warfare program at Fort Detrick.<sup>591</sup> Nazi war criminals would even find their way onto presidential campaign committees for Nixon, Reagan, and Bush.<sup>592</sup> US intelligence also recruited and smuggled out Klaus Barbie, “The Butcher of Lyon,” who would go on to play a role in installing a brutal military dictatorship in Bolivia, as well as serving West German Intelligence.<sup>593</sup>

The situation in West Germany is particularly glaring. Reinhard Gehlen, who had headed the FHO since 1941, and achieved the rank of major general, would as early as 1946 be given command of an organisation in his name under the direction of the CIA, before shamelessly being put in charge of the FRG’s Federal Intelligence Service in 1956.<sup>594</sup> In 1957 Nazi General Hans Speidel would found the Bundeswehr, becoming its first full general, and working closely with NATO.<sup>595</sup> Adolf Heusinger meanwhile had been the Operations Chief of the High Command of the German Army in the Nazi German Armed Forces from 1938 to 1944, before briefly becoming acting chief of the general staff, then heading the West German military from 1957 to 1961, and shockingly, (or not,) made Chairman of the NATO Military Committee from 1961 to 1964.<sup>596</sup> A 2011 parliamentary inquiry found that no less than 25 cabinet ministers

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<sup>591</sup> Bonosky, *Washington’s Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 227-228

<sup>592</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 20

<sup>593</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 93-94

<sup>594</sup> Ibid, 46, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 294, and Beste et al, “From Dictatorship to Democracy, The Role Ex-Nazis Played in Early West Germany”

<https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/from-dictatorship-to-democracy-the-role-ex-nazis-played-in-early-west-germany-a-810207.html>

<sup>595</sup> V. Kudryachikova & V. Moreva, eds., *About Those Who Are Against Peace*, (Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1957), prepared and translated by Foreign Documents Division, Central Intelligence Agency, accessed via Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room,

<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp65-00756r000300270001-9>, 254

<sup>596</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, “General Adolf Heusinger,” Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, (2006), accessed via Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room,

<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/51966ec2993294098d5096a9>, and Klaus Wiegrefe, “Nazi Veterans

(including some representing Lenin's social-imperialists, the SPD), one president, and one chancellor had been members of Nazi organizations.<sup>597</sup> In the 1950s, at least half of all state secretaries, section, and subsection heads had been Nazi Party members, and this would have a significant effect on the development of state ideology and infrastructure with lasting consequences.<sup>598</sup> The United States had through NATO incorporated the FRG as a compliant vassal in the service of US imperialism, wiping its public and private debts in order to strengthen this bulwark of anti-communism - something unthinkable for a Third World country.<sup>599</sup> German industry and finance had already been closely linked with America's economy, but after the war, this penetration deepened significantly, and the United States moved in on German and Japanese colonies, as well as those of other European powers, exports to these territories increasing from 11%-25% between 1938-1948.<sup>600</sup> The gigantic German metallurgical and chemical trusts, Vereinigte Stahlwerke and I. G. Farben were broken down, and Deutsche Bank forced to hand over its archives, and other patents and secrets appropriated from various industries, while the Marshall Plan funnelled American capital into the fragmented German industries and financial institutions, drawing Germany into the American led imperialist strategy.<sup>601</sup> While it is tempting to label the FRG as the successor of the Nazis due to the presence of so many familiar faces, clearly the United States which had swallowed it and turned it into one of its 'spokes' represented a direct continuity of the Third Reich in more ways than one, even adopting Nazi terms and language, as noted by the *New York Times*, like Goebbels' 'iron curtain,' and with

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Created Illegal Army," *Spiegel*, (May 14, 2014), <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/wehrmacht-veterans-created-a-secret-army-in-west-germany-a-969015.html>, and Kudryachikova & Moreva, eds., *About Those Who Are Against Peace*, 247-250

<sup>597</sup> Beste et al, "From Dictatorship to Democracy, The Role Ex-Nazis Played in Early West Germany"

<sup>598</sup> Ibid

<sup>599</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 184

<sup>600</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 45, 56-58

<sup>601</sup> Ibid, 45, 58-59

leaders in Washington in the post-war years aspiring to the “vacated thrones of Hitler and Mussolini,” in Dutt’s words.<sup>602</sup>

The United States, Canada, and the old European colonial powers went further than the rescue and rehabilitation of Nazis however, a project which went well beyond simply ‘pragmatism.’ They wanted to ensure that history forgot entirely the origins of fascism in colonialism and in the logic of imperialism in order to delay the process of national liberation for as long as possible, and to revive their own colonial histories and imperialist ambitions without embarrassment.<sup>603</sup> In countless joint conferences, the imperialist powers attempted to isolate Hitler as an ‘insane’ individual - but the so-called insanity of Hitler was only insane from a human perspective.<sup>604</sup> From the perspective of capital, fascism was altogether rational in order to maintain social inequality and the accumulation of profits.<sup>605</sup>

The experience in the colonies had once been a vital reference to understanding Hitler for authors like Padmore, Césaire, Fanon and others, but with the onset of the Cold War this understanding was quickly and deliberately obscured, and imperialism forgotten, the USSR whose assistance in defeating Hitler the western capitalists had been all too happy to take advantage of no longer being necessary.<sup>606</sup> Instead, new assessments equating Nazism with the sanguinary menace communism, “the veritable original sin of the twentieth century,” placed a ‘moral obligation’ on the imperialist countries of the west to intervene, and the denunciation of ‘totalitarianism’ would be used to justify the shameless violations of the Geneva Convention

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<sup>602</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 294, Chuev & Molotov, *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, 59, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 39, and Dutt, “Marxism after Seventy Years,” 106-107

<sup>603</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 107-108

<sup>604</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 6

<sup>605</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 58, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 104, and Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 197

<sup>606</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 281, Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” 37, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 177-178

against the enemies of the morally righteous western world and the dangerous national liberation movements which were inevitably “communist inspired” or otherwise supported from sinister Moscow.<sup>607</sup> Where pretexts could not be found, the CIA would plant boxes of weapons marked with hammers and sickles and other such ‘proof’ to justify invasions and crackdowns around the world.<sup>608</sup> This would be the new American ‘judeo-bolshevism,’ and the CIA would be taught, like the Nazis, to ethnicise and pathologise the revolutionary, learning as the ancient Greeks that while there were limits on what one could do to ‘civilised’ peoples, this was not so with ‘barbarians’ like the Persians - in this case, communists and those dark skinned peoples who defied US imperialism, for whom international law and human rights did not apply.<sup>609</sup> Just like the old colonialism, and certainly no less brutal, American theoreticians would present opposition to American domination as a “psychological pathology” of the colonised.<sup>610</sup> The Truman Doctrine would be used to fight decolonisation with no less vigor than to contain communism, the two being hardly differentiated.<sup>611</sup>

The imperialism of the post-war era thus would be “imperialism with a human face,” a “human rights imperialism” used to disguise capitalist interests, and the old trick of the civilising mission and of the coloniser as peacemaker and lawgiver would be written into the UN charter, guaranteeing back door measures justifying sanctions, ruthless interventions, loopholes for the continuation of colonial wars, and that real power remained with the Security Council.<sup>612</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 281, and Losurdo, “Towards a Critique of the Category of Totalitarianism,” 37, Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 20, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 56-57, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 178

<sup>608</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 43

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid*, 28, and Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 145, 292-293

<sup>610</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 56, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 18, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 119

<sup>611</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 49

<sup>612</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 5, 551, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 26, 36-37, 57, 60, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 25

Through massively funded psychological warfare and amnesiac propaganda, the west as the “architect of humanity” would be made to be associated with ‘freedom,’ and ‘democracy’ - a stand in for capitalism - as they stepped in to manage the violence inherent to the native, the ‘free world’ being completely in opposition to the socialist and Third World projects which stood for ‘unfreedom,’ the essence of evil.<sup>613</sup> Western assaults on democracy meanwhile would be carried out in the name of freedom - in reality, freedom for oligarchs and imperialism at the expense of the people.<sup>614</sup> In confidential documents however, even the British would admit that Soviet interventions were qualitatively different, noting uncomfortably that the Soviets were “in the right” defending the sovereignty of UN member states like Ethiopia and others, acting to stabilise rather than destabilise, and that careful manipulation of public opinion would be needed.<sup>615</sup> The KGB whose agents risked their lives fighting for national liberation in Africa and elsewhere would become synonymous with murder and intrigue, while suggestions of CIA misdeeds would be dismissed as conspiracy theories - communists being tossed from helicopters almost unheard of next to cliches about the USSR.<sup>616</sup> For all the talk of communist ‘brainwashing,’ there has been no more successful nor more devastating propaganda campaign in human history than that carried out by the United States in recolonising history.

The old colonial powers immediately set to work in restoring freedom and democracy of the imperial variety to those territories that had slipped from their grasp, the Dutch sending armies to retake Indonesia, the British crushing national movements from Kenya to Malaya, and

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<sup>613</sup> Heiss, “Exposing “Red Colonialism,” U.S. Propaganda at the United Nations, 1953-1963,” 82-84, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 90-91, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 33-45, and Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 42

<sup>614</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 90-91

<sup>615</sup> B. L., Crowe and P. R. A. Mansfield, “British Foreign Office, ‘Soviet Role in the Horn of Africa,’” (Jan. 16, 1978), accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134780>

<sup>616</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 50, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 89-90, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 172-175, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 121

the French, “as though driven by a vice to chew over Hitler’s vomit,” falling upon Algeria, Indochina, the West Indies and Africa with a bloody vengeance, betraying the troops from those countries who had fought to liberate Europe.<sup>617</sup> The secretary general of Algeria’s GPRA would bitterly note that *only* through the support of the Western bloc had France been able to wage its brutal war of colonial reconquest.<sup>618</sup> The Americans meanwhile would embark on invasions and engineer coups not only in the lands of the Monroe Doctrine, but now with the terrifying impunity granted by the atom bomb recently demonstrated on an already defeated Japan, given a free hand to conquer countries around the globe, drenching them in blood and terror for decades to come.<sup>619</sup> The emphasis on the West/East or capitalism/communism dichotomy in the Cold War is for the majority of the world misplaced, as shifting to the south due to the impossibility of war with the USSR once they acquired their own bomb, the Cold War would in fact represent “a continuation of colonialism through slightly different means.”<sup>620</sup> Sukarno - an “inscrutable Asian” according to John F. Kennedy - would state that “‘Cold War’ is the name they have given to the process by which America tries to dominate countries like Indonesia.”<sup>621</sup> A new “scramble for Africa” under humanitarian guise, more deadly than the last, had begun.<sup>622</sup> The era of

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<sup>617</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 107-108, Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 14, 34, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 107-108, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 30, 31, 33, 35, 39 and Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 63

<sup>618</sup> GPRA Secretary General, “Note from the GPRA Secretary General to Foreign Missions and Delegations, ‘Our Foreign Policy,’” Pierre Asselin trans., (Oct. 4, 1960), accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121605>

<sup>619</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 107-108, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 101

<sup>620</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 18, 49, Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 230, 239

<sup>621</sup> Sukarno quoted in Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 67, and John F. Kennedy quoted in Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 86

<sup>622</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 109, 245, and Parenti, *Against Empire*, 16

neo-colonialism, the highest stage of imperialism, had arrived - only in this era, it would be corporate interests, not nation states, that would play the leading role.<sup>623</sup>

The post-war period, while one of mass terror and bloodshed across the Global South, would also represent a time of incredible hope for national liberation movements - and indeed, unprecedented success. Following the war, the old colonial order began a swift collapse for several reasons. The first factor was the Soviet Union's weakening of imperialism through its defeat of fascism, and despite itself being economically devastated through the struggle against the Axis, playing a vital role as an incomparable source of inspiration to anti-colonial movements through its anti-fascist victory, its own internal achievements, and its consistently unmatched opposition to colonialism throughout the world.<sup>624</sup> The United States feared the Soviet Union not for its military or economic might, which was by no means adequate to pursue imperialist designs even if it had wanted to, but for its widely held moral authority and credibility as a champion of decolonisation by many in the Third World, and which the imperialist powers had immediately sought to undermine.<sup>625</sup> This position of weakness would force them to try and disarm the national liberation movements by offering *formal* independence - but even this was risky, as *de jure* independence created increasing expectations of *de facto*

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<sup>623</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, ix-x, 31, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 35

<sup>624</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 41, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, 98-100, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 7-8, 40-41, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 238, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 9, 72, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 40, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 11-12

<sup>625</sup> Mary Ann Heiss, "Exposing "Red Colonialism," U.S. Propaganda at the United Nations, 1953-1963," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, Summer 2015), 82, Dutt, "Marxism after Seventy Years," 107, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 40, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 11-12, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, 101

independence.<sup>626</sup> Not only this, but the end of formal colonialism removed some of the largest obstacles which had delayed industrialisation in the colonies, and over the coming years global industrialisation would be increasingly levelled in spite of the best efforts of the imperialist powers, the serious contradictions of attempting to maximise both the functional requirements of advancing overseas economic interests while simultaneously dominating capitalist accumulation requiring ever more violent and creative tactics.<sup>627</sup> As early as 1945, the danger of the Soviet inspiration was already all too clear, with the Pan-African Congress that year, organised largely by Nkrumah and Padmore, pushing demands for *real* freedom - that is, linked explicitly with socialism, with political as well as economic independence.<sup>628</sup> With the Soviet acquisition of their own nuclear weapons in 1949, the United States' unquestioned military authority would no longer be absolute, and espionage, sabotage, finance, surrogate forces, and propaganda would all become increasingly vital weapons in its arsenal.

A second factor can be observed in the contradictions of imperialism and the dynamic of capital flows which had been outlined early on by Lenin, and which had in fact finally created the conditions for the development of a genuine proletariat in the peripheries by the mid-20th century.<sup>629</sup> The old colonialism while not entirely abolished was on the retreat, and it was necessary to grant at least the appearance and outward trappings of independence, while in reality economic and political control would be ensured through monetary means - often by several imperialist states rather than just one in order to help obscure this domination and avoid responsibility - and in the more extreme cases, through military garrisons.<sup>630</sup> This is the

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<sup>626</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 59, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 17

<sup>627</sup> Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 112, 526, 554-555

<sup>628</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 23-24, Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 134-135, and Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 78, 168-170

<sup>629</sup> Dutt, "Marxism after Seventy Years," 100-101, and Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 4, 112, 525

<sup>630</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, ix-xi, and Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 47

imperialism of finance capital precisely as Lenin had described, able to bribe, blackmail and control even nominally independent countries, with former colonies remaining economically dependent, as many Third World commentators like Fanon, Padmore, and Nkrumah observed.<sup>631</sup> Nkrumah would also reiterate the importance of Lenin's labour aristocracy assessment regarding the role played by union and social democratic leaders, bought off with "crumbs" from neocolonial profits.<sup>632</sup>

Imperialism of the new variety, like the old, operated based on the logic of capital accumulation and declining rates of profit inherent to capitalism's need to export surplus capital.<sup>633</sup> Due to the inherent economic logic of socialist societies like the Soviet Union, it is quite clear that no such economic imperatives, inclinations, or motives towards imperialist tendencies existed - indeed, exploitation was structurally impossible.<sup>634</sup> Social ownership of the Soviet economy and centrally managed trade agreements completely removed the possibility of profit for owners, investors, or managers that exists in capitalist societies.<sup>635</sup> A comparison of the ways in which Soviet aid, trade, and various exchanges differed from that of the United States makes this quite apparent.

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<sup>631</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 84, Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 108-109, Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 55, Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, and Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, ix-xi

<sup>632</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 39

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid*, 83, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 101-102, and Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 63

<sup>634</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 101-103, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 237, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 137, and Harry Haywood, "China and Its Supporters Were Wrong About the USSR," *The Guardian*, (April 11, 1984), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/haywood/1984/04/11.htm?fbclid=IwAR18uIGPttEz9CqBw4c4H9SW3hslDveEZxlwxNWbafickbxXM3ZC872CICo>

<sup>635</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 74, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 101-103

Imperialist exploitation as described by Lenin is based on a system of monopoly capitalism.<sup>636</sup> As such, if the Soviet Union were an imperialist country and acted accordingly, there are several indicators we could expect, including a favourable balance of trade - that is, a surplus of exports over imports - due to the declining rate of profitable investments domestically resulting from profits extracted from surplus labour.<sup>637</sup> It is possible that this surplus could be utilised through either foreign investments or in the form of 'aid.' Examining the trends in Soviet trade however demonstrates that the ratio of trade surplus to fixed capital formation had remained virtually the same, in fact even falling in the post-war decades, statistics proving that Lenin's emphasis on the increasing importance of trade surplus is not a mechanism which functioned in the USSR, thus making impossible a Soviet imperialism of the capitalist type.<sup>638</sup> Szymanski would argue that while the USSR had clearly not been imperialist, it had at times practiced hegemony in Eastern Europe, and even then, more from the historically useful functions this served for local communists rather than Soviet self-interest.<sup>639</sup> But in the Third World, the Soviet Union could not even be called hegemonic, and internationally, Soviet leaders acted independently of the need to preserve the USSR.<sup>640</sup>

Imperialism benefits industrial centres over the producers of raw materials through the overvaluing of finished manufactured goods on the market and the manipulation and undervaluing of raw goods from the colonial and neo-colonial countries alongside one-sided tariffs.<sup>641</sup> Liberal capitalism, despite the mythology of 'free trade' has never been free in any sense of the word, which should mean the freedom for all countries to trade with other countries

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<sup>636</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 123

<sup>637</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 107

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid*, 107-108

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid*, 211-212, 219

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid*, 178-179-212

<sup>641</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 238, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 110, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, Parenti, *Against Empire*, 12, 19, and Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 240

of various political and economic systems, as advanced by UNCTAD and supported by the Third World.<sup>642</sup> On the contrary, genuinely free trade has long been opposed by the hypocritical First World, which not only manipulated market prices, but has no issue engaging in tariffs and protectionism for their own economies.<sup>643</sup> As Prashad states, “the invisible hand is white.”<sup>644</sup> The reliance of the Soviet Union on imported raw materials however also experienced a significant decrease over the post-war years, with a ratio of 1.5 percent in the 1950s dropping to only 0.6 percent in the 1970s, completely the opposite trend of what is typical of an imperialist relationship.<sup>645</sup> The Soviet Union had access to an abundance of materials within its own borders that made trade virtually unnecessary by 1959, but continued to trade not from imperative necessity, but for several reasons not consistent with the logic of imperialist trade, including the import of advanced technological equipment from the West in order to accelerate economic growth, and notably, the support of other socialist and Third World countries.<sup>646</sup> Soviet trade, unlike that of capitalist countries, in fact favoured Third World countries, with the Soviets paying more for Third World imports and charging less for exports, the Soviet Union additionally being a net exporter of raw materials and a net importer of industrial goods, and thus could technically be viewed as itself ‘exploited.’<sup>647</sup> Even many non-socialist countries preferred to trade with the

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<sup>642</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 163-164, Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 170, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 68-70, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 36-37, 59

<sup>643</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 170, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 68-70, Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 164, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 36-37, 59

<sup>644</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 68

<sup>645</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 108

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid*, 105-106

<sup>647</sup> Bonosky, *Washington’s Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 30, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 110

Soviet Union precisely because such agreements were so fair.<sup>648</sup> For this reason, there is an ambiguity between Soviet trade and aid, as often ‘trade’ was more subsidy than exchange.<sup>649</sup>

Consider for example the Soviet commitment to purchase Cuban sugar. Cuba, having long being a plantation economy denied opportunities for industrial development due to the interests of foreign imperialism, first as a colony of Spain and later a neo-colony of the United States, had at the time of the revolution few options but to continue trading sugar in order to get access to capital, which Lenin argued was inaccessible to colonial countries without political submission.<sup>650</sup> As Washington made efforts to strangle the little island with its economic blockade and attempted overthrow with the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Soviet Union came to Cuba’s rescue, and for decades bought Cuban sugar at well above market prices, from 1965-1970 purchasing sugar at 261 percent above market value, an average annual subsidy of \$173 million USD.<sup>651</sup> The USSR did not need to purchase Cuban sugar, being already well supplied domestically through sugar beet production, however Che Guevara recognised that this was done as a selfless fraternal gesture to help guarantee Cuba’s independence.<sup>652</sup> The USSR in addition to guaranteeing a market for Cuban sugar did the same for Cuba’s second largest export, nickel, which they consistently bought for twice the market price.<sup>653</sup> With the addition of technical aid and training, grants, export credits, and billions in military assistance, there is no more generous aid program to compare with in history, and one which allowed Cuba to significantly increase its

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<sup>648</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 170, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 72

<sup>649</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 170

<sup>650</sup> Parenti, *Against Empire*, 15, Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 143

<sup>651</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 188-189, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 110-113

<sup>652</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 110-113, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19

<sup>653</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 189-190

industrial capacity, political stability, and its citizens' standard of living.<sup>654</sup> In the language of imperialist propaganda, such historic solidarity would cynically be referred to as 'dependence.'<sup>655</sup> In reality the Canadian economy is more dependent on the United States than most Soviet allies or any of the COMECON countries were on the USSR, leading Nkrumah to call it "a financial colony," and a comparison with US satellites in the Caribbean is more extreme still, yet rarely are these countries referred to as 'dependencies.'<sup>656</sup>

Soviet aid to countries like Cuba, Vietnam, and other socialist countries also had cascading effects. The Soviet Union supported the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola, but thanks to their economic and military support for Cuba, Cuba was additionally able to provide 25,000 troops to Angola to fight white supremacy, as well as civilian technicians and material aid, and victory in Africa would lead to the crumbling of Portuguese fascism.<sup>657</sup> Since the 1950s, The USSR had provided Vietnam with massive aid as well, such that by 1988, 30 percent of professors in Hanoi's three largest universities had been trained in the USSR, and Vietnamese students who had studied in Europe and Vietnam would throughout this period serve as technical and scientific experts providing aid in Africa.<sup>658</sup>

Soviet and Western aid had completely different purposes and were qualitatively distinct.<sup>659</sup> Soviet aid was incredibly generous for a nation that was in reality financially humble,

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<sup>654</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 190, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19

<sup>655</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 142

<sup>656</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 85, 231, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 121-122

<sup>657</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 100-101, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 170-172, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 42-43

<sup>658</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 102-105

<sup>659</sup> *Ibid*, 106, and Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 50-51

however the Soviets could never quantitatively compete with US capital.<sup>660</sup> Even so, Soviet trade and aid broke the US monopoly and forced them to provide loans and exchanges at better rates in order to compete.<sup>661</sup> From the 1970s on, at least 10 percent of the USSR's annual budget was dedicated to international assistance.<sup>662</sup> Soviet aid was designed to strengthen the public sector and provide the basis for industrialisation, economic independence, and self-determination.<sup>663</sup> The vast majority of Soviet aid to non-socialist countries was given in the form of export credits, that is, the delivery of Soviet products in return for eventual repayment at negligible rates of interest, although frequently these repayment terms were extended and debts cancelled altogether.<sup>664</sup> Rather than repayment in USD or hard currency, repayment of Soviet loans could be made in locally produced products in order to guarantee a market for the industry being developed with Soviet assistance, justifying the development of advanced industries where local demand could not necessarily do so, but in the process stimulating industrial development and facilitating economic growth that might otherwise have taken much longer.<sup>665</sup> Often the USSR would accept repayment in products they had no need or use for, and because of Soviet self-sufficiency, it is clear that Soviet aid cannot possibly have been motivated to acquire

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<sup>660</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 40, 65, Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 243, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 152

<sup>661</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 72, 99, Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism*, 62, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 155, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 170

<sup>662</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 137

<sup>663</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 10, 63, Ranadive, "Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems," in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 65-66, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 233-235, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 154

<sup>664</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 153, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 236, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 63, and Central Intelligence Agency, Chief, Communist Activities Branch, "Communist Aid to Selected Client States," (Dec. 12, 1983), accessed via accessed via Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T00287R000600920001-6.pdf>, 6-12

<sup>665</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 153, 159

otherwise inaccessible raw materials.<sup>666</sup> Soviet aid came without conditions, without Soviet ownership in the recipient countries, without any consideration for profit, and was by no means tied to friendly relations, economic aid often being used against Soviet advice.<sup>667</sup> When the Bandung Conference took place and the Non-Aligned Movement later emerged, the Soviets were genuinely supportive, much in contrast to the United States, for whom there could be no middle ground, and no neutrality.<sup>668</sup> Soviet allies and fraternal communist parties in the post-war years have consistently acted with much greater independence in terms of domestic and international policies than most countries in the Western bloc, in fact even goading the USSR into conflicts it wanted to avoid in a case of what might be referred to as the tail wagging the dog, contrary to popular imagination.<sup>669</sup>

US 'aid' on the other hand was never aimed at improving standards of living in the recipient countries, and demonstrates the way that predatory imperialism comes wearing the mask of reforms throughout the Third World.<sup>670</sup> American foreign assistance is aimed at the

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<sup>666</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 89, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 75 and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 154

<sup>667</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 63, 74, 168, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 159-161, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 50, and Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, "Afghanistan: Dependence on Soviet Economic and Military Aid"

<sup>668</sup> Albania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Report On The 1st and 2nd Conference of Non-Aligned Countries," Rezarta Lila trans., (June 26, 1964), accessed via Cold War International History Project,

<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110537>, Dimitri Aleksandrovich Zhukov, "Journal Entry of Ambassador Zhukov: Record of Conversation with Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sunario," (March 24, 1955), accessed via Cold War International History Project,

<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110262>, China, Foreign Ministry, "Report from the Asia Section, Chinese Foreign Ministry, 'On the Asian African Conference,'" Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, "Report attached to 'Development of Relations with Socialist Countries since March 19, 1961,'" Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 46-47, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 23

<sup>669</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 16-17, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 64-65, Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 141, and Hope M. Harrison, "Research in Former Soviet and East German Archives on the Cold War and the Berlin Wall," *National Archives*, (1998), <https://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/cold-war/conference/harrison.html>

<sup>670</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 31

facilitation of the exports of major domestic corporations to the Third World, almost solely as export credits to be used on predetermined products from said companies, most frequently manufactured goods, further aggravating the unequal balance of trade between the First and Third World.<sup>671</sup> “Aid” would for this reason be identified by Nkrumah as nothing more than a system of revolving credit, with imperialist loans being designed to trap former colonies in neo-colonial subjugation, saddled with more debt than could ever be repaid - debt used as a weapon, and ultimately leading to the sovereign debt crisis of the 1970s.<sup>672</sup> Nkrumah adds that before the decline of formal colonialism, such “aid” was simply referred to as “foreign investment.”<sup>673</sup> Recipient states are pressured to follow policies which conform to the political and economic interests of US and transnational corporations, such as suppressing wages and removing any protective economic or environmental measures.<sup>674</sup> The US has frequently let national governments know that their aid comes with specific conditions, and the provision or removal of aid has often been used by Washington as a tool of explicit coercion.<sup>675</sup> Indeed, Togliatti would condemn the United States as a nation led by ignorant “slaveholders” for their attempts now to buy entire nations as they had human beings.<sup>676</sup> Unlike Soviet aid, imperialist ‘aid’ is designed specifically for the purpose of corporate profit, and loans require repayment

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<sup>671</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 151, Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 59-60

<sup>672</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, xv, Prasad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 192, 229, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 48, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 47

<sup>673</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 50-51

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid*, 81, 242-243, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 151, Prasad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 9, and Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 56

<sup>675</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 250, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington’s Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 52, 70, 122, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 64, and China, Foreign Ministry, “Report from the Asia Section, Chinese Foreign Ministry, ‘On the Asian African Conference,’” (Dec. 15, 1954), accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112442>

<sup>676</sup> Palmiro Togliatti quoted in Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington’s Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 19

with substantial interest in hard currency, often as high as 5%-8% in contrast to the standard Soviet 2%.<sup>677</sup> When the US or other imperialists have sent food, they have done so with the goal of deliberately crippling local farmers and undermining domestic food production in order to increase dependency, dumping surplus products cheaper than domestically to undersell the local population, and thereby hold an even tighter grip on the recipient state - the easier to “make the economy scream.”<sup>678</sup> Haiti is a prime example.<sup>679</sup> Unlike Soviet aid aimed at growing the public sector, American aid has consistently done the opposite, strengthening private corporations to hack away at national sovereignty.<sup>680</sup> While as formal colonies the target regions had been spoken of in terms of their great value to their respective empires, in the new imperialist era they were “underdeveloped” and in need of foreign capitalist investment and guidance.<sup>681</sup>

The United States has consistently worked to control international institutions and to dominate global finance and politics through the IMF, World Bank, and other organisations such as OPEC to wreck oil prices as it suited them.<sup>682</sup> Loans are an essential weapon in the imperialist arsenal, with the creditor being more permanently attached to the debtor than the seller to the buyer, as Lenin observed, and as Nkrumah would expand on.<sup>683</sup> The World Bank lends money to finance projects that displace local people, such as massive dams or irrigation systems, which are

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<sup>677</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 241-243, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 151

<sup>678</sup> Parenti, *Against Empire*, 22, Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 114, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 52, and Henry Kissinger quoted in Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 189

<sup>679</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 52-53

<sup>680</sup> Parenti, *Against Empire*, 21, and Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 65-66

<sup>681</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 9

<sup>682</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 42-43, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 92-93 Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 70, 230, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 73, 107, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 42-43

<sup>683</sup> Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 101, and Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 81

used by private corporations for cheap electricity or export oriented monoculture.<sup>684</sup> Eugene Black, an American World Bank President from 1949-1963, seemed unembarrassed to state that “our foreign aid programs constitute a distinct benefit to American business.”<sup>685</sup> Unable to pay back their loan to the World Bank, debtor countries are forced to go to the IMF, which imposes “structural adjustment programs” (SAPs) guaranteeing tax breaks for transnational corporations, wage reductions, austerity measures such as cuts to public health and education, and the removal of protections ultimately facilitating foreign takeovers of local enterprises, not to mention the elimination of environmental barriers.<sup>686</sup> Liberal critics are frequently confused as to why US foreign aid has up until now only deepened poverty; why it has failed to work. It has worked precisely as intended for private corporations, just not for working people who were never supposed to benefit, there being a causal link between massively increased profits for the few and the growing impoverishment of the many.<sup>687</sup> In the 1980s alone, indebted states sent \$40 billion more to the G7 countries than they received in ‘aid.’<sup>688</sup>

While Soviet aid represented a significant burden on the USSR’s economy, the United States actually benefited financially for every country they could rope into accepting their ‘aid.’<sup>689</sup> In the case of military aid, this was little more than a refined way of subsidising US

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<sup>684</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 55-56

<sup>685</sup> Eugene Black quoted in Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 71

<sup>686</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 242-243, Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 165, 172-173, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 55-56, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 49, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 25

<sup>687</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 56-58, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 39-40, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 25, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 230

<sup>688</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 231

<sup>689</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 241-242, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 105, 138, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 71, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 180, and Bonosky, *Washington’s Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 236

weapons manufacturers.<sup>690</sup> Moreover, while the US sold weapons to wealthy allies, Soviet weapons were sold cheap in order to assist those countries desperately needing modernisation of defenses in the face of imperialist aggression, and to a wide range of progressive countries without attempts to dominate them in any way or undermine their independence.<sup>691</sup> In one example, between 1955-1973, the USSR provided Afghanistan with \$300 million worth of military aid at a remarkable 75% discount.<sup>692</sup> The arms race would be an effective tool used to mitigate the serious contradictions of capitalist economics, and through imposing such a race on socialist and Third World countries from which they profited, the United States was effectively exploiting workers outside the capitalist world economy, and would drag the Soviets down in a race in which they ultimately could not contend.<sup>693</sup>

In 1953, American ambassador to the UN, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. horrified at the broad sympathies felt by the former colonies towards the Soviet Union, created the Psychological Strategy Board in order to depict the Soviets as the imperialists, to “call them the ‘new colonialists’” - the same year they were overthrowing the democratically elected Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran, with a million dollars spent on fake mobs of ‘protestors’ and ‘Tudeh members,’ and journalists accusing Mossadegh of being a communist and a Jew.<sup>694</sup> There were those in the US government such as Arthur M. Cox who had serious doubts that such a strategy

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<sup>690</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 99

<sup>691</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 137-138, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 165-167, Algerian National Archives, “Letter to the GPRA Prime Minister, ‘Mission Summary,’” (Sept. 1, 1960.) Pierre Asselin and Paulina Kostrzewski trans., accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121598>, and Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, “Afghanistan: Dependence on Soviet Economic and Military Aid”

<sup>692</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, “Afghanistan: Dependence on Soviet Economic and Military Aid”

<sup>693</sup> Yechury, “Economy: Reforms for Restoration of Capitalism,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 142, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 135, 137

<sup>694</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 38, 77, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 39-40

could possibly succeed, as the Soviet Union's commitment to decolonisation and anti-racism was widely acknowledged outside the imperialist countries, and indeed, its emphasis on political and economic sovereignty, development of national cultures, and encouragement of independent relations between states were precisely what many Third World leaders liked about socialism.<sup>695</sup> The only sovereignty that Washington could accept meanwhile was the sovereignty of the US dollar.<sup>696</sup> But the more naive liberals like Cox had vastly underestimated the inconceivable amount of money and talent which the US was prepared to harness for such a cynical Goebellian propaganda campaign, and how much blood it was prepared to spill.<sup>697</sup>

One of the more effective propaganda weapons would indeed be handed to the imperialists by the USSR itself following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 and his condemnation by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress.<sup>698</sup> Mao saw Khrushchev as opportunistic and politically motivated, and this would cause the first cracks not only in the Sino-Soviet split, but indeed, with serious consequences for Soviet relations with communist movements across the Third World.<sup>699</sup> Even if we assume Mao was protective of Stalin due to similarities between the two leaders, this hardly explains the many others across the globe who felt similarly. The Communist Party of China, the PKI in Indonesia, black civil rights activists like Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois, revolutionaries such as Che Guevara, many of the most successful communist movements in the Third World, and even non-communists like Nehru and M.N. Roy, who had been kicked out of the Comintern, rejected condemnations of Stalin, and continued to

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<sup>695</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 38, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 11, 41-42, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 64-65, and Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 122-123

<sup>696</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 61

<sup>697</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 38

<sup>698</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 4-11

<sup>699</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 61-62, Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 10, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 37, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 120-121

see value in his leadership.<sup>700</sup> Minorities in the Soviet republics were particularly incensed by slander against a leader who they believed had fought harder than any for their national rights, with protests even breaking out in Georgia over the removal of a statue of Stalin in 1956.<sup>701</sup> As late as 1963, the PKI's leader, Aidit, said that while the Soviets could interpret Stalin however they pleased, the communist parties of the Third World had every right to assess him on an international level, whose works were "still useful to Eastern countries," because he stood for revolutionary militancy and steadfastness in the struggle against fascism and imperialism where Khrushchev was tepid.<sup>702</sup>

There was good reason to be critical of problems that had arisen in the Soviet Union in Stalin's time. However, the enormous exaggerations of these problems which even Khrushchev's own biographer did not believe and which the Soviet archives have since disproven, along with the scapegoating of Stalin alone without self-criticism or willingness to seek out the structural roots of negative phenomena furnished the enemies of socialism with another deadly weapon in accusations of 'Stalinism' which would be used to attack the socialist system, communists, and national liberation movements for decades to come.<sup>703</sup> The vastly inflated numbers of political prisoners and deaths offered by Cold War historians - numbers which included White Guards,

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<sup>700</sup> Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 210, 231-232, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 120-121, Du Bois, "On Stalin," Jawaharlal Nehru, "Tribute to Stalin," *Labour Monthly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, (April 1953), accessed via Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/stalinism/1953/stalin.htm>, and Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939*, 140-142

<sup>701</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 332

<sup>702</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 120-121, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 46-47

<sup>703</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 109, 125, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 78-80, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 33, 251, Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, 77-78, Furr, *Khrushchev Lied*, and Rodney, *The Russian Revolution, A View From the Third World*, 178

Nazi collaborators, and German SS prisoners - do not do service to historical truth.<sup>704</sup> The USSR under Khrushchev had certainly continued to support the Third World in many ways, including the largest technology transfer in history, to China, although a return to the earlier internationalist tradition, at least to some extent, would not come about until Brezhnev, who would engage more forcefully and oversee the most significant period of national liberation which occurred in the 1960s-1970s.<sup>705</sup> These leaders represented two opposing ideological trends in the CPSU which had existed since the days of Lenin and Stalin's arguments with Bukharin and others about the national question.<sup>706</sup> There is a link between the campaign against Stalin and the eventual restoration of capitalism, as many of the Third World revolutionary movements and organisations which turned against Stalin would ultimately dissolve, and the question of Stalin - a dead horse that continues to be beaten almost 70 years since his death - for this reason remains relevant.<sup>707</sup> Once Stalin's ideas were successfully vilified, a struggle which ultimately went on for thirty-five years after Khrushchev, there was no need for a political campaign against Lenin, who in short order would be "liquidated with a flick of the wrist."<sup>708</sup>

Alongside their relentless propaganda, the Americans advanced increasingly aggressive strategies and developed terrifyingly destructive new weapons to which the Soviets tried desperately to keep pace with counter-defenses, however it would be the UN, despite the advantages it gave to the First World, and the Soviet veto therein which served as their most

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<sup>704</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 78-80

<sup>705</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 57, 100, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 31, 38-39, 42-43, 45, Bevens, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 213, and Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 9, 236-239

<sup>706</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 21-23, 42-43, and Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 273

<sup>707</sup> Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 4-7

<sup>708</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 250, and Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 2

powerful weapon of resistance.<sup>709</sup> Using the built-in workarounds to continue colonialism, the west did everything they could to undermine the process of decolonisation the USSR fought so hard for, but as long as the Soviet Union held a place on the security council, they could use the UN as an alternative to military confrontation with western imperialism, from 1945-1989 serving as an invaluable shield for the Third World.<sup>710</sup> Indeed, the first 56 vetoes from the UN security council *all* were made by the Soviet Union, defending the struggle of the Palestinians, resisting South African apartheid, fighting against the brutal South Rhodesian regime, supporting the war of liberation in Vietnam, and much more.<sup>711</sup> During the period following WWII, the Soviet Union and socialist allies presented over 160 proposals for disarmament, nuclear test bans, and even unilateral arms reduction, all of which were ignored by their opponents - the last of which, while temporarily reducing the danger of nuclear war, ultimately undermined the strength of the socialist world as a deterrent to imperialism with disastrous consequences.<sup>712</sup> The USSR would consistently utilise the UN to fight for global arms reductions and instead to support Third World development, but these peaceful objectives were constantly rejected by the militarist west.<sup>713</sup> The United States meanwhile used its place in the UN to vote against even nominal sovereignty for Algeria and other colonies, to reject oversight into fascist Portugal's African colonies, and perhaps most damningly of all, abstaining on a vote in the UN General Assembly sponsored by the Soviet Union on the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

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<sup>709</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 342, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 112-117, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 211, Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, "Report attached to 'Development of Relations with Socialist Countries since March 19, 1961,'" Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 103, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 57, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 24-25

<sup>710</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 37, 56-57, Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 211, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 24-25

<sup>711</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 38

<sup>712</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 20

<sup>713</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 173-174

Peoples,” along with eight other abstentions from the shameless colonial powers of Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, the UK, South Africa and others.<sup>714</sup>

The United States however had no intention of allowing itself to be restrained by democratic institutions - least of all the UN, which with Soviet help became increasingly populated by peoples who they aimed to keep subjugated. The role of the Soviet Union and a strong socialist bloc for this reason proved essential in preventing new holocausts and wars when diplomatic efforts failed.<sup>715</sup> The Soviet nuclear deterrent remained an essential mitigating factor to some extent against imperialism, but even so, the mad brinkmanship of the United States, especially by the late 1970s and 1980s showed that Washington was willing to risk even nuclear war in pursuit of world domination, the 1964 satire *Dr. Strangelove* hitting uncomfortably near the truth of this new era.<sup>716</sup> While Andrei Gromyko had put forward a “no first-strike” policy, the US refused to adopt a similar position.<sup>717</sup> Détente, it was clear had its limits, and while proving a vital deterrent at the superpower level and preventing overt intervention by the United States, through the CIA, psychological warfare, and ultimately the financial control exerted through imperialism the US was left with no shortage of alternative methods to achieve their sanguinary goals, spending \$15 billion annually on espionage and sabotage against the Soviet Union alone.<sup>718</sup> For this reason, Fidel Castro and other Third World leaders would become critical of the

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<sup>714</sup> Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 78, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 108-109, and UN General Assembly, *Resolution 1514: Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, (Dec. 14, 1960), [https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514\(XV\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514(XV))

<sup>715</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 218-219, Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 65, China, Foreign Ministry, “Report from the Asia Section, Chinese Foreign Ministry, ‘On the Asian African Conference,’” (Dec. 15, 1954), accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112442>, and Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 109

<sup>716</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, 109, and Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 218-219, 222, 227

<sup>717</sup> Haywood, “China and Its Supporters Were Wrong About the USSR,” *The Guardian*

<sup>718</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 246-248, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 103, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 126

USSR for what was perceived as a lack of adequate military support for those who the Soviet nuclear umbrella failed to protect.<sup>719</sup>

Indeed, there were many cases of aggression the Soviets were completely helpless to stop. From 1945-1990 the US engaged in mass murder in at least 23 countries aimed explicitly at the intentional extermination of unarmed civilians, to say nothing of the many more direct wars and military invasions.<sup>720</sup> If the US government supported democracy, as claimed by Suny and Kivelson, why did they support counterinsurgency in Guatemala, Columbia, and El Salvador?<sup>721</sup> Why did they depose Nkrumah, aid in the arrest of Mandela, and the murders of Bishop and Lumumba?<sup>722</sup> Why did they invade the tiny countries of Grenada and Panama?<sup>723</sup> What justification can be offered for the mercenary wars they supported in Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Western Sahara, South Yemen, and East Timor where three hundred thousand people were murdered with Nixon's approval - one third of the population.<sup>724</sup> The US has been relentless in stifling democratic and popular movements in Guyana, Iran, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, Sudan, Iraq, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Thailand, Pakistan, Turkey, Greece, and many more, in many cases through brutal assassinations and the application of napalm, torture, and all manner of horrors.<sup>725</sup>

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<sup>719</sup> Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 106

<sup>720</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 238

<sup>721</sup> Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 230, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 55, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 65-79

<sup>722</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 83-84, 89, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 55, 101

<sup>723</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 39-40, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 13-14, 155-159

<sup>724</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 55, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 106, Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, 41-42, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 213

<sup>725</sup> Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, 37-43, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 238, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 60, and Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 195-198

In Vietnam, demands for democratic elections which the French had promised, with the US creation of a Reichstag Fire in the Gulf of Tonkin, justified the murder of three million people, two million of which were civilians.<sup>726</sup> In 1953, between three to five thousand Guatemalans were rounded up and murdered to crush democracy in that country, whose names were handed over to the military on lists drawn up by the United States, and between 1978-1983 over 200,000 more would be murdered there by the military, two thirds of whom were Indigenous peoples from ‘ethically suspect’ and ‘intrinsically communist’ nations and tribes.<sup>727</sup> Henry Kissinger created the plans that would be used to “make the economy scream” in Chile as part of the efforts to install the fascist dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose regime murdered tens of thousands with disappearances, kidnappings, imprisonment, torture, and the grisly dropping of communists from helicopters, in addition to Operation Condor across Latin America, which turned the entire continent into a killing zone for communists - or accused communists, upwards of 100,000 - and with assistance and support from Washington at every step of the way.<sup>728</sup> The US had not only supported these governments politically and economically, but trained and advised their militaries, police, and death squads around the world, providing arms and direct interventions whenever necessary, especially in its ‘backyard,’ Latin America.<sup>729</sup>

Despite this tragic body count completely overlooked by the vast majority of western citizens, the USSR’s intervention in Hungary is meanwhile common knowledge, and presented as an ‘invasion’ in the west - but military intervention alone is not enough to demonstrate

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<sup>726</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 123, 160, and Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, 39-40

<sup>727</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 219, 227-228

<sup>728</sup> *Ibid*, 214-215, 219, 223, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 121, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 87

<sup>729</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 195-198, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 214-215, 219, 223, 228, Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 313, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 105-106, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 56-57

imperialism.<sup>730</sup> For it to represent an act of imperialism, it must be proven that the Soviet Union held back more progressive forces in order to benefit economically, but no such evidence can be substantiated.<sup>731</sup> Many historians and Third World observers, including the Chinese and Yugoslav governments, in fact have referred to this as another example of proletarian internationalism in the face of proven US/CIA interference and terror in collaboration with fascist gangs intended to overturn socialism in a country that had just emerged from a 25-year fascist dictatorship and alliance with the Nazis.<sup>732</sup>

But among the most horrific, the single worst genocide since the Nazis, the massacre of between one to three million unarmed Indonesians by the military with the complete backing and approval of the United States using weapons they provided (completely unnecessarily), and who along with local US corporations, provided lists of communists and labour activists to be murdered in order to prevent that country from electing a communist government and to ensure the continued accumulation of profits - a scene straight from hell in which so many bodies were piled that they blocked the rivers.<sup>733</sup> This campaign witnessed especially cruel gendered violence including mutilation and mass rape of women, and at an International People's Tribunal assembled in the Netherlands, the US, UK, and Australia were all found guilty of supporting crimes against humanity including enslavement, torture, and systemic sexual violence, yet the US propaganda machine cynically used racist tropes in blaming local people, and has effectively

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<sup>730</sup> Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 139-140, 146-147

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid*, 139-140, 146-147

<sup>732</sup> Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, 241, Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, 140-141, 146-147, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 62, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 49, and Martens, *Another View of Stalin*, 2

<sup>733</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 127-129, Parenti, *Against Empire*, 26, Murphy, *The Triumph of Evil: The Reality of the USA's Cold War Victory*, 41, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 118-120, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 154-155, Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 17, 68-69, 85-86, Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, 196, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 142, 144, 155-157

ensured that this mass terror campaign is today largely unheard of, almost entirely buried in the history of the Cold War.<sup>734</sup>

It is the Indonesian tactic of supporting military atrocities against civilians which would come to be applied around the world, in Brazil, Chile, and elsewhere, and would even take the name, “the Jakarta method.”<sup>735</sup> It is precisely such inhuman violence which led the Soviets to attempt to fight back amidst the risk of retaliation from the United States, and why they supported the progressive socialist government in Afghanistan while the US backed Islamic fundamentalist terror through the Mujahideen, beginning a nightmare for Afghanistan and much of the Muslim world which continues to this day.<sup>736</sup> The recent memory of events in Indonesia and in Chile had been the most significant factors in the Soviet determination to fight for Afghanistan’s sovereignty and not to allow them to fall prey to such a monstrous end - events noted by Mahmood Baralai.<sup>737</sup> The Soviets came to the aid of the immensely impoverished Afghan people not as invaders, but with legal support at the request of a sovereign nation completely justified under the UN Charter, and in a struggle against ruthless reactionary forces comparable to the fight against fascism in Spain fifty years prior.<sup>738</sup> Revolutionary leaders like

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<sup>734</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 2-3, 154-156, and Prasad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 119-120

<sup>735</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 159, 238

<sup>736</sup> Golan, *The Soviet Union and National Liberation Movements in the Third World*, 226-229, Prasad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 101-104, Kivelson & Suny, *Russia's Empires*, 343, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 30, Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 229, National Archives of Hungary, “Soviet briefing on the talks between Brezhnev and B. Karmal in Moscow,” (Oct. 29, 1980), Attila Kolontari and Zsafia Zelnik trans., accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112500>, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 92

<sup>737</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 57-58, 128

<sup>738</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 156, Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 58, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Central Committee, “Message to Soviet Ambassadors on the ‘Invasion’ of Afghanistan, Attachment to CPSU Politburo Decree #177,” (Dec. 29, 1979.) Gary Goldberg trans., accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113048>, and Ranadive, “Seventy Glorious Years: Achievements and Problems,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 65

Anahita Ratebzad gratefully acknowledged Soviet assistance against foreign backed mercenaries, without which the movement towards women's emancipation would be lost.<sup>739</sup> In a private meeting between the West German SPD and Afghan government representatives led by Baralai, even West German officials would acknowledge that the Afghans clearly had no alternative but to request Soviet assistance.<sup>740</sup> American and British mercenaries who had fought to uphold white supremacy in Angola would also take part in the gleeful murder of Afghans.<sup>741</sup> Zbigniew Brezhinski had determined that Afghanistan would be the "turning point," and cynically played on the communist tradition of internationalism in expectation that the Soviet Union would come to Afghanistan's aid to defend against imperialist invasion as Lenin had insisted, and looked to bleed them there, caught in a 'bear trap' costing the USSR \$3-4 billion per year, all while blaming them for wrecking Detente and painting them as the aggressors.<sup>742</sup> Most Non-Aligned countries however opposed equating Soviet support for Afghanistan with US and imperialist actions.<sup>743</sup> Cuba, Angola, and others in the Third World would ultimately speak against Gorbachev's withdrawal from Afghanistan, but Gorbachev betrayed the Afghans and many other national liberation movements.<sup>744</sup> Today this is remembered as a Soviet 'invasion' in the

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<sup>739</sup> Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 100

<sup>740</sup> HSWP Bulletin, "Report on the Secret Talks of the Representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the German Social-Democratic Party in Hungary," (May 01, 1983), accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112501>

<sup>741</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 213-214, and Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, 209-210

<sup>742</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 102-104, Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism*, 118, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 92, 122

<sup>743</sup> National Archives of Hungary, "Soviet briefing on the need to counter-balance Yugoslav endeavors concerning the Afghan question in the non-aligned countries," (1980), Attila Kolontari and Zsofia Zelnik trans., accessed via Cold War International History Project, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112499>

<sup>744</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 132-133, 156-157, 174, 212

narratives of the colonial and imperialist countries largely thanks to the efforts of Ronald Reagan and the court historians who have been willing to write the history that pays.<sup>745</sup>

The USSR had emerged from WWII greatly weakened, and even as it continually closed the gap, it had always remained a far weaker and poorer opponent than the United States, saddled with numerous disadvantages, and the concept of socialism would have to pay for the imagined dichotomy of two opposing superpowers amidst Soviet material limitations.<sup>746</sup> Ultimately the USSR took on commitments far beyond its realistic capability. It is clear however that Terry Martin's claim that the Soviet Union represented what Lenin would call "the highest form of imperialism" is completely and utterly in contradiction with the facts. It is neocolonialism and finance capitalism under American dominance which represents the highest stage of imperialism, as Nkrumah stated. To compare the unparalleled inhumanity of the United States, of the old colonial powers, and of Nazi Germany to the Soviet Union which consistently, and often thanklessly fought to oppose them is a crime against history which has had and will continue to have devastating consequences, and those historians which perpetuate such falsehoods have on their shoulders an immense weight of historical responsibility.

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<sup>745</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 93, and Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 5, 167, 182-183, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 152, and Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 56, 156

<sup>746</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 59-60, Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, 8, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 127

## Epilogue

### The Third World On Every Continent

With the Cold War thirty years behind us and the Soviet Union long gone, there can be no personal gain remotely possible from a defense of its policies. The burden of scholarship and evidence placed on those who defy the dominant political narrative is invariably far greater than that placed on those bourgeois intellectuals who deal in ideologically ‘safe’ history, but for this reason precisely, and because they are far more often challenged and forced to defend themselves, in many cases radical views are decidedly more reliable.<sup>747</sup> For example, the journalist David Remnick, whose book, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of Soviet Empire*, which is to this day assigned in Canadian university level history courses, openly states that the greatest “historical work” to come from the Soviet Union is the fascist sympathiser Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s *fictional novel, The Gulag Archipelago*, and listing the capitalist bankrolled *New York Times* which employed him as among his main sources - and this is allowed to pass as scholarship without challenge.<sup>748</sup> François Furet, honoured with some of the most prestigious awards in the social sciences, and condemning the October and French Revolutions in one swipe, similarly held Solzhenitsyn’s work as “the basic historical reference for the Soviet experience.”<sup>749</sup> Invariably, Solzhenitsyn appears also in the introduction to Snyder’s *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*.<sup>750</sup> Solzhenitsyn, an antisemite, Nazi sympathiser, and literary *vlasovtsy* who fawned on Franco, Pinochet, and Suharto; who frequently bemoaned the loss of Portugal’s colonies; whose novels are promoted by the likes of neo-fascists such as Steve Bannon and Jordan Peterson, and who even Kissinger admitted was “to the right of the Czar” -

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<sup>747</sup> Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, v, and Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 2

<sup>748</sup> Remnick, *Lenin’s Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, 38, 533

<sup>749</sup> François Furet quoted in Losurdo, *War and Revolution, Rethinking the 20th Century*, 1-2

<sup>750</sup> Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, xiii

this is a legitimate historical source?<sup>751</sup> Solzhenystin's novels as a historical source clearly demonstrate a link between popular and scholarly narratives around Soviet history.

In the leadup to, and after the war had broken out, the Gestapo and the SD were active in recruiting individuals from a number of nationalities to take part in organising the annihilation of their own peoples as well as providing their services as propagandists against socialist countries.<sup>752</sup> One such example was the Uzbek Baymirza Hayit, a teacher born and educated in the Soviet Union, and POW, who, unlike the majority of Soviet prisoners of war “who preferred concentration camps and prison cells rather than serve the nazi invaders,” was enlisted in the Sonderkommand SS and voluntarily began disseminating Nazi ideas, attempting to form an SS East Muslim Division, as well as the the Timur Battalion, and the Turkestan Legion from traitorous Central Asian prisoners - a task which proved more difficult than anticipated due to their strong sense of allegiance to the Soviet Union and the Friendship of Peoples it stood for, such as the 67 Uzbeks, 16 Turkmen, 15 Tajiks, and 12 Kirghizes who would be honoured as Heroes of the Soviet Union.<sup>753</sup> Hayit personally murdered hundreds of innocent people, including Muslims, burning his compatriots alive, and taking part in numerous anti-partisan activities, as well as notably, the crushing of the Warsaw uprising, services for which he would receive a Nazi order.<sup>754</sup> Soon after the war, Hayit would receive a doctorate in the history of the East in West Germany, and continued his wartime efforts in propagating against the Soviet Union for the FRG - a fine example of the sort of Central Asians that could be found to speak out against the Soviet

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<sup>751</sup> Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956, An Experiment in Literary Investigation I-II*, Thomas P. Whitney trans., (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 253, 255-259, 261, and Alex La Guma, “Alexander Solzhenitsyn: ‘Life Through a Crooked Eye,’” *African Communist*, No. 56, (Jan., 1974), 70, 79

<sup>752</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 39-40

<sup>753</sup> *Ibid*, 41-43, 172-173

<sup>754</sup> *Ibid*, 43-44

nationalities policy during the Cold War.<sup>755</sup> Clearly, liberal identity politics can be no replacement for class analysis.

In Canada however, it is Ukrainian Nazi collaborators who have in many cases monopolized historical narratives, and the “evil empire” image of the Soviet Union is one that owes them a significant debt.<sup>756</sup> This is not because they have dominated political and historical discourse on this subject on their own, but precisely because the campaigns of Ukrainian fascists have coincided with those of the broader right-wing, which has given them more or less free reign to pitch propaganda as history.<sup>757</sup> It is no secret that in 1950, the entire Galician Waffen SS was admitted to Canada en masse; that the colonial police force, the RCMP, facilitated the entry of SS members and collaborators who fled with the Nazis into the country, and that monuments to this division and others today remain not only standing, but protected by the police, who in July of 2020 opened an investigation of vandalism to one such monument located in Oakville Ontario as a *hate crime*.<sup>758</sup> Indeed, Ukrainian Nazis can be found on public record openly bragging about the prominence of SS members and ultra-nationalists in leading positions in Ukrainian organisations, in government, and in education, having for years dominated many Ukrainian and Eastern European studies departments in Canadian universities - the consequences of which have only just begun to be realised.<sup>759</sup>

The tactics of destabilisation familiar in the Third World would ultimately be applied against an overextended Soviet Union which combined with an internal coup against socialism

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<sup>755</sup> Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 44-45

<sup>756</sup> Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 2-3, 132-133

<sup>757</sup> *Ibid*, 3, 128

<sup>758</sup> *Ibid*, 123, Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (A Reply to Falsifiers)*, 39, and David Pugliese, “Graffiti on monument commemorating Nazi SS division being investigated as a hate crime by police,” *Ottawa Citizen*, (July 17, 2020), <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/national/defence-watch/graffiti-on-monument-commemorating-nazi-ss-division-being-investigated-as-a-hate-crime-by-police>

<sup>759</sup> Tottle, *Fraud, Famine and Fascism, The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*, 127-128

by a corrupt minority of bureaucrats and intellectuals, as Gorbechev's Perestroika policies reintroduced elements of capitalism leading to economic difficulty, before he cynically stirred up national enmity for political gains, ultimately seeking an alliance with imperialism.<sup>760</sup> David Remnick would call the October Counter-Revolution "a triumphant moment in a tragic century," and many 'left' academics similarly cheered the Soviet collapse, but to pretend this was a triumph of 'democracy' would be a blatant falsehood.<sup>761</sup> 76 percent of the Soviet population had voted in a referendum to preserve the Union, and in the Central Asian republics, that number was over 90 percent.<sup>762</sup> In 1991, even US polling companies found a majority of Soviet citizens wanted to keep the socialist system.<sup>763</sup> Today, with the benefit of hindsight and the capitalist experience, polls show more people than ever long for the return of the Soviet Union and of socialism.<sup>764</sup>

While 'democracy' had served as a useful tool in the destabilisation process, that would quickly be cast aside, and by 1993, Yeltsin would forcibly disband parliament, along with every representative body down to regional and municipal councils, launching an armed attack on the parliament building killing between one and two thousand resisters and demonstrators, jailing thousands more, banning labour unions from political activity, taking monopoly control over

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<sup>760</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 46, 165-167, 170, 176, Prakash Karat in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 103, 133-134, Yechury in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 136, 148, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 158, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 168

<sup>761</sup> Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb, The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, 531, Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 128, and Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 57

<sup>762</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 165, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 156, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 192, 212

<sup>763</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 74

<sup>764</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 128, and Andrei Nikerichev, "75% of Russians Say Soviet Era Was 'Greatest Time' in Country's History – Poll," *Moskva News Agency*, (March 24, 2020), <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/03/24/75-of-russians-say-soviet-era-was-greatest-time-in-countrys-history-poll-a69735>

broadcast media, permanently banning fifteen political parties, unilaterally scrapping the constitution, and all with the help of millions of dollars in aid from the US and a ten billion dollar aid package from the IMF to prevent the democratic election of the Communist Party.<sup>765</sup> To transform this violent coup into a victory for democracy, Parenti asserts, is one of the wonders of modern propaganda.<sup>766</sup>

In the former socialist countries, the decline in communist power has corresponded with the return of virulent antisemitism, neo-nazis and crypto-fascists.<sup>767</sup> Statues of Lenin were removed alongside monuments memorialising the struggle against fascism, and in some cases, as in Lithuania, former Nazis and collaborators were not only exonerated, but compensated with public funds, while the Communist Party was banned.<sup>768</sup> As the FRG essentially colonised the GDR, two trillion dollars would be seized from public funds and given to private firms, along with over a trillion more stolen in the USSR, and aid across the former Second World, as in Third World countries, would be funnelled into the pockets of multinational corporations to create favourable conditions for investment.<sup>769</sup> The FRG's government was unhesitating in the destruction of over 50,000 tonnes of East German books, and the exhibit at Buchenwald on the connections between big capital and the Third Reich was replaced by a memorial to post-war detainees, most of whom were Nazi collaborators.<sup>770</sup> Across Eastern Europe, internationalism and solidarity with the Third World became criminal activity, Zhivkov being accused of

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<sup>765</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 128, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 134, 139, and Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 87-91, 94, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 165-166

<sup>766</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 134-135

<sup>767</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 38, and Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 71-72

<sup>768</sup> Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 163-164, and Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 95

<sup>769</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 128, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 100-103, and Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 37-38, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 157

<sup>770</sup> Parenti, *History as Mystery*, 138, and Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 113

economic sabotage for the generous loans offered to Cuba, Nicaragua, and Laos, while Ceaușescu would be condemned by his opponents for having attempted to “remove Romania to Africa.”<sup>771</sup>

The life expectancy of the average Russian dropped by five years during this decade, and has never recovered, with over a million Russians estimated to have died due to the process of economic ‘shock therapy’ and mass privatisation.<sup>772</sup> Living standards dropped by as much as *half*, and capitalism came to the former socialist countries alongside dramatic increases in poverty, inflation, corruption, gang violence, street crime, suicide rates, addiction, unemployment, homelessness, malnutrition, illiteracy, pollution, rape, prostitution, child sex trafficking, domestic violence, contract murders, infant and adult mortality rates, drug overdoses, STI’s, polio, tuberculosis, cholera, and other diseases, in addition to economic, racial, and social inequality.<sup>773</sup> The autonomous region of Ingushetia used its newfound freedom to decriminalise polygamy and legalised the selling of women into marriage.<sup>774</sup> Education and healthcare, once free, have become prohibitively expensive.<sup>775</sup> The economies of most former socialist countries are today smaller than they were in 1990, with growth slowing dramatically, and the promised ‘democratic freedoms’ never having arrived.<sup>776</sup> That ethnic and national enmity were rooted in poverty, economic competition, and imperialist maldevelopment has been proven by the loss of

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<sup>771</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 21

<sup>772</sup> Vijay Prashad in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 17, and Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 128

<sup>773</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 10-11, 174, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 157, Prashad in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 17, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 37-38, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 106-116, and Veronika Stoyaniva, “Bulgaria’s Unending Transition to Capitalism,” *Jacobin*, (November 15, 2020),

[https://jacobinmag.com/2020/11/bulgaria-capitalism-austerity-world-bank-imf?fbclid=IwAR05rSoKmn6Ggc\\_lfcOkEdfEWQwG49d4gQPvI2z9dCz-QGyzmcBVjttkrwE](https://jacobinmag.com/2020/11/bulgaria-capitalism-austerity-world-bank-imf?fbclid=IwAR05rSoKmn6Ggc_lfcOkEdfEWQwG49d4gQPvI2z9dCz-QGyzmcBVjttkrwE)

<sup>774</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 115

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid*, 107, 113-114

<sup>776</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington’s Anticomunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 236-237, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 241

the socialist system, as wars and ethnic conflict almost immediately returned to the former socialist states and continue to this day.<sup>777</sup>

Essentially, the former USSR and other socialist countries have themselves fallen from the Second World to the Third, many of these states now devastated semi-colonies.<sup>778</sup> In fact, Third World conditions have become the norm for greater and greater numbers of people in the United States itself, even as the wealth gap between the First and Third Worlds has grown, and profits reached record heights for the few.<sup>779</sup> Without the competition of the Soviet Union to worry about, there is no longer a need to offer concessions to working people, and growing inequality in the United States comes alongside skyrocketing debt, an exploding military budget, deepening recession and austerity, and indeed, more foreign ‘aid’ than ever before.<sup>780</sup> NATO meanwhile has continued to expand, despite the loss of its rival, the US remaining a deadly superpower not for defense against the Soviet ‘aggressors,’ but as always had been the case, to lock states into its imperialist network and protect the process of capital accumulation - although the anti-communist fanaticism has also remained.<sup>781</sup> Even in social democratic countries like those in Scandinavia, and to some extent even Canada, or Roosevelt’s New Deal, for all their achievements in the 20th century such as social security, employment insurance, pensions, rising wages, socialised healthcare, subsidised or free education - these had only ever come about due

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<sup>777</sup> Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 19, Smith, *Red Nations, The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*, 160, Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 46, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 160

<sup>778</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 140, and Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 253

<sup>779</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 234, 242, Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 127-129, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 46, and Catharine Smith, “Why the U.S., One of the World’s Richest Countries, Struggles with Diseases of Poverty,” *HuffPost*, (New York: January 30, 2018), [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/america-diseases-of-poverty\\_n\\_5a69f610e4b0dc592a0fe66a](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/america-diseases-of-poverty_n_5a69f610e4b0dc592a0fe66a)

<sup>780</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 230, Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 31-32, Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 57-58, and Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 44

<sup>781</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 14-15, 17, 24 127, and Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 243

to the insecurity of capitalism in the face of the October Revolution and the gains first made possible by the Soviet people, as concessions to *prevent* socialist revolutions in their own countries, concessions which now are all being rolled back.<sup>782</sup> Dutt demonstrated that fascism in the 20th century was able to take root where reformist movements held the working class at bay.<sup>783</sup> In British Columbia, the social democrats are acting in the ‘national interest’ in carrying out violent, militarised invasions of unceded Indigenous territories for the energy and resource monopolies.<sup>784</sup> Should it come as a surprise that white supremacist, ultra-nationalist, and far-right organisations and parties are today making significant gains across the globe?<sup>785</sup>

But unsurprisingly, the greatest losers of the Cold War have been the people of the colonies, the Third World sliding to new lows - a veritable Fourth World.<sup>786</sup> In the global context, the loss of the USSR, the staunchest supporter of oppressed peoples and national liberation movements, meant an end to the counterweight against colonialism and imperialism, and the loss

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<sup>782</sup> Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 169-173, 176

<sup>783</sup> Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution, A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, 107-108, and Davidow, *Perestroika: Its Rise and Fall*, 172

<sup>784</sup> Elizabeth Rowley, “Kinder Morgan: The Real National Interest,” *People’s Voice*, (May 1, 2018), <http://peoplesvoice.ca/2018/05/01/kinder-morgan-the-real-national-interest/> PV Vancouver Bureau, “Growing Resistance Against Horgan and Trudeau Energy Policies,” *People’s Voice*, (Jan. 20, 2020) <http://peoplesvoice.ca/2020/01/20/growing-resistance-against-horgan-and-trudeau-energy-policies/>, and Provincial Executive, Communist Party of BC, “A Ban on Old-Growth Logging in BC is Long Overdue,” *People’s Voice*, (July 14, 2021) <http://peoplesvoice.ca/2021/07/14/a-ban-on-old-growth-logging-in-bc-is-long-overdue/>

<sup>785</sup> Prabhat Patnaik, “Globalisation and the Impasse of Capitalism,” in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 179, Annie Benveniste, Giovanna Campani, & Gabriella Lazaridis eds., *The Rise of the Far Right in Europe, Populist Shifts and 'Othering,'* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1-2, Jo Angouri & Ruth Wodak, “‘They became big in the shadow of the crisis’: The Greek success story and the rise of the far right,” *Discourse & Society*, vol. 25, no. 4, Special Issue on From “Grexit” to “Grecovery”: Euro/Crisis Discourses, (July, 2014), 541, Andrea Levy, “NOXIOUS WEEDS: The growth of the far right in Canada and Quebec,” *Canadian Dimension*, vol. 51, Issue 4, (2017), Thomas Daigle, “Canadians among most active in online right-wing extremism, research finds,” *CBC News*, (June 19, 2020), <https://www.cbc.ca/news/science/canadian-right-wing-extremism-online-1.5617710>, and Clothilde Goujard, “Worried by rise of far-right groups, Canada puts millions into anti-racism effort,” *Washington Post*, (April 1, 2015), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/04/01/worried-by-rise-of-far-right-groups-canada-puts-millions-into-anti-racism-effort/>

<sup>786</sup> Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 48-50

of a model for nations struggling for sovereignty against colonial legacies.<sup>787</sup> As in Eastern Europe, it has become clear precisely what the socialist bloc had been suppressing - and it was not 'democracy.'<sup>788</sup> The USSR had once used the UN as a shield to help protect the Third World, but it has since been used as a weapon against the former colonised and semi-colonised countries, justifying 'humanitarian' interventions.<sup>789</sup> As long as the Soviet Union had existed, the west could never completely isolate national liberation movements, but since its disappearance, economic isolation, destabilisation, and intervention have become much easier, as in Libya, Venezuela and Bolivia, and the floodgates have been flung open entirely - the US has more or less a free hand.<sup>790</sup> In some cases, direct military occupation has even returned in place of subtler neo-colonial forms.<sup>791</sup> As the USSR collapsed, Cuba would go through serious challenges and lean years, while India would cave to the IMF and neo-fascist movements.<sup>792</sup> In Africa, the continent which had suffered more than any under colonial exploitation, the end of Soviet aid meant essentially the extinction of over three decades of hope and dignified struggle.<sup>793</sup> The perception of the socialist world as closed and restrictive is not how Somali-Italian writer Igiabo Scego remembers it, reminiscing how easy it had been in the 1970's to travel between Mogadishu, Rome, and Prague where her brother attended university - not so today.<sup>794</sup> And in Southeast Asia, an unofficial racial hierarchy has been implemented, with poor locals condemned to serve drinks, smiles, hospitality, and sex to white tourists on beaches that had once

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<sup>787</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 4-5, Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 24, and Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 40-41

<sup>788</sup> Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*, 57-58

<sup>789</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 115, and Azad, *Heroic Struggle, Bitter Defeat: Factors Contributing to the Dismantling of the Socialist State in the USSR*, 24-25

<sup>790</sup> Prashad, *Washington Bullets: A History of the CIA, Coups, and Assassinations*, 75-76, 115, Parenti, *Dirty Truths*, 71, and Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, 179

<sup>791</sup> Parenti, *The Face of Imperialism*, 32

<sup>792</sup> Prashad, *Red Star Over the Third World*, 129-130

<sup>793</sup> Keeran & Kenny, *Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, 214

<sup>794</sup> Mark, Kalinovsky, & Marung, *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, 1985

been killing fields.<sup>795</sup> Looking back on the mass murder programs that shaped today's socio-economic landscape and that cut down great leaders like Allende and Aduit, many in the Third World have come to admit that the hardliners - the 'authoritarians' - had been right.<sup>796</sup> In asking a local Indonesian advocate for survivors of the massacre of '65 how it is that imperialism and its US vanguard won the Cold War, Winsarno responds in a way that Bevins explains is all too common: "You killed us."<sup>797</sup> While the Soviet Union is gone, its example cannot be extinguished, and remains as burning proof of an alternative to the painful injustices of today, "and that," as Vijay Prashad writes, "is something to hold on to."<sup>798</sup>

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<sup>795</sup> Bevins, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World*, 245-246

<sup>796</sup> *Ibid*, 243

<sup>797</sup> *Ibid*, 234

<sup>798</sup> Prashad in Dean et al, *Red October, The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon*, 16

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