

# CHAPTER 2

## Examining the History of Self-Determination Prior to World War II: The Russian Model.

### *Introduction*

Self-determination of nations arose as a political concept in reaction to the forced capture and amalgamation of nations; the rise of nation states is directly related to the rise of capitalism as a social system, that of selling goods and services for a profit and reinvesting of profit in order to make more and more money. Capitalism intensified its development in Europe in the late fifteenth century along with the rise of the African slave trade, and the capture of European owners of territory in the Carribean, Central, South, and North America.<sup>1</sup> A significant act of self-determination was the American Revolution. Crispus Attucks, a black and Indian person, was one of the first four to die in the fight for self-determination for the American colonies; many other African and Indian people died in the armed rebellion against the British Empire.<sup>2</sup> They did not fight or die to see slavery preserved. At the time of the French Revolution, self-determination was known as auto-determination among the aware citizens of France and its empire. Fighting for auto-determination, the slaves of Haiti rose up with guns and wrenched their independence from the French government on January 1, 1804.<sup>3</sup> The slaves in the United States and their allies had to wage the Civil War (1861-1865) in order to obtain emancipation. As of today, full self-determination does not yet quite exist for the oppressed African-American people, a distinct people in the United States of America who have been formed into a nation through the workings of the world capitalist system.

In order for the African-American people and their allies to correctly assess what they should do in this period of history, it is important to examine other experiences and ideas dealing with self-determination of nations. Chapter Two, therefore, seeks to explain how self-determination of nations was treated in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, U.S.S.R., prior to and after the October Revolution of 1917 by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik. Chapter Two will also attempt to analyze the positions on self-determination expressed by Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Fourth International. The most determined opposition to the principles of self-determination as defined by this thesis are sections of the leadership of world capitalist governments. Various units of one world government, the United States, for instance, have utilized the formulations of Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Fourth International in various ways. Illustration of this point will occur later in this paper through an examination of the statement by Leon Trotsky that he was willing to appear before the Dies Committee, the precursor of the United States House Un-American Activities Committee that was investigating the Communist International and the Communist Party in the late 1930s in an effort to discredit them. This thesis holds, therefore, that it is imperative to examine the ideas of Leon Trotsky and some of the formulations that represent his ideas.

I. *How was self-determination of nations treated in the U.S.S.R.?*

A. *Historical Development of the U.S.S.R.*

The historical development of the state of Russia followed a similar pattern to those of other nation states.<sup>4</sup> As trade and commerce was further developed between people inside and outside of a given nation, the process of capitalist development intensified. In the case of the people from Russia, William L. Langer states in his work, *An Encyclopedia of World History*, that in the U.S.S.R., forms of slavery existed as in Africa and the United States. "On the territory of the U.S.S.R. the earliest slave-owning societies emerged in the Transcaucasus. The slave-owning state of Uratu came into being in the vicinity of Lake Van (Turkish Armenia) in the 9th century B.C...."<sup>5</sup> Langer states, "The eastern slaves settled on the territory of present-day European Russia in the period from 5th to the 8th century A.D. Little is known of their political history during these centuries..."<sup>6</sup> Eventually the state of Rus was established between 850 and 900 A.D., forming the basis for the expansion of the empire that

## Self-Determination Prior to World War II

became known as Tsarist Russia, an empire controlled by Tsars and Tsarinas. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* defines a Tsar or czar as an emperor.<sup>7</sup> The tsars and tsarinas or the emperors and empresses of Russia ruled its empire until the February 1917 revolution.

B. *Conditions in Tsarist Russia*

As stated earlier, self-determination of nations as a political concept arises in the experience of people as a reaction to the capture of nations and national minorities and the manner in which oppressed and captive people, men, women, and children are treated by oppressor nations. To forcibly control a people, an oppressor nation must engage in political repression. Yet, oppressed people constantly fight against repression, until they are victorious or exterminated. In Russia, Alexander Pushkin, a black person and a noted writer, was very influential in circles that were trying to eliminate the repression of the Tsars.<sup>8</sup> One of the Tsars against whom Pushkin struggled was Tsar Nicholas I. In his work, *Political and Social Upheaval, 1832-1852*, a book in the series, *The Rise of Modern Europe*, of which he is the editor, William Langer compared some of the repression in Russia with that in Germany and Italy and other countries, stating that it was far more severe in Russia than in any other country:

"If repression was the order of the day in the Germanies and in Italy, it was even more so in the Russian Empire of Nicholas I. No ruler in Europe had a greater fear of revolution than he, nor a stronger determination to stamp out subversion. Nicholas had come to the throne in 1825 in the midst of the Decembrist insurrection . . . Having meted out the most severe punishment to the conspirators, the czar established a secret police, the chief function of which was to watch all foreigners and arrest all suspicious persons."<sup>9</sup>

The Tsarist Secret Police also instituted a very strict system of censorship and surveillance in the University system.<sup>10</sup> In various forms the type of political repression enacted upon the oppressed nations of Tsarist Russia as well as upon the people of Russia itself persisted until the Revolution of October, 1917, when self-determination of nations became a reality, a position this thesis hopes to illuminate.

The repression against women in Russia and women from all nationalities cannot be ignored or cast aside in trying to understand conditions in Russia and the Russian empire. Some customs of the



Russian rulers were extremely severe upon women and consequently upon men. One aspect of Byzantine or Greek Christianity and Slavic Orthodox Christianity, for instance, taught that women were unclean and impure; coitus or sexual intercourse was considered something dirty, requiring rituals of cleanliness such as the mandatory taking of a bath after the sex act. Unquestionably, the life of poor women was the hardest. As is true in all capitalist societies, however, repression of women was inflicted upon all classes of women. For example, "in the Russian Empire, there was no higher or professional education for women until the 1830's. There was no secondary education for girls of all classes until the late 1850's..."<sup>11</sup>

Repression against nationalities was also severe. By 1917, the year of the February and October Revolutions, Tsarist Russia was a multi-national state with over 100 nationalities living within its boundaries. The total population of Tsarist Russia consisted of 163 million people. Russians were 43 percent of those and non-Russian nationalities were the remainder. The nations under Tsarist control lived as if they were in a prison. They had no rights. Constantly subjected to torture, denial of equality and self-determination, the people of the oppressed nations were considered aliens. The Tsars also promoted hatred among nationalities by trying to teach the Russian people that non-Russian people were from an inferior race: "The Tsarist government deliberately fanned national discord, instigated one nation against another, engineered Jewish pogroms, and in Transcaucasia, incited Tartars and Armenians to massacre each other."<sup>12</sup>

Repression by the Tsars and their secret police was implemented through various governmental officials in the lands of oppressed nationalities. Most of the governmental officials were Russians, people from the country of Russia. The language of the government in oppressed nationality areas was Russian; records and newspapers were written in Russian, not Ukrainian or Georgian or other nationality languages; Russian was the language taught in schools; the teaching of other languages was forbidden. Every effort was made to impose the Russian culture, the Russian language, and the ways of the Russian Tsars upon the people of more than 100 oppressed nationalities.

Not only were women and oppressed nations the victims of the repression of the Tsars and Tsarinas, but the peasants and the working class in the land of Russia itself suffered from the brutality of police and other agents of repression. Prior to 1860, the prevailing form of the economy in Russia and its captured territory was large

landed estates with serfs attached to them. A serf was a person; man, woman, or child, attached by law to the owners of the estates. If the owner sold his land, then the serf was also sold as a part of the property of the owner. Unable to survive without going into debt, many people were forced by the system of serfdom to attach themselves to a landed estate in order to survive. Hugh Seth-Watson, in his book *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*, states: "The great majority of the people of Russia were peasants, and in the eighteenth century almost all the peasants were either serfs or private landowners or in bondage to the state."<sup>13</sup> Serf labor, however, was unproductive, but more importantly the serfs were constantly rising up determined to end serfdom and overthrow the rule of the Tsars and the Tsarinas. One of the major serf revolts was called the Pugachev Revolt. Describing this uprising, William L. Langer states:

"Not only the Russian but the entire European landlord class lived in constant remembrance of the great uprising of 1773-1774 known as Pugachev's Revolt, during which the Russian nobility had been murdered wholesale, and its estates burned down . . ."<sup>14</sup>

According to Langer, under the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, (1825-1855) the secret police constantly reported that the peasants were anticipating a new Pugachev revolt. Nicholas I "...warned the land-owners against discussing social questions during meals, lest the domestic serf servants hear too much and develop dangerous ideas..."<sup>15</sup> Other peasant uprisings, the general discontent sweeping throughout the world, the low productivity of serf labor, from the viewpoint of the landowners and the forward thrust toward the full emancipation of slaves everywhere in the world, no doubt contributed to the emancipation of the serfs in Russia in 1861. After emancipation, many serfs went into towns and cities looking for jobs. Those that remained on the land were forced to rent land or to work the land on a half and half basis. After emancipation, many African-American people who were former slaves had to eke out a living in the South under similar conditions and terms of rent. As late as 1960, the system of sharecropping, the half and half system where the tenant or the renter gives the owner one half of the profit after all expenses have been deducted from the gross, was still in vogue.<sup>16</sup>

Conditions for workers were also severe in Tsarist Russia. From 1865-1890 the working class increased numerically from 706,000 to 1,143,000. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the



number of workers in all of Russia stood at approximately three million people.<sup>17</sup> Subjected to intense control by the police apparatus of Tsarist Russia, the working class still fought back on a daily basis for a better way of life. Under the direction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, the working class of Tsarist Russia was able to end the domination and control of the Tsars, the Tsarinas, their appointed officials and their police system, including the dreaded Russian Secret Service. The next section of this paper attempts to trace aspects of the history of the revolt against oppression.

#### C. Organized Revolt Against the Oppressive Conditions in Tsarist Russia

Reacting to oppressive conditions in 19th century Tsarist Russia, many people, such as Alexander Plekhanov and Vladimir I. Lenin, began to examine the ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In 1847, both of these revolutionaries had been invited by an organization called the Communist League to write *The Communist Manifesto*, a book that attempted to describe the role of the various classes in capitalist society. *The Communist Manifesto* also attempted to show how the working class and its allies could take power away from the class of owners and managers and end the misery and exploitation of working people. The sponsoring organization, the Communist League, was subjected to a great deal of harassment and intimidation, finally dissolving itself. Later in 1867, Karl Marx, and then Frederick Engels were asked to participate in the formation of the International Workingmen's Association, an organization that became known as the First International. The First International helped to create the conditions for the organizing of working class parties in many different countries. It also led many fights against capitalism and monarchism. Unable to overcome the splits created by the anarchists led by Bakunin, the First International was transferred from Europe to the United States of America. Later, it was dissolved.<sup>18</sup> One of the parties that developed from the influence of the First International was the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

Under repressive conditions, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, sought to solve the national question in Tsarist Russia through the building of a strong, centralized, working class, political party guided by the theory of Marxism. At its Congress in 1903 it adopted a political program calling for the self-determination of nations.<sup>19</sup> Self-determination of nations was consistently defined from 1903 until the October Revolution of 1917 as meaning the right of nations to secede from any oppressor govern-

ment. In the case of the oppressed nations under the rule of Tsarist Russia, self-determination of nations meant the right to secede from Tsarist Russia and to form independent nations. Secession, however, was not the only form of self-determination advocated by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik. It also consistently fought for the right of federation and the right of autonomy, autonomy under a bourgeois democratic republic or autonomy under socialism.

#### D. The February 1917 Revolution

In 1917 there were two revolutions, the February Revolution and the October Revolution. In the February Revolution, Alexander Kerensky (1881-1970) became the head of the Russian state and its Provisional government. Summing up his life, an obituary of Alexander Kerensky that appeared in *The Times* [London, England] on June 15, 1970 stated that Kerensky died at the age of 89 in New York City.<sup>20</sup> This obituary also states that Kerensky's father, the headmaster of a local gymnasium, also taught Vladimir I. Lenin, though it does not say for how long or in what subjects. A graduate in law and a member of the St. Petersburg bar, Kerensky became famous for defending some political prisoners in Tsarist Russia. In 1912, he was elected to the Duma. *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines the Duma as "the former Russian parliament, set up as a consultative body in 1905 by Czar Nicholas II...."<sup>21</sup> After the February 1917 revolution, Kerensky was first appointed to the Ministry of Justice. Later he became the head of the War Office and the Admiralty of the Provisional government. *The Times* obituary of Alexander Kerensky states that Kerensky went into hiding during the ten days of the Bolshevik Revolution. Escaping from Russia in a British destroyer, Kerensky in exile first went to Britain. Two years later his wife and two sons joined him there. After living for some time in Germany and Czechoslovakia, Kerensky stayed mostly in France until his departure for the United States in 1940. His activities in the United States are not discussed in this obituary, except that he travelled for brief visits to Europe, Australia and elsewhere.

Kerensky has written four books about his life and experiences in Russia.<sup>22</sup> In one of these, *Russia and History's Turning Point*, he speaks for the first time about the Freemasons and his membership in that order.<sup>23</sup> Kerensky states the organization of Freemasons did play a leading role in the politics and ideological development of Russia. They aided the advancement of education and involved themselves in the organization of printing houses.



Kerensky portrays the Freemasons in Russia as advocates of the ending of Tsarist absolutism. The Freemasons were, however, dedicated to organizing the elite of Russia in order to accomplish their objectives. Kerensky joined the Freemasons in 1912 after his election to the Duma.

Kerensky also states that his Masonic order was an irregular formation: It permitted women to join and it had severed ties with all international masonic bodies. Abolishing the complex ritual of the masonic order, his order stressed moral qualifications that would help to maintain secrecy among the members. In order to insure that the truth about the Masonic order would be told, Alexander Kerensky was instructed by his fellow Masonic members when he left the U.S.S.R. in 1918 that he was free to state that he was a member of the Masonic order but he was duty bound not to mention any names of his fellow members. In 1965, after it had been publicly revealed that he had been a member of the Freemasons, he decided to break his own imposed silence. Kerensky states that Gregory Aronsom indentified him as a member of the Freemasons in his book, *Rossiya Nakerene Revotulsii*.

Discussing Masonry in Russia, Leopold Haimson in an article, "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905-1917," printed in the March, 1965 issue of *The Slavic Review* states "The role of Masonry in the prehistory of the Russian Revolution has remained to this day so shrouded in obscurity and so wrapped in controversy as to defy precise historical description."<sup>24</sup> Haimson's article was written before Kerensky's book *Russia and History's Turning Point*. Haimson points out in his article that Kerensky and the other three leaders of the central decision making body of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in early 1917 were Freemasons.

Haimson states, moreover, that Masonry in Tsarist Russia has to be considered as one of the social forces that was organized to help take power. The disintegration of the Tsarist empire, the wide gap between the aristocracy of Tsarist Russia and the masses of the people, especially the industrial workers, produced a situation that invited some new forces to take power. In the final stage of the Third Duma, the last parliament of the Tsars, a concerted effort was made to revive Russian Masonry by those wishing to work underground for the liberation of Russia. Hence, efforts were made to unite representatives of all the parties including the Bolshevik Party into a loose ideological and organizational framework inside the Masonic order. There an oath of absolute secrecy was imposed upon the members.

#### E. *The Kerensky Government and Self-determination.*

Constantly challenged by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, the Kerensky government, officially known as the Provisional government of 1917, failed to accept the principles of self-determination articulated by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik. In other words, the nationalities captured by the tsars and tsarinas should remain under the jurisdiction of the Russian government, headed by the Provisional government.

In one of its proposed draft articles, the Kerensky government states: "The Russian state is one and indivisible...."<sup>25</sup> In opposition to the Kerensky government, the demand for self-determination by the Bolshevik Party, including the right to separation, was one of the pivotal issues that ushered in the October 1917 Revolution.

#### F. *The October 1917 Revolution and the Right of Self-Determination.*

On October 24, 1917 the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, directing the work of the Soviets or Councils of Workers and Soldiers, assumed command of the Russian state and its vast territory. Alexander Kerensky and his followers went into hiding, having tried to form a government after the abdication of power by Tsar Nicholas II on March 15, 1917 and by his brother Michael on March 16, 1917. As its first decree, the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies which took over from the Kerensky government issued an announcement to all the Citizens of Russia stating the Provisional Revolutionary Government had been overthrown.<sup>26</sup> State power in the land once known as Tsarist Russia now resided in the hands of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies and the Revolutionary Military Committee. In charge of the garrison, the place where guns are kept and where soldiers are stationed, the Revolutionary Military Committee stated in its decree that a democratic peace had been secured, landed ownership had been abolished, workers' control over production was insured, and the power of the Soviets over society installed.

Attended by a number of peasants, at its second All Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers, on October 25, 1917 the new government of formerly Tsarist Russia issued a decree to Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants guaranteeing self-determination to all the nations of Tsarist Russia.<sup>25</sup> The decree also stated the new government would propose a general armistice to all nations on all fronts; the new government would promise to transfer all the land of



the Tsars and Tsarinas and the monasteries to the peasants without charging them anything for the land. Thus, the former serfs and their descendants would have land without having to incur debt and pay compensation at any time. The new government also promised in this decree to protect the rights of the soldiers in the army by introducing democracy; it further promised to establish workers' control over production and to provide bread for the people of the cities and the major necessities to all villages. Transferring all the power of the Tsar, the Tsarina, and their administration to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants Deputies, the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers brought the peasants of Russia into the new government.

The new government that assumed power on October 24, 1917 made two other important decisions that vitally affect this thesis. First, it formed the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic;<sup>28</sup> then, it formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, U.S.S.R.<sup>29</sup> Concerning the first decision, the formation of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, everyone in it was free to remain or to leave. The Socialist Republic was a voluntary union of people that considered itself a free socialist society composed of the working people of Russia, organized into rural and urban councils. In situations where there were people who were of one particular national composition and who had a specific way of living they were grouped into regional autonomous unions. These unions were then federated with the central government of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic. Self-determination of nations in the state of Russia itself was implemented, therefore, in the above manner. In essence, that particular form of organization exists today.

Through the implementation of the second decision, the decision to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the new government attempted to resolve the question of nations captured by the former Tsars and Tsarinas. The new government first guaranteed self-determination; then it proposed and agreed to a union of the newly independent countries into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Item 26 in the treaty of formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics guarantees the right of any Republic to freely secede from the union.<sup>30</sup>

Self-determination of nations was defined by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party to mean that an oppressed nation had the right to independence from any oppressor nation. At the same time, oppressed nations had the right to federate with other nations including socialist nations. Inside the newly emancipated Russian

Socialist state, the right to federate with the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic was extended and accepted by many formerly oppressed nations. At the same time other formerly oppressed nations voted to form a union with the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, culminating in the Treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was in this manner that the national question was solved in the land once known as Tsarist Russia, an empire that enslaved over 100 nationalities, an empire that treated non-Russians as the dregs of society; non-Russians were people who were pounced upon, kicked, humiliated and robbed each day of the right to earn a living. The resolution of the national question in Tsarist Russia aided the theory and practice of self-determination of nations. This thesis tries to analyze that experience in order to determine its relevance to the oppressed African-American people. Before doing that, however, it is necessary to examine the ideas of Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party, and The 4th International on the question of self-determination of nations.

## II. *Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party, The 4th International, and the Question of Self-determination*

Leon Trotsky is considered the founder of the Socialist Workers Party, an active political formation in the United States, as well as the founder of The 4th International, the worldwide political organization that represents his ideas. Born in 1879 with the name Lev Davidovich Bronstein, Leon Trotsky was assassinated on August 21, 1940 in Mexico.<sup>31</sup> Early in life he embraced Marxism. Active in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party as a Menshevik, he joined with the Bolsheviks to assume power from the Kerensky government in October 1917. In 1929 he was exiled from the U.S.S.R., and went to Prinkipo, Turkey, the headquarters of Pan-Islamism.<sup>32</sup> At the time of his expulsion from the U.S.S.R., a serious factional fight existed in the U.S.S.R. between Leon Trotsky and his supporters, on the one hand, and the Russian Communist Party, headed by Joseph V. Stalin, its General Secretary, on the other. Unfortunately, historiography in many countries of the world has portrayed these events as a fight merely between Stalin and Trotsky. This characterization blurs and often ignores the analysis of Leon Trotsky in his book, *The New Course*, where he writes that factions in a party are not only desirable but necessary.<sup>33</sup> The Russian Communist Party, however, took the position that factions cannot exist in a party.<sup>34</sup> Trotsky was allegedly expelled from the U.S.S.R. for serious fac-



tionalism that led to armed attacks on the state of the U.S.S.R. Ten years after his expulsion, Leon Trotsky wrote an article on December 11, 1939 stating his reasons for consenting to appear before the Dies Committee, popularly known as the United States House Un-American Activities Committee, the committee of the United States Congress that was investigating the Communist Party and the Communist International with a view to legislating them out of existence. Trotsky maintained in this statement that Stalinism was very reactionary and that when the workers understood this they would turn away from it.<sup>35</sup>

Leon Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International, did not believe the African-American people are a nation. Trotsky stated the "Negroes are a race and not a nation. Nations grow out of racial material under definite conditions."<sup>36</sup> At the same time he made this statement the independent nation of Liberia did exist and Africa had been carved up into national states. Trotsky further stated that the Fourth International did not "...obligate the Negroes to become a nation: whether they are, is a question of their own consciousness, that is, what they desire and what they strive for..."<sup>37</sup> From the words of Leon Trotsky himself one can only conclude that Trotsky believed that the African-American people are a nation if and when they decide to become a nation. The premise of Leon Trotsky that the African-American people are a race and not a nation is open to serious challenge. Members of any race of people may live in various nations. It is also possible that an entire race of people may live in only one nation. Today, however, the various races of people live in many different nations.

The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, however, maintained "a nation is an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and culture."<sup>38</sup> This party later upheld in the Communist International the position that the African-American people were a nation. In the definition of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Bolshevik, the question of will and desire have no significance. A nation is a scientific phenomenon that can be proven. Its existence does not rest upon the will of anyone. To attempt to will a nation into existence is not scientific and actions not based on scientific methodology will eventually do great harm to people.

### III. *Summation and Conclusion*

After defining self-determination in Chapter One, this thesis

concluded that the African-American people were an oppressed nation in their historic homeland known as the Black Belt. The present chapter has attempted to examine the overall history of self-determination by focusing on the experiences of Tsarist Russia, the U.S.S.R., and the ideas of Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Fourth International. This examination has been made for the specific purpose of trying to assess the relevance of self-determination of nations to the African-American people. Following are some of the findings of this thesis: The experiences of the African-American people have been similar to some of the experiences of the former oppressed nationalities in Tsarist Russia in that the African-American people have been denied their national rights and oppressed as a nation. The African-American people have been subjected to many forms of brutality as some of the people of Tsarist Russia were. Serfdom and slavery were often de facto similar. Sharecropping existed in both Tsarist Russia and the United States. The oppression of women is a characteristic of societies where national oppression exists. Racial persecution existed in Tsarist Russia as it exists in the United States today: the Tsarist Secret Service fiercely oppressed the people of Tsarist Russia as the police system of the United States inflicts terror upon the African-American and other people; the lack of knowledge about the roots of the people in Tsarist Russia was a constant problem. Denied many educational opportunities, it has been difficult for the African-American people to fully uncover their roots. In Tsarist Russia there were more than 100 oppressed nationalities; today, in the United States the African-American people are just one of many oppressed nationalities: inside the United States there are many oppressed Indian nations and various oppressed minority nationalities, such as the Puerto Rican national minority, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Chicano-American, and others.

Based on these findings, which road will the African-American nation take: the road of constant oppression, racial humiliation, suppression of the rights of women, unemployment, and forced genocide, or will it take the path of the oppressed nationalities of Tsarist Russia, the path that led to the liberation of oppressed nations and minorities? In an effort to analyze which road the African-American people may take in the future the next chapter, Chapter Three, seeks to trace the history of self-determination as articulated by the Communist Party USA for the Black Belt Nation from 1928 until 1945.



<sup>1</sup>For an analysis of the origins and development of capitalism consult, Oliver C. Cox, *The Foundations of Capitalism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), Jean Baechler, translated from the French by Barry Cooper, *The Origins of Capitalism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), and John Chamberlin, *The Roots of Capitalism* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1959).

<sup>2</sup>Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, *The Story of The Negro Retold*, the Fourth Edition (Washington, D.C., The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1959) p. 50 f.f.

<sup>3</sup>William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), p. 862.

<sup>4</sup>*Outline History of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 1960), pp. 7-69.

<sup>5</sup>*Outline History of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History*, p. 258.

<sup>7</sup>G. & C. Merriam Co., *Webster's New Geographical Dictionary*, p. 285.

<sup>8</sup>William L. Langer, *Political and Social Upheaval, 1832-1852* (New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 157, 158.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Sittes, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia, Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 4-12.

<sup>12</sup>Central Committee, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (Bolshevik), Short Course* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Hugh Seth-Watson, *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917* (London: Oxford University Press, Ely House, 1967), p. 21.

<sup>14</sup>William L. Langer, *Political and Social Upheaval*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>16</sup>James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1972), p. 120 ff.

<sup>17</sup>Central Committee, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik*, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals. The World Socialist and Communist Movements from 1848 to the Present* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968), pp. 1-131.

<sup>19</sup>Vladimir I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 6, "The National Question in Our Program," (Moscow: Progress Publishers, Third Printing, 1974), p. 453. Consult also Joseph V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Volume 2, "On the Road to Nationalism," (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1953), p. 296.

<sup>20</sup>Frank C. Roberts, compiler. *Obituaries from the Times 1961-1970* (Reading, RG3 2DF England: Newspaper Archive Developments Limited, 16 Westcote Road, 1975), p. 440.

<sup>21</sup>Jean L. McKechnie, editor, *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary*, Unabridged, Second Edition (New York: The Publishers Guild, Inc., 1963) p. 563.

<sup>22</sup>The four books by Alexander Kerensky are: *The Catastrophe: Kerensky's Own Story of the Russian Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1927); *The Crucifixion of Liberty*, (New York: The John Day Co., 1934); *The Prelude to Bolshevism: The Kornilov Rising*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1919); *Russia and History's Turning Point* (New York: Duell, Sloan, Pearce, 1965).

<sup>23</sup>Kerensky, *Russia and History's Turning Point*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>24</sup>Leopold Haimson, "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905-1917," *The Slavic Review*; *American Quarterly of Soviet & East European Studies* (Champaign, Illinois: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 409 E. Chalmers St., Room 359, University of Illinois, March 1965), p. 13.

<sup>25</sup>Robert Paul Browder & Alexander F. Kerensky, *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917, Documents*. Volume I of a three volume series (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961) p. 319.

<sup>26</sup>V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, volume 26 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, Second Printing, 1972) p. 236, dated 10 a.m. October 25, 1917.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 247-248, dated October 25, 1917.

<sup>28</sup>Joseph V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, volume 4, pp. 81-82.

<sup>29</sup>Joseph V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, volume 5 (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1953) pp. 403-410.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>Maxine Block, Editor, *Current Biography, Who's News and Why, 1940*, (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1940), p. 814.

footnotes-2

<sup>32</sup>The origins of Pan-Islamism are described in *The Collected Works of Joseph V. Stalin*, Volume 2, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1953), p. 417.



<sup>33</sup>Leon Trotsky, *The New Course* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 27-38.

<sup>34</sup>Joseph V. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (Peking, China: Foreign Language Press), p. 118.

<sup>35</sup>*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-1940* (New York: Pathfinder Press, Second Printing, 1977), p. 434.

<sup>36</sup>Leon Trotsky, *On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972), p. 13.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>Joseph V. Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question," printed in *The Collected Works of Joseph V. Stalin, Volume 2, 1907-1913* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), p. 307.