

HOW

RUSSIA

TRANSFORMED
LIBRARY OBTAINED

HER

COLONIAL

EMPIRE

V58:17.N4

H6

13533

LeDieu

George Padmore

HOW RUSSIA TRANSFORMED HER COLONIAL EMPIRE

by

GEORGE PADMORE

THE sub-title, "A Challenge to the Imperialist Powers" indicates the author's attitude towards the idea of Empire. George Padmore is a West Indian of African origin, and has a practical knowledge and interest in the British Empire. He lived in the U.S.S.R. for some years and was a member of the Moscow Soviet for a time.

In a letter to the publisher in which he discussed this book, he says of it: "Revolutions upset the social, economic and political arrangement between *social classes* and in the case of the Russian Revolution between the racial and national elements making up the old Czarist Empire. That is the main thesis of my book. I show (a) the relationship between the Russians (Slavs) and non-Russians (Asiatic) under Czarism. (b) How the U.S.S.R. transformed the oppressor-oppressed relationship to one of political equality, i.e., the Federal State structure. (c) How this has given greater strength and stability to the U.S.S.R. compared to imperial relations, i.e., the British Colonial and Indian Empires. (d) How the former subject peoples have been helped to catch up with the Western part of the Union."

Stalin's

advice to friends of the

Soviet Peoples

ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R. IN 1945, STALIN TOLD THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION THAT ON THEIR RETURN TO BRITAIN THEY SHOULD:

“TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA. WE HAVE MANY THINGS THAT ARE GOOD AND MANY THAT ARE NOT. TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT BOTH. WE ARE QUITE AWARE THAT EVERYTHING IS NOT PERFECT IN THE U.S.S.R.”

IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES WE HAVE TRIED TO CARRY OUT STALIN'S INJUNCTION.

Publications by George Padmore

LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF NEGRO TOILERS

HOW BRITAIN RULES AFRICA

AFRICAN AND WORLD PEACE

(Foreword by Sir Stafford Cripps)

HANDS OFF THE PROTECTORATES

WHITE MAN'S DUTY (with Nancy Cunard)

HOW RUSSIA
TRANSFORMED
HER COLONIAL
EMPIRE

A Challenge to the Imperialist Powers

by

GEORGE PADMORE

in collaboration with

DOROTHY PIZER

LONDON

DENNIS DOBSON LIMITED

1946

First published in 1946 by
DENNIS DOBSON LIMITED
29 GREAT QUEEN STREET
KINGSWAY, LONDON WC 2

*Dedicated To All Subject Peoples,
Yellow, Brown, Black, struggling for
National Freedom and Social Emancipation
from the Imperialist System*

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
In 10 pt. Times
BY J. B. MACKIE AND CO. LTD.
STMARGARET ST., DUNFERMLINE

CONTENTS

PREFACE - - - - - ix

INTRODUCTION - - - - - xiv

PART I—THE OLD RUSSIA: THE CZARIST EMPIRE

CHAPTER 1—THE RISE OF THE CZARIST EMPIRE - - - 1

1. *The Muscovite Principality and Expansion*
2. *Russian Penetration into Siberia*
3. *The Far East Conquests*
4. *Caucasian and Central Asian Annexations*
5. *Alignment of forces laid for 1914*

CHAPTER 2—HOW THE CZAR GOVERNED HIS COLONIAL
EMPIRE - - - - - 14

1. *Russia Proper and Baltic Provinces*
2. *Grand Duchy of Finland*
3. *Caucasia (Trans- and Cis-Caucasia)*
4. *Siberia and the Far East*
5. *Central Asia—Turkestan*
7. *Economic Imperialism*
8. *Inter-racial Discord—"Divide and Rule"
policy.*
9. *Role of Orthodox Church*
10. *Cultural Backwardness*

CHAPTER 3—HOW LENIN SOLVED THE NATIONAL QUESTION - 33

1. *Bolsheviks as the Revolutionary Vanguard*
2. *How Finland Got Her Independence*
3. *Lenin's Policy Proves Itself*
4. *The Baltic States Secede*
5. *Role of the Native Bourgeoisie*

PART II—THE NEW RUSSIA: THE U.S.S.R.

CHAPTER 4—HOW THE CZARIST COLONIAL EMPIRE WAS LIBERATED - - - - -	47
1. <i>Revolution in The Border Regions</i>	
2. <i>Significance of The National Question</i>	
3. <i>The Treaty of Union Between Russians and Non-Russians</i>	
4. <i>Self-Determination and Socialist Federation</i>	
5. <i>Soviet-Finnish Blunder, 1940</i>	
CHAPTER 5—HOW SOVIET ADMINISTRATION OPERATES AMONG BACKWARD PEOPLES - - - - -	64
1. <i>Administrative Divisions</i>	
2. <i>Racial Equality in Red Army</i>	
3. <i>Racial Representation in Supreme Soviet</i>	
4. <i>Pyramidal System of Government</i>	
5. <i>Critique of Wilsonian Self-Determination</i>	
6. <i>Utopianism of Zionism</i>	
7. <i>Black "Zionism"</i>	
8. <i>Inter-Racial Basis of Soviet Power</i>	
9. <i>Colour Bar Illegal In The Soviet Union</i>	
CHAPTER 6—HOW ILLITERACY IS BEING LIQUIDATED - - -	89
1. <i>Language and Nationalism</i>	
2. <i>Lenin on National Culture</i>	
3. <i>Application of Soviet Educational Policy</i>	
4. <i>Emancipation of Women In The Soviet East</i>	
5. <i>Comparison with Education in African Colonies</i>	
6. <i>Basic Aim of Soviet Education</i>	
7. <i>Cultural Renaissance In The Soviet East</i>	
8. <i>National Culture Comes Into Its Own</i>	
CHAPTER 7—HOW THE FORMER COLONIES ARE BEING INDUSTRIALISED - - - - -	113
1. <i>The Creation of an Asiatic Proletariat</i>	
2. <i>Inauguration of A Planned Programme</i>	

3. *Soviet Industry Moves East*
4. *Agriculture And Collectivisation*
5. *Asiatic Women In Industry*
6. *Great Russian Chauvinism Combated*
7. *Defects of Soviet Democracy*
8. *Soviet National Policy Vindicated*

**PART III—SOCIALISM UNITES—IMPERIALISM
DIVIDES**

CHAPTER 8—SELF-DETERMINATION OR SUBJECTION? 137

1. *Malaya*
2. *Singapore*
3. *Burma*
4. *India*
5. *Right of Self-Determination Is Indivisible*
6. *Race-Politics and War*

CHAPTER 9—TORY BLUE-PRINT OF POST-WAR EMPIRE - - 161

1. *Labour and the Empire*
2. *Labour Colonial Bureaucrats*
3. *Fascism or Socialism?*

PREFACE

While there exists an extensive literature on the Soviet Union—good and bad, friendly and hostile—very little has been written on how the U.S.S.R. solved the National and Colonial problems which it inherited from Czarist Russia. The transformation of this vast ramshackle Empire into a socialised commonwealth was one of Lenin's greatest achievements.

This book is an attempt not only to survey the results of this achievement, but also to interpret the *modus operandi* adopted by the Bolsheviks in bringing about the transformation. It is not enough to describe and admire the achievements of the Soviet Union. It is equally important to understand *how* these achievements were made possible. This is the emphasis of the present book. For the solution of the Colonial Question in Asia, Africa, the Pacific, and the Caribbean is one of the most urgent problems facing the Western Powers — Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, America—at the end of this war.

We think it fair to say that, in spite of many shortcomings inherent in any project of such stupendous proportions, embarked upon without benefit of a political and economic precedent by which it might be guided, the Soviet Government has, within 25 years, achieved more than any other Great Power has accomplished in centuries. While it has committed grave errors, due largely to the empirical methods forced upon it by historical circumstances, the Soviet Government has every reason to be proud of the results of its National Policy, especially when comparisons are made with the deplorable economic, social and political conditions existing in the Asiatic colonies at the time of Czarism's collapse. In passing judgment, we must remember not only the heights to which the Soviet Union has risen but also the depths from which it emerged. The industrial basis upon which the Bolsheviks founded their economy, after the stress of war, revolution, and foreign intervention, had fallen far behind that even of 1914. The whole vast territory of the former

Russian Empire had been laid waste, and all vestige of industry had almost completely disappeared. However much we may criticise the Soviet Union's sins of commission and omission, its policy towards the former colonial peoples of the far-flung Czarist Empire indicates conclusively that only under a planned economy based on Socialist principles is it possible to abolish, root and branch, national and racial oppression and exploitation.

The Soviet Union is no utopia; it is a new civilisation in the making. The establishment of a socialised economy and the abolition of capitalist property relations have created the psychological conditions engendering mutual confidence between different races, colours and creeds. The October Revolution laid the foundation on which has been built the fraternal collaboration of the world's most heterogeneous population. People who were traditional enemies have during the war been united in defending their common heritage. This was the Soviet Union's secret weapon.

The U.S.S.R. is a political federation of multi-national Republics in which all peoples, *irrespective of their degree of civilisation and social development*, enjoy equal political, economic and social status. It is the one country in the world where the Colour Bar—legal or accustomed—is officially proscribed. Constitutionally, it is a criminal offence to insult anyone on account of race or colour. Never during three years' residence in the Soviet Union did I encounter the slightest manifestation of racial chauvinism or colour bar. To coloured people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire, this is of tremendous significance.

Not only was there an absence of colour bar in social and inter-racial relations, but coloured people from foreign countries working in the Soviet Union were encouraged to enter into Soviet public life and take an active part in political affairs. I had the honour of being the first Negro to be elected a Deputy to the Moscow Soviet, and during my term of office I had every opportunity of getting practical experience in the working of Soviet municipal administration. Incidentally, in my own country (Trinidad) I would not be eligible for election to the local Legislative Council, as I do not possess the necessary property qualifications. This again

illustrates the difference in ethnic democracy as it obtains in the U.S.S.R. and the British Empire. In South Africa, Kenya and the Rhodesias, the blacks, who form the preponderating majority of the populations of those countries, are completely disfranchised, while in most other colonies where the coloured peoples are theoretically entitled to vote they are practically disqualified by the property regulations.

The denial of democracy to the coloured races of Asia, Africa, and America on ethnic grounds contains the seeds of a potential conflict fraught with extreme danger. Left unsolved, this problem may, after the present war, contribute to the greatest crisis in human relations—world inter-racial war. This danger cannot be dismissed merely as the ‘hallucination’ of extreme nationalists. It is sufficiently important to have received the attention of the Netherlands Minister of Colonies, Dr. H. J. van Mook, in a recent address to the Royal African Society.¹ “The germs of nationalism and liberty,” he observed, “have been so firmly planted in the minds of great colonial populations that their growth is inevitable, and their suppression would only lead to that most horrible of wars—a racial world conflict.”

It is understandable why the coloured Asiatic peoples of the Soviet Union, former victims of the most ruthless forms of Imperial exploitation and social discrimination, were united behind the Soviet Government in the struggle against the Nazi *Herrenvolk* with a fanaticism and self-sacrificing spirit which has aroused the admiration of the whole world. Not only the valour of the Red Army, but the solidarity of this unique multi-national State, has demonstrated beyond a doubt the loyalty of subject peoples once they have achieved national freedom and entered freely into political unity with the formerly dominant nation. It is the finest testimony to the judgment of the Soviet Union’s National Policy, as laid down by Lenin.

As Chairman of the Negro Bureau of the Profintern, I had the privilege to lecture on the Colonial Question as it exists in various parts of the British, French, and other Colonial Empires to students of KUTVU, in Moscow, the University which trains Asiatic students for administrative leadership in their own territories. I had good opportunity to observe the

¹ July 5, 1943.

fraternal solidarity existing between the diverse peoples of the Soviet East, many of whom were traditional enemies under Czarism. KUTVU students represent a cross section of the Union, comprising more than one hundred different races and nationalities. These young men and women, whom many European colonial officials would no doubt describe as 'backward Asiatic savages,' not only devote themselves to the problems of the Soviet Union in relation to the national reconstruction of the former colonial territories of the Czarist Empire, but take a keen interest in the colonial administrative methods applied by the Western Powers in dealing with Africans and other 'backward' races. This kind of comparative education was fostered by the Soviet authorities; for these Asiatic students have had no personal experience of life under Czarist Imperialism, and can only really appreciate the achievements of the Soviet Government by comparing them with the economic backwardness and cultural stagnation of the colonial peoples in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere.

In all the Union Republics, Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Territories that I visited during my residence in the Soviet Union, I found the natives of those regions taking a leading part in the political administration. Today, throughout the Asiatic Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakstan, KUTVU graduates are to be found conducting the local soviets, trade unions, co-operatives, kolkhozes, cultural institutions, etc.

Whatever criticisms or charges one might level against Stalin's policy in relation to Socialism and World Revolution and his programme of 'Socialism in a single country,' he has in the main adhered to the fundamental principles laid down by Lenin as far as concerns the Right of Self-Determination for the Soviet national minorities.

Acknowledgment is made to Stalin's book, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*. This is the most comprehensive Leninist treatise on the subject, an indispensable Marxist classic. Other useful books are Prince D. S. Mirsky's *Russia*, providing a *Short Cultural History*, Fannina Halle's *Women in the Soviet East*, the *Soviet Far East and Central Asia* by William Mandel, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Dr. Hans Kohn's *Nationalism in the Soviet Union*, the best simplified expose

of the subject, and *Soviet Communism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The last-named undoubtedly offers the most detailed survey of the Soviet system available in English, and contains much valuable information on the concrete application of the National and Colonial Policy. There is also a Penguin Special, Leonard Barnes's comprehensive study of *Soviet Light on the Colonies*. This presents in popular form an enlightened and detailed description not only of the achievements of the Soviet Union but also of the means by which it has solved the Colonial and National Question. I can highly recommend this as an essential book on this subject.

Due to the limited material available, this book required much teamwork to produce. I, therefore, wish to express my especial thanks to my principal collaborator, Miss Dorothy Pizer, for her valuable co-operation in gathering and sifting historical data, and to our mutual friends, T. R. Makonnen, P. P. V. de Silva, S. Raja Ratman and T. B. Subasingha for their helpful criticisms and suggestions; also to Dr. C. Belfield Clarke, who first suggested the idea of writing the book, and whose encouragement throughout its preparation sustained its course. Finally, I am indebted to Dr. S. D. Cudjoe for reading the proofs and making useful corrections. Whatever merit the book may have is due largely to the unselfish co-operation and helpful criticisms of my Colonial colleagues with whom I have discussed the manuscript at every stage of its preparation. Any deficiencies in this co-operative effort are entirely mine.

GEORGE PADMORE.

London, June, 1945.

INDEX

- AFRICA, 5, 9.
 American exploitation, 164.
 AFRIKAANS, 90.
 AGRICULTURE—mechanisation, 127.
 ALASKA, 7, 9.
 ALEUTIAN, 9.
 ALEXANDER I, 5.
 ALEXANDER II, 11, 15.
 ALEXANDER III, 11.
 ALEXAYEV, 48.
 ALPHABETIC CHANGES, 98.
 ALTAI REGION, 21.
 AMERY, LEOPOLD, on Japanese imperialism, 158.
 AMUR RIVER, 9.
 ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT, 13.
 ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY, 12, 13.
 ANNAM—annexation by France, 9.
 APRIL THESIS OF LENIN, viii.
 ARCHANGEL, 51.
 ARDAHAN, 11.
 ARMENIA, 31, 52.
 — literacy, 96, 97.
 ARMENISN, 27.
 — pogroms, 18.
 — in Trans-Caucasia, 18.
 ASTRAKHAN, 4.
 ATLANTIC CHARTER AND COLONIAL PEOPLES, 153.
 AZERBAIJAN, 52.
 — annexation, 10.
 — books, 109.
 — industrialisation, 123.

 BAIKAL, lake, 8, 20.
 BALTIC, 2.
 — barons, 15, 16.
 — provinces, 5, 27, 40.
 — States, 60.
 BASHKIRS, 20, 92.
 — exploitation, 21.
 — rule by native chiefs, 21.
 BATUM, 21.
 BERLIN CONFERENCE SETTLEMENT, 11
 BESSARABIA, 5.

 BIRO-BIDJAN, 82.
 BLACK SEA STEPPES, 4.
 BOKHARA, 22.
 — women, 99.
 BOLSHEVIKS, ix, 37, 93.
 BOLSHEVIK party, viii, x.
 — clear objective conception, 47.
 BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, x.
 BREST-LITOVSK, 43.
 BRITISH HUDSON BAY COMPANY, 7.
 BRITISH-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, 12.
 BRITISH LABOUR—bourgeois proletariat, 166.
 — defender of Empire, 165, 166.
 — share of imperialist spoils, 168.
 BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT—in effectuality, 47.
 — attitude to Colonial Empire, 35.
 BRITISH WORKING CLASS—a warning, 175. . .
 BUBNOV, x.
 BUDDHISM, 20.
 BURIAT MONGOLS, 20.
 — illiteracy, 30.
 — literacy, 94, 95.
 BURMA—constitution, 147.
 — dominion status claim, 145, 146.
 — national army, 147.
 — nationalism, 148.
 — persecution of nationalist leaders 146.
 BYELORUSSIA, 27, 31.

 CATHERINE THE GREAT, 15.
 CATHERINE II, 4.
 CAUCASUS, 51.
 — conquest, 5.
 CENTRAL ASIA, 27, 51.
 — books, 109.
 — colonies, 11.
 — conquest, 11.
 — cultural and social backwardness, 29-30.
 — feminine emancipation, 99.
 — illiteracy, 31.

INDEX

- industry, 121.
- rebellion of 1916, 53.
- CENTRAL RUSSIA, 30.
- CHECHENS, 27.
- CHERKEES, 27.
- CHINA, 9.
- British policy, 159.
- Japanese attack, 158.
- war aims, 45.
- war of national liberation, 157.
- CHINA AND SOVIET UNION, 158.
- CHINESE, 151, 152.
- CHUKCHEES, 20.
- CHURCH—vested interest, 128.
- CHURCHILL, WINSTON
- imperialist, 149.
- interventionist, 48.
- CHUVASHIA — industrial develop-
ment, 125.
- CHUVASHIANS, 31.
- CIRCISSIA, 11.
- CIVIL WAR OSCILLATES, 52.
- CIVIL WAR IN COLONIAL AREAS, 53.
- CIVILISED LABOUR POLICY, 131-132.
- CLAUSEWITZ ON WAR, 45.
- CLEMENCEAU, 44.
- COLLECTIVISATION, 125-126.
- COLONIAL ATTITUDE TO WHITE
WORKERS, 131.
- COLONIAL BOURGEOISIE EXPOSED, 46.
- COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WEL-
FARE FUND, 107, 172-173.
- COLONIAL NATIONALISM—HISTORIC-
ALLY PROGRESSIVE, 45.
- COLONIAL PEOPLE—BITTERNESS CON-
SEQUENCE OF OPPRESSION, 42.
- COLONIAL PEOPLES IN IMPERIALIST
WAR, 151.
- COLONIAL QUESTION IN INTER-
TIONAL POLITICS, 13.
- COLONIES—Governors' veto, 164.
- nationalist aspirations, 44, 45.
- milching ground of imperialism,
174.
- "Open Door" policy, 163.
- post-war design, 160.
- sovereignty, 162.
- COMMANDER ISLAND, 9.
- COMMUNISM—cannot be forced, 63.
- CONGO BASIN ACT, 12.
- CONSTANTINOPLE, 2.
- CORDON SANITAIRE, 44.
- COSSACKS—colonial rulers, 7, 8.
- origin, 5-6.
- COSSACKS AND OPENING UP OF
SIBERIA, 5-7.
- COSSACKS AND SIBERIA, 4.
- COSSACKS IN SIBERIA, 19.
- COTTON, 121, 122, 126.
- COUNCILS OF ACTION, 48.
- COURLAND, DUCHY OF, 4.
- COUNTER REVOLUTION ORGANISED,
48.
- CRIMEA, 4.
- CRIMEAN WAR, 10.
- CRIPPS, SIR STAFFORD, 149, 150.
- CROATS, 78, 80.
- CULTURAL RENAISSANCE, 90.
- CZARISM—education, 90.
- CZARIST IMPERIALISM—comparison
with imperialism in Africa, 25.
- no restraining democratic oppo-
sition, 25, 26.
- CZARIST RUSSIA, 1.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 78.
- DAGHESTAN, 18.
- literacy, 95.
- DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF
PEOPLES, 48.
- DENIKIN, 48, 51.
- DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT, x.
- DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, 163.
- DUTCH AND NETHERLANDS INDIES,
157.
- DZERSHINSKY, x.
- EDUCATION—adoption of vernac-
ulars, 93.
- African colonies, 100-103.
- EDUCATION IN COLONIES—commun-
ism, 106-107.
- objective, 104-105.
- racial inferiority doctrines, 103-
104.
- EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES, 60.
- EMPIRE—tory realism, 165.
- ENGELS, 33.
- on British labour and Empire,
166.
- ESTONIA, 4, 15, 43, 51.
- ETHNIC DEMOCRACY, 154-155.
- ETHNIC DIVISION OF RUSSIAN EMPIRE
14.

INDEX

- FABIAN IMPERIALISM, 170.
 FAR NORTH—literacy, 97.
 FASCISM—alternative to Socialism, 178.
 — bourgeois— counter-revolution, 36.
 FEBRUARY REVOLUTION AND FINLAND, 40.
 FERGHANA VALLEY, 126.
 FINLAND, 4, 39, 44, 51, 60.
 — autonomy, 16.
 — failure of workers' revolution, 40-41.
 — German intervention, 40.
 — Great Power vassal, 40-41.
 — Kerensky's suppression of Diet, 40.
 — Lenin's recognition, 40.
 — Soviet attack, 1940, 62.
 FIVE-YEAR PLAN, 1932-37, 118, 119.
 FORCED LABOUR, 24, 25.
 FRENCH CAPITAL IN RUSSIA, 9.

 GARVEY MOVEMENT, 83-85.
 GEORGIA AND GEORGIANS, 17, 27, 52
 — annexation, 10, 11.
 — resistance to Russification, 17.
 GOLD COAST EDUCATION, 102.
 GOLTZ, VON DER, 40.
 GOSPLAN, 117, 118, 123.
 GREAT RUSSIA AND GREAT
 RUSSIANS, 27, 92.
 — chauvinism, 130-131.
 GUCHKOV, xv.

 HITLER, 78.
 — and Baltic patriots, 44.

 ILLITERACY, 91.
 — under reaction, 91.
 IMPERIALISM—inherent nature, 144.
 — its meaning, 36.
 — labour policy in Africa, 132-133.
 INDIA, 149.
 — left-wing view, 151.
 — problem, economic, 150.
 — right to self-determination, 153-154.
 — Sargent plan for mass education, 107-108.
 — Worth to Britain, 150.
 INGUSHES, 27.

 INORODTZI—"aliens by origin," 23
 INTERVENTION, 48.
 INTER-RACIAL DISCORD FOMENTED, 27.
 IRRIGATION, 127-128.
 IVAN THE TERRIBLE, 3, 4, 5.
 — wars, 4.

 JAPAN AND PORT ARTHUR, 10.
 — as imperialist aggressor, 160.
 JENGHIS KHAN, 5, 20.
 JEWS—comparison with segregated
 Africs, 27.
 — in the Soviet Union, 81-82.
 — pogroms, 27.
 — treatment under Czarism, 27.
 JUGOSLAVIA, 78.
 — national liberation, 80.

 KAGANOVITCH, LAZARUS, 82.
 KALMUKS, 26.
 KAMCHATKA, 9.
 KARS, 11.
 KAZAN, 3.
 KAZAN TARTARS—assimilation, 21.
 KAZAKSTAN—industrialisation, 119
 120.
 — literacy, 95.
 — press, 109.
 KENYA, 27.
 — education, 101.
 KERENSKY ALEXANDER, xv, xvi, 41.
 — government overthrown, xvii.
 KHIVA, 22.
 KIRGHIZIA—literacy, 95.
 KIRGHIZIAHS AND KAZAKS, 6.
 — flight to Sinkiang, 53.
 KOLCHAK, 48, 51.
 KOREA—Japanese sovereignty, 9.
 KORNILOV, 48.
 KRASNOV, 48.
 KUUSINEN, DR. OTTO, 85.
 — puppet government, 62.

 LABOUR PARTY—bankrupt view of
 imperialism, 168.
 — colonial administration, 175.
 — dependency on unions, 168.
 — illusions of idealists, 173.
 — reformist, 169.
 — removal of colonial imperialism,
 172, 173.

INDEX

- LABOUR'S COLONIAL THESIS, 170-172
 LATVIA, 15.
 LENIN, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, 39, 48, 55.
 — a tribute, 47.
 — and Estonia, 43.
 — against national oppression, 33.
 — attitude to Finland, 41.
 — conception of Bolsheviks, 34.
 — Declaration of Right of self-determination, 51.
 — duty of Russian workers, 85.
 — Great Russian chauvinism, 92, 93.
 — internationalism, 36.
 — on illiteracy, 9.
 — on imperialism, 36.
 — on social revolution, 177.
 — on war, 160.
 — on women, 129.
 — on 1905, 46.
 — "proletarian dictatorship," 113.
 — realist, 93.
 — revolutionary Marxism, 34.
 — right to secede, 58.
 — right of self-determination, xvii.
 — self-determination, 49, 61, 173.
 — self-determination inviolable right, 93.
 — thesis on self-determination, 37-38.
 — theory and practice, 47.
 — vindication of policy in Finland, 41, 42.
 LENIN'S ROLE, xix.
 LEZGIANS—migration to Turkey, 19
 — resistance, 18.
 LIBERAL "TRUSTEESHIP," 26.
 LINCOLN, ABRAHAM—object of civil war not to free slaves, 60.
 LITHUANIA, 15.
 LIBRARIES, 108.
 LITVINOV, MAXIM, 82.
 LIVONIA, 4.
 LLOYD GEORGE, 44.
 LOSOWSKY, ALEXANDER, 82.
 LUXEMBOURG, ROSA, 39.
 LVOV, PRINCE, vii.
 MACEDONIA, 80.
 MALAYA, 139, 140.
 — illegality of political organisation, 141.
 — Mui Tsai (child slavery), 141-143.
 — native attitude to war, 145.
 — pukka sahibs, 145, 146.
 — Selangor strike, 140, 141.
 — wages, 140.
 MAMONTOV, 48.
 MANCHURIA, 2, 9, 10.
 MANDATES SYSTEM, 161, 162.
 MANNERHEIM, BARON GENERAL, 40.
 MARITIME PROVINCE, 2, 9.
 MARIYS, 31.
 MARX, 33.
 MARXISM v. REFORMISM, 168.
 MENSHEVIKS, xvi.
 MILYUKOV, xv.
 MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, xvii.
 MULTI-NATIONAL STATE—a political instrument, 113.
 MURMANSK, 51.
 NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION, xiv.
 — its importance, 36-37.
 NATIONAL BACKWARDNESS HISTORICALLY CONDITIONED, 93.
 NATIONAL CULTURE, 111-112.
 NATIONAL MINORITIES—percentage of organised workers, 130.
 NATIONALISM, 79.
 — importance of language, 89-90.
 — bourgeois form, 44, 45.
 — in modern Europe, 81.
 NEGRO SEPARATISM, 83.
 NICHOLAS I, 5.
 NICHOLAS II, 10.
 NOMADS, 128.
 NORTH PACIFIC EXPANSION, 9.
 NORTH SAKHALIN, 9.
 NORTHERN ASIA—Russian penetration, 5.
 OBI RIVER, 5.
 OBJECT OF WAR—American opinion 157.
 OCTOBER REVOLUTION, xiv, 47.
 OCTOBRISTS, xv.
 ORTHODOX CHURCH, 15.
 — its role in Russia, 28, 29.
 OSTIAKS, 20.

INDEX

- OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 4.
 OUTER MONGOLIA CEDED, 12.

 PALESTINE PROBLEM, 84.
 PAUL, CZAR, 8, 17.
 PERSIA, 3, 5.
 PETER THE GREAT, 4, 9, 15.
 PHILIPPINES, 164.
 — annexation by America, 9.
 PILSUDSKI, 61.
 POLAND, 4, 5, 27, 39, 44, 60.
 POLISH PARTITION, 15.
 POLISH REBELLION, 15.
 POPULATION—distribution of workers, 114, 115.
 PORT ARTHUR SECURED, 10.
 PRESS, 31.
 PROLETARIANISATION, 115-116.

 RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN U.S.A., 169.
 RED ARMY, 52, 62.
 — racial equality, 67-68.
 REGIONAL COUNCIL—association of natives, 165.
 REGIONALISM, 162, 162, 177.
 RELIGIOUS SECTS, 28.
 RHODES, CECIL—on empire, 166.
 RIGHT OF SECESSION, 58.
 RUSSIA AND ABYSSINIA, 12.
 — and Britain's policy, 12.
 — and Ottoman Empire, 10.
 — borders, 2.
 — Central Asian Colonies, 2.
 — foreign financial exploitation, 1-2.
 — Provisional Government, xv, xvi
 — racial inhabitants, 2.
 RUSSIAN EMPIRE—administrative divisions, 14-15.
 RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IN CENTRAL ASIA, 23-24.
 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—its course, 51.
 RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY—1903 Conference, 34.
 RUSSIFICATION, 30.
 RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 3.
 — outbreak, 10.
 RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, 11.

 SAMOYEDS, 20.
 ST. PETERSBURG, 4.
 SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE, 159.
 — open hostility of Big Three, 176.
 SAN STEFANO TREATY, 12.
 SELF-DETERMINATION, 39, 44, 46, 55.
 — aid to Soviet power, 55.
 — and a Socialist Britain, 63.
 — and Great Russian chauvinism, 92-93.
 — and social-imperialists, 151.
 — British left standpoint, 93.
 — consequences of negation to Spanish, 54.
 — fundamental right, 151.
 — indivisible right, 152.
 — Left-wing fallacy, 151, 152.
 — Leninist and Wilsonian conceptions, 77-78.
 — necessary adjunct to social emancipation of metropolis 35.
 — practical interpretation, 113.
 SERBS, 28, 30.
 SERF EMANCIPATION IN BALTIC, 16.
 SHAMANISM, 20.
 SIBIR OR ISKER, 5.
 SIBERIA, 2, 3, 5, 6, 19, 25.
 — administrative divisions, 20.
 — banishment, 19.
 — fur collecting tribes, 19-20.
 — colonising settlers, 8.
 — exile policy, 8.
 — immigration, 19.
 — settlement, 19.
 SIBERIAKS, 19.
 SIERRA LEONE—education, 101, 102
 SINGAPORE, 143.
 — Legislative Council, 143.
 — native apathy, 143, 144.
 — opium monopoly, 146.
 SINO-JAPANESE WAR, 10.
 SLOVAKS, 78.
 SMUSHKEVITZH, LIEUT.-GEN. JACOB, 82.
 SMUTS, MARSHAL, AND MANDATES, 161.
 — and Regionalism, 162.
 SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES, xvii.
 SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS, 51.

INDEX

- SOVIET ASIA**—cultural resurgence, 109-111.
 — women, 129.
SOVIET DECLARATION TO SUBJECT PEOPLES, 50.
SOVIET DEMOCRACY—its defects, 133
SOVIET EAST—emancipation of
 — women, 98.
 — industrialisation, 123, 124.
 — Russian allies, 153.
SOVIET EDUCATION—objective, 103.
SOVIET-ESTONIA TREATY, 43.
SOVIET-LATVIA TREATY, 43.
SOVIET-LITHUANIA TREATY, 43.
SOVIET LITERATURE, 110.
SOVIET MANIFESTO, 61.
SOVIET MULTI-NATIONAL STATE, 178.
SOVIET NATIONAL POLICY, 134-135.
SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES, 70.
SOVIET STATE—structural administration, 67.
SOVIET UNION, 44, 60.
 — a union of equal states, 59.
 — a voluntary union, 58, 59.
SOVIET UNION AND BRITISH EMPIRES—comparison of attitudes, 138, 139.
 — administrative divisions, 65, 66.
 — Colour Bar illegal, 87.
 — comparison with rule in British Empire, 76, 77.
 — democratic defects, 155.
 — democracy, 75, 76.
 — dual citizenship, 70.
 — equality of races, 64, 65.
 — expression of national minority aspirations, 77.
 — flexibility of government system, 71-73.
 — loss of Baltic states, 43.
 — multi-national state, 86.
 — political democracy, 64.
 — pyramidal system, 74-75.
 — representation, 69, 70.
 — solution of coloured problem, 179.
 — stability of state, 87.
 — two-chamber equality, 71.
SOVIETS, xv.
SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES, xv, xvii.
SPAIN—People's Front, 54.
STALIN, 50, 56.
STALIN AND FINLAND, 1940, 62, 63.
STALIN—crisis in capitalist society, 79.
 — theoretician on Colonial Question, 37.
 — tribute to Trotsky, xviii
 — warning, 55.
STATE FARMS, 127.
STROGANOV FAMILY, 5, 6.
SUDETEN GERMANS, 78.
SVERDLOV, xviii.
SWEDEN, 5.

TAJIKS, 31.
TANNER, 42.
TARTAR RESISTANCE, 7.
TARTARIA, 31.
TEXTILE CENTRES, 11.
TITO, MARSHAL, 80.
 — federated Yugoslavia, 79.
TONGKING ANNEXED BY FRANCE, 9.
TRANSBAIKALIA, 8.
TRANS-CASPIA, 21.
TRANS-CAUCASIA, 17, 52.
 — agrarian policy, 17-18.
 — race mixtures, 18.
TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY, 9, 10, 25.
TRANSYLVANIA—national reconciliation, 80.
TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP, 58.
TROTSKY, x, 51, 52, 82.
TURKESTAN, 11, 22, 30.
 — rule through Empires, 22.
TURKESTAN-SIBERIAN RAILWAY, 120.
TURKEY, 11.
 — war with Russians, 5.
TURKMANS, 27.
TURKS, 6.

UKRAINE, 5, 27.
 — clergy, 15.
 — protectorate, 15.
U.S.A. AND COLONIES, 163, 164.
 — example of federated state, 59.
U.S.S.R.—Article 121 of Constitution, 93-94.
 — creation of proletariat, 115.
 — formation, 56, 57, 58.
 — transitional problems, 113, 114.
URALS, 8, 20.
 — industrialisation, 124.

INDEX

- URITSKY, xviii.
USSARI RIVER, 9.
UZBEKISTAN—industrialisation, 120
123.
— literacy, 96.
— women, 98.
UZBEKS, 27.

VLADIVOSTOCK, 9, 10.

WARSAW, 61.
WEYGAND, GENERAL, 61.
WHITE RUSSIA, 5.
WILLKIE, WENDELL, 165.

WOMEN, 100.
WORLD WAR—German needs, 158.
WORLD WAR 2—an examination,
156, 157, 159.
WRANGEL, 48, 51.

YAKUT, 19.
YAKUTS, 31.
YAKUTIA—industrial development,
124, 125.
YUDENITCH, GENERAL, 43, 48, 51.

ZIONISM, 81, 82.

EMPIRE

by

LOUIS FISCHER

Louis Fischer is a well-known American journalist who has specialised on the subject of India. He knows all the Indian leaders and actually lived with Gandhi for a short time. His sympathy is with the Indians in their desire for independence, and while he is not absolutely objective in his criticism of Britain, nevertheless what he has to say is important and should be read by all those who are interested in our colonial problem. He does not attempt to hide his bias, so that the reader is left in no doubt of the intense and burning sympathy he has for the Indian people. This book is not for the thin-skinned, for Mr. Fischer is not mealy-mouthed, but on the contrary, acidulous and cutting in his criticism. For this reason alone, he cannot be ignored.

2s. 6d.

R U D O L F S C H L E S I N G E R

THE SPIRIT OF POST-WAR RUSSIA

Soviet Ideology 1917-1946

This book does a service to the English-speaking peoples by informing them of the springs behind all Soviet Russian policies over the last three decades. Dr. Schlesinger gives the details of the changes which have taken place in the ideology of the ruling party, and he makes clear the historical need for these changes. He shows how the Soviet leaders were obliged to modify their policies because of the sheer pressure of circumstances. *The Spirit of Post-War Russia* is a book which should be read by all those who look to the U.S.S.R. either as a model to be imitated or an example to be shunned.



D E N N I S D O B S O N L I M I T E D