

“There can be here two watchwords: First, ‘The fight against European capitalism,’ which is clear to everyone. The Chinese labor masses with difficulty earn enough to live from their small plots of land and pay enormous rents to the estate owners. The second watchword therefore is, ‘Throw out the estate owners.’ *The aim, consequently, is an agrarian revolution.* You will be able to accomplish the rising of the masses through this war cry, as the slogan ‘Seize the land from the estate owners’ is clear to everyone.

“If you mobilize your forces nothing can resist you. You do not know yourselves what a great force you are. China is equal to one-third of the territory of the world, and it is clear that in order to pacify even a tenth part of the Chinese proletariat no quantity of British machine guns and French tanks would be sufficient. If the forces of the Asiatic proletarians will unite with the European proletarians, no one can defeat us, and we shall be able to construct a new life based upon equality for all races without difference of color of skin, hair, etc. This task will cost streams of blood, but we shall solve it and liberate all Asia and the entire world.

“Long live the union of the proletarians of the whole world! Long live the general attack on capitalism! Long live the fighting staff of the revolution—the III International!”

## 25. “The Revolutionary East and the Immediate Problems of the Communist International.”

By PAK DINSHUN.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 27, 1920.]

The I and II Internationals were in fact merely associations of the masses of Europe and America; they devoted little attention to “the eastern question,” and in general to “the questions of colonial peoples.” The majority of the official leaders of the II International tried in every way to keep the “colonial questions” in the background and to fence off the western European labor movement from the revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples of the colonies; they were afraid to bring up these questions squarely and openly.

Whenever they came to the “eastern problem” the official leaders of the II International trembled, not less than the bourgeois politicians, who constantly and hypocritically repeated their inclinations toward “democracy,” civilization, and culture. The complex questions of the revolutionary struggle of enslaved colonial peoples, constituting the majority of enslaved mankind, were foreign to the ideologists of parliamentarism. Even at the time of organizing the Communist International, Asia was feebly represented, a fact which could not fail to be reflected in the work on eastern matters.

But the realization of the necessity of conjoint struggle of the toiling masses of the East and the West became stronger and stronger. The great victorious October revolution in Russia first bridged over the chasm between the proletariat of the West and the revolutionary East; Soviet Russia became the connecting link between the two formerly separated worlds. The necessity of conjoint proletarian struggle in the East and West has never before been felt so keenly as

at the present moment, when the ruling classes have turned the blossoming fields into a bare wilderness and peaceful villages and cities into ruins; when the working class had resolved to raise the flag of implacable, revolutionary struggle for the power of the toiling masses, and for a new, free life for all mankind.

At the present moment, when the spirit of social revolution hovers over all the earth and when the bourgeoisie is straining all its forces in order for a short time to stave off the hour of its perdition, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International should give serious attention to the East, where the fate of the world revolution may be decided. For whoever shall know how to go to the enslaved peoples of the East and make comrades of them will, in union with them, come victorious out of this last war of labor with capital.

A favorable basis for revolution was created in Asia by the sharp economic crisis inevitably associated with the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the barbarous colonial policies of the great imperialistic powers. These policies developed clear-cut nationalist tendencies in the East. Admitting that the first stage of the revolution in the East will be the victory of the liberal bourgeoisie and the nationalistic Intelligentsia, we should nevertheless now prepare our forces for the next stage, drawing from the depths of the peasant masses enslaved by the feudal régime organized forces for an agrarian-social revolution in Asia as soon as possible. The industrial proletariat, if Japan is not taken into consideration, is too weak in Asia for us to cherish serious hopes of an early Communist revolution; but there is no doubt of the success of an agrarian revolution if we are able to grasp the immediate problems of the great bloody struggle.

The Russian proletariat, standing as the vanguard of the world social revolution, could withstand a desperate three-year onslaught of the bourgeoisie of the whole world, only because it knew how to attract the poorest and middle classes of peasantry to its side. The vanguard of the European and American proletariat, uniting around the Communist International, must fight shoulder to shoulder along with the many-millioned masses of the revolutionary East, if it wishes to gain a quick and complete victory over the capitalistic class. The impossibility of this victory without the cooperation of "colonial" peoples is so clear that further proof is needless. The history of the II International, that perished ingloriously, showed that so long as the bourgeoisie of the world has a reservoir of power in colonies in general and in Asia in particular, it can resist the most desperate attacks of the insurgent proletariat.

The Communist International, guiding the awakening East in the true path of revolution, will radically put an end to the opportunism and indecision of the proletariat of western countries. But activities must be harmonized in such a manner that the European proletariat may hit its bourgeoisie a blow on the head at the very moment when the revolutionary East delivers a mortal thrust at the heart of capital. The victorious insurrection of the "colonial" people will sign the death warrant of all "indecision" and petty bourgeois trades-unionism. The rapid accomplishment of this task will hasten the day of triumph of the Communist International on a world-wide scale.

It is now asked what forces are propelling the revolution in the East? The majority of the former nobility, liberal bourgeoisie, and petty bourgeois Intelligentsia, who are the intelligent strength of the revolution in Asia, through the experience of long years of struggle with their foreign enslavers, and after painful internal struggle of ideas, have learned that the regeneration of the East is impossible without the domination of the broad masses of workers.

The bankruptcy of the II International promoted the rapid development of revolutionary ideas in the East, removing every hope of the free existence of the native people without the triumph of the social revolution in Europe, Asia, and other countries.

Two opposing paths are open to the nationalists of Asia: One leads to personal felicity, based upon the loyal sufferings and the gradual debasement of wide masses, while the second leads to social revolution, which will deprive them of material privileges to a certain extent but will bring freedom to the native people.

To our great joy, the majority of the nationalists with ideas have proved to be on the side of the revolution.

Of course, there are elements among the revolutionists themselves who will join us Internationalists only for the purpose of national-political liberation. We shall utilize their revolutionary spirit in combating world capital and for the triumph of the social revolution in the whole world; but if the revolution demands it afterwards, we will know how to turn the weapons against the "allies" of yesterday, and the victory undoubtedly will be ours, as the native masses of the East, just liberated from foreign political and economic bondage, will hardly be reconciled to the strong-hand tactics of new masters.

Such a policy—the policy of supporting the national movements in the colonies—is not capable of being carried out by those alleged Socialist governments which fear a "revolt of sentiments of patriotism" in the toiling masses, which have little class consciousness in those countries where the ruling classes pursue a barbarous colonial policy. But the Communist International has no reason to fear this "revolt," for the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat, the ranks of which are growing every hour, fully appreciates its activities and completely approves its far-sighted tactics.

So, although we are fighting together with the above-named elements, we can not regard them as comrades with whom we might go to the end without danger. Without tiring for a minute, we must explain to the wide masses of toilers of the East that national-political enfranchisement alone will not give them that for which they are fighting, and that *only social liberation can give them the full guaranty of freedom.*

The triumph of the first stage of the revolution in Asia will coincide with the triumph of the social revolution in the West. Proletarian Europe can not be a passive spectator of the sufferings of the vast toiling masses of the East, groaning under the yoke of bourgeois democracy. The European proletariat, filled with the sentiment of international solidarity, will go to their assistance.

Of course, we may predict beforehand that a terrible fight will be started in the bourgeois camp. But the western comrades, you may be sure, will find a cordial, fraternal reception among the proletariat and toiling peasantry of Asia, for the East was always op-

posed to that foreign intervention which brought chains and slavery with it. The intervention of the Socialistic proletarian West will be a great and even necessary aid to the toiling masses of Asia in their struggle against all exploitation. The proletarian East is thirsting for such "intervention."

In the 2nd Congress, which must give the revolutionary proletariat a definite guiding plan for successfully combating world imperialism, of course, we will not forget the great role of the revolutionary East in the international labor movement.

And thus the toiling masses of the East, with the help of European and American comrades, conquering their foreign and native enslavers, will transform Asia—a country of religious attainments—into a Communistic oasis of revolutionary attainments.

PAK DINSHUN.

## 26. Greeting to the III International from the Korean National Committee in Petrograd.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 25, 1920.]

The Korean people have long suffered the heavy foreign yoke that was supported by imperialism. At times the bright hopes of its freedom seemed about to be realized; but then foreigners came and brought with them the heavy yoke of imperialism. Then the best representatives of the Korean people elected a committee which decided to spare no effort to secure the liberation of the country. Suffering under the hated yoke of Japan and of all imperialist countries, the Korean people, the conscious element of which we represent as a national committee, welcome heartily on this historic day the Congress of the III International, which is the guaranty of peaceful work for the welfare of the toilers of all countries and people.

Long live the III International! Long years to the leaders of the world proletarian revolution, Representatives Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinoviev!

## 27. "The Communist International to the Enslaved Peoples of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey."

[Izvestia, July 3, 1920.]

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls together for the 15th of August, 1920, in Baku a congress of the *workmen and peasants of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey.*

*What is the Communist International?* It is the organization of the revolutionary labor masses of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, England, and America, awakened by the thunder of the World War and threatened by hunger, who have revolted in order not to work for the rich, but for themselves, and not to fight against their own suffering and poverty-stricken brothers and in order to use them for their own defense against the exploiters. These working masses have understood that their strength lies in the union of forces and in organization, that this is the only guaranty for their success, and thus