

## Comrade JONES (U. S. A.):

Comrades, the draft theses on the colonial question are by far the most thorough theses in point of detail that we have had up to now on this question.

We see from the discussion so far that there is a considerable amount of disagreement with some of the points in the theses, particularly on India and China.

From the point of view of revolutionary activity at present China and India are the most important colonies to be considered. But we must not overlook the world significance of the **Negro question**, which in the past has not been given sufficient attention by the Comintern.

At the Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the Comintern, there was some discussion on the necessity of the creation of a Western Colonial Bureau, dealing with the Negro question. It seems that as far as actual work is concerned, the Bureau has done very little, and nobody knows what became of this Bureau afterwards. We also find in the archives much dusty material on this question that has never been read by anybody.

Comrade **Kuusinen** remarked that at present there is very little revolutionary activity in the continent of Africa among

the Negroes. This is true, but here can be much more revolutionary activity on this continent provided we paid a little more attention to the various movements that are in existence on this continent. I have in mind Portuguese East Africa. There is a revolutionary movement under the leadership of Communists and they wrote to the American Negro Labour Congress asking to be put in touch with the Comintern, and when this was mentioned to the Comintern, we understand that they had never heard anything of this movement and had no connections at all with these comrades. And I think it is necessary to get more contact with these various revolutionary movements that exist on that continent.

We organised here at the Congress, a small sub-committee of the Anglo-American Secretariat which dealt with the Negro question in America. This Commission has done a considerable amount of work, which of course is by no means complete, but the first steps were made for a real investigation of this question. In this commission there arose some sharp differences as to the character of the Negro movement in the United States. One point of view is that these Negroes are a racial minority but are developing some characteristics of a national minority and that in the future they will have to be considered as a national minority. The other point of view is that these Negroes are a racial minority and are not developing any characteristics of a national minority and that the basis that would develop these characteristics is rapidly disappearing, that there exists no national entity as such among the American Negroes.

We have a sharp differentiation in classes among the American Negroes, particularly after the world war and this class differentiation tends to prevent a development of any national characteristics as such. We find the Negro bourgeoisie are becoming more and more an integral part of the whole of the American bourgeoisie and are completely separated as far as class interests are concerned from the majority of the Negro toilers. The historical development of the American Negro has tended to create in him the desire to be considered a part of the American nation. There are no tendencies to become a separate national minority within the American nation. I have material on this which will be submitted to the Colonial Commission, in support of our disagreement, together with the theses drawn up by the Negro Commission.

This is a very important question and deserves careful study before any definite steps are taken in drawing up a programme or advancing slogans for our work among the American Negroes. Some comrades consider it necessary at this moment to launch the slogan of self-determination for the American Negroes; to advocate an independent Soviet Socialist Republic in America for Negroes. There is no objection on our part on the principle of a Soviet Republic for Negroes in America. The point we are concerned with here is how to organise these Negroes at present on the basis of their everyday needs for the revolution. The question before the Negroes today is not what will be done with them after the revolution, but what measures are we going to take to alleviate their present condition in America.

We have to adopt a programme that will take care of their immediate needs, of course keeping in mind the necessity for organising the revolution.

A comrade remarked that it was necessary for us to establish a new line of work among the Negroes, to adopt a new programme. It is not so much the question of a new programme but of carrying out the programme that was adopted by the IV. and V. Congresses on this question. Up till now nothing has been done. The central slogan around which we can rally the Negro masses is the slogan of social equality. And the reason why we have not organised the Negroes in America and why we have such a small number of Negroes in our Party, is because we have not fought consistently for this principle. And this is due to the fact that we have white chauvinism in our Party. Therefore, before we should attempt to launch a slogan of self-determination for the American Negroes as a central slogan, we should give more study to this question. A Bureau should be set up in the Comintern dealing specifically with the Negro problem to analyse and study the objective situation in the various countries where there are Negroes and from this study formulate our programme.