Research plan, Fredrik Petersson

Comintern and its Network with Germany and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle, 1921-1935

Background

The purpose of the dissertation is to analyse the links of the Comintern network between Moscow and Berlin, and evaluate the anti-imperialist movement in this context. The dissertation is a part of the research project “Comintern and African Nationalism, 1921-1935”, led by professor Holger Weiss and Ph.D Risto Marjomaa. Professer Weiss shall also be supervisor of the dissertation. Fredrik Petersson has a Master of Arts degree in History. The undergraduate studies has been carried out at Södertörn University/College in Stockholm, Sweden. The research focus and disciplinary interest is on the interwar period, Soviet Russia/Union, and Central and Eastern Europe in general. He has written articles on the national minorities problem in Poland 1919-1934, and on the parliamentary debate on whether Sweden would associate itself with the League of Nations in 1920. An article on the Moscow process in 1935-1937 and how they were described in the Swedish press, is about to be written in the spring of 2004.

The main source material for the dissertation is to be found in the Comintern archive in Moscow and the Bundesarchiv in Berlin. To locate papers on the League Against Imperialism (LAI), the German League (GL), and on the German communist Willi Münzenberg is of major importance. Given information about the material in the Comintern archive is that it consists of a vast amount of material of all sorts. The archive was partially opened in 1992 to scholars, and made step by step more accessible.

Research conducted by Stephen Koch in the Comintern archive concludes that activities conducted by communist parties and movements, in the end were orchestrated from the Comintern headquarters in Moscow and through the hands of Joseph Stalin. Koch has focused on Münzenberg as a key figure in the Comintern apparatus, and material relating to Münzenberg is kept in abundance in the archive. In the book Double Lives (1995), Koch only touches on the subject of the LAI, where he reduces the functions of the organisation as a instrument for propaganda, sabotage, and espionage. Alexander Dallin and F. I. Firsov (2000) has after their research in the archive, concluded that the Comintern on the one hand should be seen as a vast bureaucratic apparat. On the other hand, the Comintern that emerges from the files is a far cry from the perception that it consisted of a group of worldwide terrorist conspirators, instead it should be perceived as an institution characterised by its
“sophisticated” methods. Dallin and Firsov have put their focus on the form and substance of the Comintern’s relation to Soviet leaders such as Georgi Dimitrov and Stalin.\(^1\)

The relation between Comintern and Germany has been fairly examined. But often has the focus either been put on the Comintern and their relation to Germany, or the other way around. Edward Hallet Carr investigated in his book, *Twilight of the Comintern* (1982), the attitudes in Moscow towards Germany thoroughly. But the book was published before access to the archives were made possible, and Carr also states that the limited access of reliable contemporary material made it difficult to stretch the analysis any further. The network between Moscow and Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle is a subject hardly examined at all. The role of the LAI in this network has never been under observation and researched upon to a larger degree. The LAI is often mentioned in the periphery of the connection between Moscow and Berlin. Two autobiographies touch on the topic of LAI and the anti-imperialist struggle. The authors are Babette Gross (Münzenberg’s wife), and Ruth Fischer (see Bibliography for details). However, since both are autobiographies, and compiled after Münzenberg’s mysterious death in 1940, the content serve more as a dubious source rather than reference. Gross and Fischer had no access to the papers in the Comintern archive.

Interest on the Comintern organisational structure has gained a lot of attention. In order to understand how the network between Moscow and Berlin was set up, research done by Niels Erik Rosenfeldt act as a good background. In his book, *Stalin’s Secret Chancellery and the Comintern* (1991), focus is on the relationship between the Soviet Communist Party and the central *apparat* of the Communist International. Even though Rosenfeldt’s intention has not been to go outside of this frame, he provides us with a intriguing description on how the Comintern communicated with communist parties and organisations in Europe. The role of the OMS (Department for International Communication) in the Comintern is of high priority here. Rosenfeldt did not have access to Comintern papers in Moscow either, while conducting his analysis.

As compared to previous mentioned researchers I shall concentrate on the Comintern and its network with Germany, and the anti-imperialist struggle. I shall put a focus on how this struggle adapted itself to the network between Moscow and Berlin. And what its primary intention really was from the beginning. Who were the main characters in the network? Was Germany an ideal centre for the anti-imperialist struggle? What were the goals of the struggle? To what extent were ties to the ideology of the Third International revealed, and did the struggle strictly follow instructions from the Comintern? What happened to the network after the Nazis came to power?
A definition on the analytical problem and importance of the dissertation
The subject of the dissertation is to analyse how the Comintern network with Germany and
the anti-imperialist struggle functioned, and the purpose of it. To see the efforts put into the
network, in order to maintain a strong base for the anti-imperialist movement in Germany.
Since Germany had lost all of their colonies, as a consequence of the First World War and at
the Peace Treaties at Versailles in 1919, the anti-imperialist movement found itself in a
favourable position. Activities could therefore be focused on stirring up agitation against
German industrialists, which sought to recover lost colonies.

Background on the Comintern and Germany: The Third Communist International
(Comintern) was founded in March 1919, as an association of communist parties throughout
the world. The purpose was to organise the proletariat as a unity, and to promote the world
revolution of communism. The idealistic message sent out from the congress was reduced by
realistic facts. First, the world had been experiencing a world war for four years, and the
thought of promoting civil war campaigns was not an attractive option for achieving
revolution. Second, the weak structure of foreign communist parties could not amass the
strength to carry out revolution. Third, the prestige of the victorious Bolshevik leaders has
made it impossible to let go of its authority. So, the control of the Comintern was placed in

The German society was in a fragile state after the world war. The years of
1918-1923 are characterised by chaos in both political and social spheres, the formation of
the German Communist Party (KPD), and ending up with the unsuccessful communistic uprising
in Hamburg in 1923. Germany played a significant role in the future plans of the Comintern.
Lenin argued in 1919 that a Soviet revolution in Germany would strengthen the international
Soviet movement. The goal was to renounce the treaty, which were decided upon at the
Versailles Peace in 1919 and imposed on Germany, and to fight against international
imperialism (Fischer, 1948:95). The question of imperialism was one of major importance
from the beginning for the Comintern.

However, so was also the subordination of the whole communist movements in
the world towards Moscow. The second congress of the Third International in 1920 marks the
start for a highly centralised Comintern, now with a clear agenda formulated in 21 points
composed by Grigory Zinoviev. These points focus on future obligations, which members of
the Comintern had to accept. In short, all activities were from now on decided upon and
approved in the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) in Moscow.
The pragmatic content in the points authorised illegal activities if legal ones did not work, the use of propaganda, the formation of communist cells, the principle of *democratic centralism* (the need for centralisation of communistic parties and organisations towards Moscow), to fight against imperialistic oppression throughout the world. The congress also broke with the traditions of the Second International, which signalled the birth of the Third.ii

The need of maintaining a strong and solid network with Germany was of major importance. During 1923 were preparations for the communist uprising in an active phase. Delegates from the KPD traveled to Moscow in September to meet with the ECCI, and decide upon the right moment for the uprising to start. Similar actions was also prepared in Bulgaria.

The uprising in October turned out to be a fiasco and new plans had to be drawn. This event marks a turning point in the relations of the Comintern and Germany. From 1924, new tactics were needed in order to keep up the network. Sophisticated ones, and from now on being under strict control from Moscow. The consequence of the failed uprising, led to that the future development of the KPD now were in the hands of the ECCI in Moscow. The Department for Agitation and Propaganda of the ECCI, was constructed in 1924. Its main purpose was to organise and control communications between Moscow and its sections in the world (Degras, 1960:166). This certainly affected the network and its organisation. The whole apparatus of the Comintern faced in the coming years, from 1924 up to 1928, a complex process of centralisation and bureaucratisation of its organisational structure. With the rise of Stalin as leader of the Russian Communist Party (RCP), old values and ideological opposition within the party had to rectified in order to erase all form of internal fraction. Comintern followed along this line of process. Stalinisation and Bolshevisation of the communist movement finally came to be regarded as equal during this period. Comintern sections in the world should be bolshevised by studying and applying the experiences made by the RCP. The purpose of it was to raise a warning against any separatist and federalist tendencies in the world communist party.

The KPD was after the failed uprising in 1923 in a state of frequent change, and relations to the ECCI in Moscow was still coloured by it. In time of the Fifth World Congress in 1924, the Comintern still had not made any progress in any foreign country. Ernst Thälmann had become chairman of the KPD, and the link between Moscow and Berlin was about to be strengthened. The era of the United Front Tactics began in 1924. These tactics, designed by Zinoviev, aimed at uniting communist, social-democratic and non-party workers, under the communist party leadership, to finally achieve revolution. But the intellectuals were also a group that raised interest in the Comintern. By attracting this group to participate in
organisations, which were connected to the communist movement, the agenda could be spread much deeper in the society. This was a concept that came to be well developed by Willi Münzenberg. For example, the major principle for participating in the LAI was a blue print of the United Front Tactics. Münzenberg argued that every communist who joined the league had to be prepared to co-operate with socialists, but socialists and bourgeios intellectuals had to accept working with communists.

**LAI and the German League**: What can be said about the LAI? Information on the organisation is rare, and references are scarce in its amount. According to its statutes, provided the LAI “an organisation within which the peoples of the oppressed and of the oppressed nations can meet on common ground and pursue in common the task of emancipation.” The first official announcement from the LAI was given at the First World Congress of Oppressed Nations, held in Brussels in February 1927. The congress was attended by nearly 200 delegates, and its purpose was to come to terms with the measures that had to be taken in the anti-imperialist struggle, but also to form organisations that could perform these measures. This congress was denounced as a “Russian Communist manoeuvre” by Social Democratic parties. The LAI was successor to the organisation League Against Colonial Oppression (LACO), which was formed in 1926 by German communists.

The Executive Committee consisted of James Maxton (president, Great Britain), the Dutch socialist Edo Fimmen (vice-president), Willi Münzenberg (secretary, Germany), and V. Chattopadhyaya (secretary, India). Honorary presidents were professor Albert Einstein from Germany, Henri Barbusse from France, and Sun Yat Sen from China.

Münzenberg stated that Germany had fairly large sections of the organisation in 1928. The German section of the International LAI went under the name *The German League* (GL/Liga gegen Koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperialismus), and had over 800 members who were bourgeois intellectuals, socialists and communists. The GL focused its propaganda against the industrialists in Germany.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 had a great impact on the development of the LAI. A change in the policy towards social democrats was drafted again. Decisions that had been taken in 1924 on the United Front Tactics were discharged, and social democrats were soon labelled as “social fascists”. The colonial question and the state of imperialism could not be solved by engaging in blocs anymore, according to the theses drawn up by Otto Kuusinen. The LAI saw itself struggle with its affiliation to nationalistic bourgeois movements, which the Comintern considered to be a dangerous element in the revolutionary
scheme. The LAI changed its character after the congress in Frankfurt in 1929. From being an
fighting alliance between the national bourgeoisie, intellectuals and humanists of imperialist
colonial countries and the masses of the international proletariat, which constituted a united
revolutionary mass organisation, to now renounce their ties to these alliances and instead form
a hard core of Stalinists (Carr, 1982:385). Members of the executive committee in the LAI
was purged from the organisation. Maxton, Fimmen and India’s representative Jawahar Lal
Nehru, were accused of being British imperialist agents and stamped as social fascists. By
1931 the LAI was transformed into an organisation, strictly following orders given from the
ECCI in Moscow. The new direction of the LAI was established at the session of the
International Executive Committee of the League in June 1931. Two documents, “Two
Revolutionary Documents of Great Political Importance”, stated that expulsion of elements
belonging to socialist parties were necessary, since these elements represented imperialism
and fascism. The development of the LAI followed the pattern of Stalinization, and the
executive committee in the LAI centralised the whole structure of the organisation. The
campaign against imperialism had not given any specific results and the growing tension
within the German society, with the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party, altered the
preconditions for the LAI.

Communism was in opposition with the growing fascism in the German society,
which would peak on the 27th of February in 1933 when the Reichstag in Berlin was set on
fire. Hitler had come to power a month earlier and the immediate consequence of the
Reichstag fire was devastating for the KPD in Germany. Hitler crushed the party and a group
of the leaders fled to Paris, where it sought to restructure its organisation and relationship to
the ECCI in Moscow. The LAI and Münzenberg also continued its activity in Paris. In 1935,
the LAI was liquidated. At the same time Comintern held its last congress, the Seventh. The
president of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov, called for a struggle “against the increasing
imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the expulsion of the imperialist, for
national independence.” But these words had no longer any substance. The use of the LAI
served no longer any purpose. The last era of the Comintern was about to begin, the Popular
Front against fascism and war.

One of the main goals of the dissertation is to see what happened to the network
between Moscow and Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle, after it was officially liquidated
in 1935. Did the network collapse, or was it strong enough to maintain its contact with the
ECCI in Moscow? What shape did this network have in such a case? Why did the LAI lose its
significance in the anti-imperialist struggle?
The concept of “fellow traveller” and Willi Münzenberg: The method to attract individuals, with no background in the communist milieu, was used and perfected by Münzenberg. The “fellow traveller” is a concept that plays an important role in understanding the network between Moscow and Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle. What is a fellow traveller then? Koch has elaborated on the term in his study (Double Lives) over Münzenberg and his life in the Comintern. In short, the fellow traveller was an influential opinion maker. Since, the Bolshevik movement and the hostile propaganda against communism had made common man scared of it, the harder it would be to win him or her over. Lenin, and especially Stalin, realised that and came to the conclusion that intellectuals and bourgeois humanists were needed in the Comintern movement. These spokesmen had to be organised, made trustworthy, and manipulated without knowing anything about it. Lenin and Stalin put this in the hands of Münzenberg. Koch states that the fellow traveller, in order to fulfil its purpose in the eyes of Münzenberg and especially the ECCI in Moscow, needed to believe that what they did for Stalin and the communist movement also was an integral part of their life. Issues as anti-imperialism, or the oppression of black people in USA, were made to act as a moral guideline for the travellers involved. The only solution to these issues could be found in the message spread through the Comintern and Stalin (Koch, 1995:19-20). Münzenberg and the concept of fellow traveller show that the connection to the ECCI in Moscow was strong and intimate.

Münzenberg is a key figure in the network between Moscow and Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle. Leon Trotsky introduced him to Lenin in 1915 in Bern. Lenin found Münzenberg to be an intriguing person and in 1921, around the time for the Third Congress of the Comintern, Lenin entrusted Münzenberg with different future tasks. Some were of public matter, some secret. These tasks left Münzenberg in charge of the propaganda operations in the West. While pursuing this work, he worked close to Karl Radek who had a special interest in the development in Germany. Nonetheless, Münzenberg and the relationship to the ECCI in Moscow were based on complete obedience according to Koch, and Münzenberg submitted a steady flow of reports on his activities to Moscow for supervision and further instructions (Koch, 1995:335).

OMS (Department for International Communications/Otdel mezdunarodnoj svjazi): The secret side of the Comintern are still raising different assumptions. The department OMS is at the centre of why many activities pursued by the Comintern are considered in a secret glow. The administrative structure of the OMS was hierarchically divided in two levels. First, the headquarter was placed in Moscow, and the second level was the representative section in
foreign countries, which acted as a link to foreign communist parties. The OMS, in general, is viewed upon as the most-secret apparat within the Comintern. Research done on the OMS has so far produced only more assumptions, and archives relating to the OMS have been closed to scholars. But by following research conducted by Rosenfeldt, we are given an presentation on the basic functions of the OMS: 1. distribute directives, funds and propaganda material to foreign communist parties; 2. serve as a link to underground communist organisations; 3. operate espionage and intelligence activities abroad and channel the information back to Moscow; 4. maintain links to other security and intelligence organs in the Soviet state (OGPU, GRU); 5. fabrication of forged passports and identity papers for Comintern agents (Rosenfeldt, 1991:27). These functions must have constituted a large part of the nerve system of the Comintern. That is why the functions of the OMS are of vital interest to the network between Moscow and Berlin. Leaders of the OMS were Osip Pjatnickij and Jakov Mirov-Abramov. Mirov-Abramov was one of the most important OMS residents in Berlin and we can assume that Münzenberg stood in close contact with him. He was later executed in the Moscow process in 1937.iv

Periodization and delimitation
A concise presentation of the Comintern transformation during the period 1921-1935, in order to limit the scope of the dissertation, is here summarised in the following periodization. The main purpose of arranging an chronological view is to show, in future retrospect and assumptions, that the development of the Comintern also affected, in a more narrow sense, its network with Germany and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The most common model of periodization, according to Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, on the Comintern has usually been divided in five phases. These phases often intertwine with each other, and should never been viewed upon as definite. The five phases are:

1. 1919-23: revolutionary upheavals, formation and organisational consolidation
2. 1924-28: united front tactics and “Bolshevisation” of the Comintern
3. 1928-33: class against class policy, attacks on social democracy, Stalinization
4. 1934-39: the era of the Popular Front against fascism
5. 1939-43: the decline and official denouncement of the Comintern (McDermott & Agnew, 1996:xxi)

The model offers a generalisation on the “life” of the Comintern. The complex and extensive character of the Comintern, seen as an organisation, offers no easy solutions, while trying to put it in periods.
Edward Hallet Carr has in his examination of the Comintern put focus on the period of 1930-35. This period marks the emergence of the ideology of the Popular Front against fascism, but also the end for the Comintern seen as a revolutionary instrument argues Carr. Two conclusions drawn from the Seventh Congress (25 July-21 August 1935) held in Moscow, is on the one hand that the term “revolution” was erased from the agenda of the speakers. On the other hand, consolidation with the Second International was put in favour of the Third. This was done to create unity within the working class against fascism. The shift therefore transformed the Comintern into an organisation, which no longer promoted an active policy of communist world revolution, a goal that from the beginning constituted the nerve in the organisation (Carr, 1982:403-427).

Ruth Fischer gives another proposal to a periodization. Fischer was active within the Comintern movement, and its organisation in Germany during the 1920:s, but she was also critical towards Stalin and his concept of socialism. According to Fischer can the changing character of the Comintern, especially the relation between Moscow and Berlin, be limited in two periods:

1. 1917-23 – the period of revolutionary internationalism
2. 1923-29 – the period of transformation.

First, this periodization is much broader in time, in comparison with McDermott and Agnew’s model. Second, Fischer mentions the transformation of Comintern policy, in the second period, as a decisive factor. Third, the fact that all activities in the second period, was now decided and co-ordinated from the ECCI in Moscow.

I have only presented various interpretations on different periodizations on the Comintern so far, but how should and can the network with Germany and the anti-imperialist struggle be adapted in periods? Since the delimitation, in time, of the dissertation has been put to focus on the period of 1921-1935, the following suggestion of a periodization on the Comintern and its network with Germany, the LAI, and the anti-imperialist struggle therefore is:

4. 1931-1935, *decline and liquidation*: the threat of emerging fascism, Hitler coming to power in 1933, escape of the organisation to Paris the same year, liquidated in 1935.

The limitation of the dissertation in time has been put to focus on the period 1921-1935. Limitation in space is to focus on the network between the ECCI in Moscow and the LAI in Germany, Berlin.

*Key terms to be used*: network, imperialism, fellow traveller, centralism and subordination.

**Research objectives and hypotheses**

*The key question* of the dissertation concerns the Comintern network between Moscow and Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle, and its relation to the organisation LAI.

*The main goal* is to investigate the character of the network, and to what extent the ECCI in Moscow shaped this network and influenced the anti-imperialist struggle and movement in Germany. Was the political environment in Germany regarded as favourable to use as a platform in the struggle? How many people were involved in the network between Moscow and Berlin, and what happened to them after the liquidation of the LAI?

*Subsidiary questions* in the dissertation:
1. Was the LAI, from the beginning, subordinated by the ECCI in Moscow?
2. How much did the German communists rely on the relationship with the Comintern?
3. Was the network formed around a single group of persons, such as Willi Münzenberg?
4. What kind of material is located in the Moscow Comintern archives and among the LAI papers concerning Germany, and how could they be used for historical research?

*Hypotheses on the topic*: Germany was an ideal centre in the 1920:s for the development of the anti-imperialist struggle in the eyes of the Comintern. The loss of German colonies after the First World War added to a further stimulation of agitation against imperialism inside the Germany society. The social and political chaos made it possible to construct a solid network, which introduced individuals to organizations that in turn were connected to the Comintern. Whether these individuals knew about the affiliation to the Comintern did not matter. The concept of fellow traveller and the activities pursued by Willi Münzenberg must have been a decisive factor in this stage of the network. Furthermore, the Comintern axis Moscow – Berlin – the LAI represents the most conclusive fundament in the anti-imperialist struggle. Both as a
connective factor between individuals and organizations, and by being a network that worked with stable routines and through controlled channels. But also the observation that the LAI and its executive committee were closely tied to the Comintern headquarters in Moscow.

The theoretical assumption that the Comintern had, in such an organization as the LAI, a channel which could both observe, dictate and control the development of the anti-imperialist movement in any direction the ECCI wanted it to move is the primary hypothesis of the dissertation. By focusing on the network between the ECCI in Moscow and the LAI and its executive committee in Berlin, we may even assume that this network acted as a nerve centre in the beginning of the anti-imperialist movement and its coming struggles.

Source material, working method and timetable
The main source material for the dissertation is to be found in the Comintern archive in Moscow (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, RGASPI) and the Bundesarchiv in Berlin. The Comintern material shall be complemented with material from other archives, such as the Labour Relations Institute (LRI, Arbetarrörelsens arkiv, ARAB), and the National Archive (NA, Riksarkivet, RA) in Stockholm. The languages used in the material are in Russian, German, English and Swedish, and all of them are accessible to me. Since the Comintern worked extensively with individuals and organisations in Europe, the working languages often were English, German or French. Material written in Russian is most likely to be found in the Comintern archive.

Documents on activities pursued by the LAI will be investigated in the Comintern archive. Papers, correspondence and other vital material important relating to key figures as Willi Münzenberg, Edo Fimmen and George Padmore shall be of great interest to the study. Münzenberg acted as secretary in the LAI, and Fimmen was vice-president of the organisation in 1928. Padmore was a key official in the LAI as well as in other communist-funded organisations, and he was secretary in the International Negro Workers Information Bureau (INWIB), which was created by the Profintern in Moscow. Therefore is Padmore’s link to Moscow in the anti-imperialist struggle of vital importance for the study. Fimmen was later on excluded from the executive committee, branded as a “social fascist” and accused of being a British imperialist agent. But by being an active part in creating the anti-imperialist network between Moscow and Berlin he is an important character in the study. Documents found in the National Archive indicates that Fimmen acted as an key figure in formulating strategies and ideological work done by Comintern in the 1920:s. Papers relating to Münzenberg’s correspondence with the secret department in the Comintern in Moscow (the
OMS) are of vital interest while analysing the network and its functions. Koch states that Münzenberg always worked in co-ordination with the OMS, but making a distinction of whether the activities were legal or illegal is difficult to make (Koch, 1995:335-336). Nonetheless, OMS and the network between Moscow, Berlin and the anti-imperialist struggle is a relationship that must be taken into consideration here.

The LAI- and GL-papers will be checked in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin. Furthermore, documents in the archives of the German Communist Party, which actively participated in the formation of the LAI and GL, can be found in the Bundesarchiv. Here again shall correspondence and other material relating to Münzenberg and Padmore be of special interest. But since we are dealing with the dynamics of a network, other actors of importance will surely surface during the analysis of the sources.

Other archives to be used are the Labour Relations Institute and the National Archive in Stockholm. The most important one is the archive of the Labour Relations Institute. This archive consists of a vast collection of literature, periodicals, and pamphlets published by, and on the Comintern and its front organisations. In the National Archive can documents on the international Bolshevik movement be checked, which the Foreign Department in Sweden has collected and compiled, during the actual period of time for the study. These documents act more as a registrar on activities taking place, either in Soviet Russia or Germany.

Documents will be checked and arranged after the delimitation made in the dissertation. Since the study of the network and the anti-imperialist struggle will be based on archival research, shall the methodological approach, at first, aim at evaluating the validity of the examined material. Second, I will work at putting the material in its right analytical and contextual frame. The methodological approach is combined, at this stage, with the character of the source material and through assumptions and hypotheses which has been concluded by examining research on the topic. The archival limitation focuses on Comintern material relating to Germany, Münzenberg and other key figures previously mentioned, the LAI, and the German League. This has been done in order to limit the vast amount of documents which resides in the Comintern archive. Other material, outside of this scope, might turn up during the research. This may lead to new assumptions on the research problem.

Timetable and research disposition
In 2004 shall research be conducted, together with Weiss and Marjomaa, in the Comintern archive in Moscow. While working in Moscow, we shall expect to co-operate with the
University of Moscow. Research conducted, on the topic *Finnish and Soviet relationship*, by Finnish scholars in the Comintern archive has been continuous since the 1990:s. This also goes for research done by Swedish scholars in Soviet and Comintern archives. Further, evidence on material relating to the dissertation and the project has been located by docent Jussi Pakkasvirta in Moscow. Pakkasvirta has found documents concerning the Latin American nationalist movement and Comintern. Therefore exist a working link between the dissertation/project and the accumulated expertise of other Finnish and Swedish researchers.

After the work is done in Moscow, the rest of the year (2004) will focus on structuring out workable hypotheses, examine literature on the topic, and start the analytical process. Research will be done in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin in 2005. There shall further examination and exploration on documents concerning the LAI, the German League and evidence on the network be investigated. This research will be done in co-operation with Weiss. 2006 and 2007 shall be occupied by writing and completing the dissertation. If needed, a second research excursion shall be made to the Comintern archive in Moscow.

The dissertation is related to, and also being a part of, the research project “Comintern and African Nationalism, 1921-1935” that Weiss and Marjomaa is in charge of. The common factor of the dissertation and the research project is that both has a focus on the anti-imperialist struggle. However, since Weiss and Marjomaa shall deal with African intellectuals and nationalist movements and their relation to various organizations attached to the Comintern, the dissertation will focus on the Comintern network between Moscow and Berlin. From there shall the anti-imperialist struggle and its movements be connected to the network in Berlin and Germany. Thus, my focus is on the Comintern axis: Moscow – Berlin – the LAI and anti-imperialism in Germany.

To analyse how the dynamics of the network both affected and advocated the anti-imperialist movement in Germany, and to investigate the role of the LAI in this scenario and its characteristics. Since Germany was an ideological centre for the anti-imperialist movement in many ways, both geographical and by acting as a scene for connecting individuals from all over the world in various networks, the link between Moscow and Berlin is of vital interest. Key figures in the dissertation (Münzenberg, Padmore) acted as link between Comintern and the African movements.
Bibliography


Kennan, George F., *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*, Boston, 1960

Krivitsky, Walter G., *In Stalin’s Secret Service: an exposé of Russia’s secret policies by the former chief of the Soviet intelligence in Western Europe*, New York, 1939


Lenin, Vladimir Il’ic, *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism: a popular outline*, Moscow, 1975


Maxton, James, *Lenin, Edinburgh*, 1932

Maxton, James, *If I Were Dictator*, London, 1935


Rosenfeldt, Niels Erik, *Stalin’s Secret Chancellery and the Comintern – Evidence about the Organizational Patterns*, Copenhagen 1991


**Periodicals**


*Der Koloniale Freiheitskampf*

*Der rote Aufbau*, Berlin, 1922-1932, editor Willi Münzenberg

---


4 Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, 1949, p.319-320. In Fischers autobiography the OMS is called the *International Liaison Section* and that Osip A. Piatnikov was head of the department, not Jakov Mirov-Abramov.

5 Historian Helene Carlbäck-Isotalo, in co-operation with Lars Björlin, has published an archival exposé in the two volume work *Sverige i ryska arkiv* (1999), which is a guide to Russian sources on Swedish history during the twentieth century. Carlbäck-Isotalo has also been my supervisor while writing an article on the Moscow process in 1935-1937. Björlin has worked in the Comintern archive, where he has focused on charting out the activities pursued by the Swedish communist Zeth Höglund.