

# The Central Committee of the International Communist Party on the IV. World Congress

By G. Zinoviev.

The communists form an international party. The task undertaken by the Communist International from its first foundation has been the creation of an international communist organization, established on definite lines, and led from one centre on the plan of democratic centralism. Here lies one of the essential differences between the Comintern and the II. International, which even in its best days was never more than an inadequately organized federation of national parties insufficiently connected with one another.

When we review the activity of the Comintern in its relation to the coming IV Congress, we can by no means maintain that the III International has already succeeded in fully performing the task set. The difficulties besetting the way are still enormous. Any co-worker of a large labor party is aware how difficult it is to establish the right relations between centre and periphery even within the limits of one country. And how much more difficult is this task when it is a question of the more than 50 parties belonging to the Comintern. The federalistic traditions bequeathed by the II International to the international labor movement are much stronger than might be imagined. It is only with the greatest trouble, and in the course of practical fighting, that these traditions will be overcome; now they hang like leaden weights on the feet of the international proletariat, hindering their successful attainment of the final goal.

The statutes and first important resolutions of the Comintern express in themselves an immediate and decided rejection of the simplified and hypertrophied centralism. The founders of the Comintern were however fully aware how far centralism can go when applied internationally. Experience has shown that the results of the activity of the Comintern are more successful from year to year. And to-day, during the 4th year of existence of the Communist International, its executive com-

mittee is on the road, to becoming an actual International Central Committee of the Communist Party, with organizations covering almost the entire globe.

We here publish a few figures and facts on the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International during the interval between the 3. and 4. congresses of the Comintern. These data (a detailed digest of these data, most efficiently treated by Comrade Tivel, will probably be published as a special pamphlet) are intended to show that the Executive Committee really begins to be worthy of the designation: "International Central Committee of the Communist Party."

In the interval between the 3. and 4. congresses, that is, within 15 months, the Executive has held 30 sessions. The total number of participants in these sessions (repeated participation being counted) is 1032. Those attending the sessions were approximately the same persons to the extent of one half. The total number of questions treated at the sessions of the Executive was 144, of which 97 were purely political in character, and 47 were questions of organization and administration. The number of delegations appointed by the Executive for the various countries, in the name of the Comintern, is 9. (The majority of delegations were not appointed by the Executive, but by the Presidium; delegations are only chosen by the Executive in especially important cases.) During the period of which this report treats, 25 important resolutions were passed relating to the various countries. The most important proclamations and open letters confirmed by the Executive Committee itself amounted to 21. 31 commissions were appointed by the Executive itself. Almost all these commissions consist of 7 to 9 persons. Each one of these commissions forms in reality an actual international "germ cell", comprising as it does, almost invariably, representatives of 5 to 6 different parties.

The following table shows the number of times each separate country was placed on the agenda:

Germany	9
France	9
Poland	7
North America	5
Czecho-Slovakia	5
Italy	4
Yugoslavia	3
East	3
Spain	3
England	2
Hungary	2
Norway	2
Bulgaria	2
Roumania	2
South Africa	2
Austria	1
South America	1
Belgium	1
Canada	1
China	1
Russia	1
Switzerland	1
Finland	1
Japan	1

It must further be added that during the period between the 3 and 4. congresses two sessions of the Extended Executive of the Comintern, at which all parties were fully represented, were held. Enlarged sessions of the Executive are not provided for in the statutes, but actual party life has called them into being. Both sessions were attended by the best leaders of the communist movement in all countries, and were able to perform highly useful practical work. There is no doubt whatever that the practice of holding enlarged sessions will take firm hold, and will prove of great utility.

The activity of the Executive Presidium is of equal importance. In many respects the work done by the Presidium has been decisive. The number of sessions held by the Presidium between the 3. and 4. congresses was 75 (these data are not quite exact, the statistics having been worked through until 6. Oct. only). 735 questions were treated at these sessions. The number of those present, including the specially invited representatives of the various parties, was 1152. Here it must of course be recollected that several persons have been counted twice, whilst the main body of the Presidium remained unaltered. The number of members of the presidency was 7 to 9 at most, but at the meetings 20 or even 30 persons were present, as when the question under discussion involved the party of this or that country; it was natural that comrades from the country in question were invited, so that the matter could receive enlightenment from all sides.

The questions treated by the presidency come under the following categories:

United front tactics	22 times
Profintern	10 "
International Young People's Movement	21 "
Preparation of questions for the Executive of the Comintern	25 "
Questions of organization	37 "
Publication questions	28 "
International Workers' Relief	15 "
International Women's Section	6 "
Sport International	4 "
Cooperative Section	4 "
SR. Trial	11 "
Preparations for the 4. Congress of the Comintern	7 "
Budget	4 "

The separate countries treated were:

France	33 times
Italy	27 "
Hungary	21 "
Germany	18 "
England	13 "
Czecho-Slovakia	10 "
India	10 "
Austria	8 "
United States	9 "
Turkey	8 "
Persia	8 "
Poale Zion	9 "
Poland	7 "
Norway	6 "
Denmark	6 "
Sweden	6 "
Switzerland	6 "

South America	7 times
Yugoslavia	7 "
Congress of the Peoples of the East "Bund"	4 "
Luxemburg	4 "
Ukraine	4 "
Finland	4 "
Bulgaria	2 "
Greece	2 "
Ireland	2 "
Egypt	2 "
Estonia	2 "
Holland	1 "
South Africa	1 "
China	1 "
Bukhara	1 "

The number of delegates and delegations sent to the various countries, in accordance with resolutions passed by the presidency, was 54. The number of commissions whose formation was decided upon by the presidency, and who occupied themselves chiefly with questions arising out of the movement in different countries, was 129. Each of these commissions consisted as a rule of 3 to 5 comrades from the parties of the various countries, and also represented an important "germ cell". Each of these commissions is a small international in itself, and at the same time a severe school.

These are most important figures characterizing the activity of the leading organ of the Comintern during the last 15 months.

Our international organ was for the first time successful in carrying through 3 large and comprehensive international campaigns, in a more or less satisfactory manner: 1. The campaign associated with the united front tactics; 2. The campaign resultant on the SR. Trial and 3. The campaign for famine aid in Russia. All this represents of course a mere beginning, a first hesitating step. But it is of importance that the beginning has been made. When it is added that the Executive of the Comintern is widely ramified, and that its activity is closely bound up with the work of the Profintern, the International Youth, the International Women's Section, the Cooperative Section, the International Labor Famine Aid, the Sport Section, the language groups, etc., it will be seen that the work increases constantly in extent.

Actual working practice in our International Central Committee has shown the necessity of some serious reforms. The 4. Congress will devote attention to these reforms. It is probable that the Executive will have to create a number of sections: for organization, for agitation, etc. after the manner of the sections of the central committee of the Russian C.P. It is also possible that the Executive will find itself obliged to create an *or*-bureau and a *pol*-bureau, such as exist not only in the R.C.P., but in the communist parties of many other lands.

The Comintern does not regard its Executive Committee as a commission for making agreements only, but as a leading organ. It is only natural that the Executive Committee should be obliged to "interfere" in the affairs of almost all the parties belonging to the International. The executive of the Comintern and its presidency have dozens of times treated in detail, the most important questions appearing on the agenda of the French, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, and other great parties, during the year of this report. The statistics above quoted demonstrate this clearly. The "record figures" apply to just those countries in which the party has undergone crises and internal conflicts during this time.

The Executive of the Comintern has taken active part in the preparations for every congress and conference of its largest parties. The theses and resolutions intended to be laid before the congresses of this or that party have as a rule been first submitted to the Executive of the C.I. or to the Presidium. Representatives of the Executive Committee have taken part in nearly all important congresses of the sections of the Comintern, giving spiritual direction to these congresses. The Presidium of the Executive Committee has been enabled to gain a fairly exact knowledge of the personality of the leadership of our most important parties. The E.C. has been energetic in its endeavour to further the political initiative of those sections compelled to face particularly complicated situations. The Executive and the presidency have devoted special attention to the young parties taking their first steps in the direction of political mass fighting. With the co-operation of the E.C. organized political parties and groups have been formed, within the last 15 months, in such countries as Japan, China, India, Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, that is, in countries possessing only very small circles of followers at the time of the 3. Congress. These parties are still weak in numbers, but the kernel is at least formed. In 1883 the group for "Liberation of Labor" in Russia was also only a very small one.

The actual formation of the International Central Committee of the Communist organizations of the world is a mighty evidence of progress. The enlightened workers of the whole world are learning to appreciate its value more and more, in proportion to the increasing difficulties presented by the struggle with the bourgeoisie, and to the growing ruthlessness of the attacks of international capitalism and reaction. The very slightest attempt to degrade the Executive of the Comintern to the role played by the International Socialist Bureau in the Second International, that is, the role of a simple commission for drawing up agreements, or of mere information office, or indeed of a mere "letter-box"—any such attempt must meet with obstinate resistance on the part of all such parties of the Comintern as are worthy of being taken seriously, and will certainly meet with such resistance. Such attempts to transfer the usages and customs of the II International to the Comintern have been recently made by some elements of the French party. There is no doubt that the 4. Congress will decisively condemn these attempts.

The international bourgeoisie cannot be conquered without the aid of a united, organized, and systematically working international proletarian centre. It is not even possible to take measures likely to succeed in any great degree against the wild campaigns of the capitalists, or against the innumerable betrayals of social democracy, if the Comintern abandons any essential feature of the basic principles laid down in its most important programmatic documents. The international communist movement needs the support of a strong staff, of a mighty international central committee whose judgements are decisive. The communist parties of the whole world will create this staff, and will establish it firmly.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Comrade Lenin's Speech at the 4<sup>th</sup> Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

Comrades! Permit me to utter a few words of greeting. Above all, our first greetings must naturally be for the Red Army, which has again just shown its heroism, and has cleared, by the occupation of Vladivostok, the whole region of the Far Eastern Republic allied to the Soviet Republic. I am confident of speaking in the names of all when I say that we greet this fresh deed of heroism on the part of the Red Army most joyfully, the more so because it has brought us a decided step nearer to the end of the war. It has thrown the last forces of the White Guards into the sea (Applause). I believe that the Red Army has freed us for a long time from any possible repetition of the White Guard attacks on Soviet Russia, or on the republics which are, directly or indirectly, allied to us.

At the same time I must not forget to mention, if I do not wish to be guilty of unseemly boasting, that here not only the heroism and power of our army have played a part, but also the whole international situation, and our diplomacy.

There was a time when Japan and the United States signed an agreement supporting Kollchak. This lies so far back that many of us perhaps do not even recollect it. And yet such a situation did once exist. And if we have attained a point where such agreements have become an impossibility, and where Japan's military power has not prevented her from engaging to evacuate the occupied districts, and from actually fulfilling this engagement, it is thanks to our diplomacy.

In the near future our diplomacy will again be confronted by a task of enormous importance, a task involving important interests for us. I am thinking of the conference on the Near East convened by England in Lausanne on the 13. November of this year. I am fully convinced that our diplomacy will be able to maintain its authority equally well on this occasion, and will efficiently defend the interests of all allied republics and of the R.S.F.S.R. In any case we shall make it our endeavour to reveal to the masses what are the real obstacles, and in what degree these run counter not only to the justifiable desires and endeavours of our state, but of all states interested in the question of the Straits.

With regard to foreign politics I limit myself to these brief remarks, and pass on to the discussion of your activity.

I believe that the have attained most important successes, although at a first glance the success may not appear so great to everyone. Let us take for instance the first code of laws, which you have already accepted; the *Labor Code*. It is a tremendous victory for the Soviet power that precisely now, when all governments are arming against the working class, that we can present ourselves with such a code of laws, establishing

the fundamentals of labor legislation, as for instance, the eight-hour day. It is true that with regard to this code of laws more consideration might have been accorded to this wish. I do not however believe that such wishes would have been right. We must reckon with the fact of the states in which a mad capitalist competition is raging, where there are millions and tens of millions of unemployed, where the capitalists are organizing mighty capitalist federations and preparing to attack the working class, our land is the most backward of all, our productive powers are the least developed, and we have the least idea how to work. This is perhaps an unpleasant truth, but it has to be admitted. But I believe that precisely because we do not seek to veil such facts with fine phrases and official explanations, but admit them candidly, we need not fear to mount the tribune and declare that we have expended more energy than any other state on the removal of these deficiencies, and that we are doing our utmost to overtake the other states with a speed which they do not in the least imagine.

But naturally the speed is not fantastic, we require some years of stubborn work to attain this aim. Nothing can be done in a day. We have had five years of experience, and we know what time means. We must remember what it means in the future also. Nobody amongst us believes in a fantastic speed of change, but we can believe in a possible speed, in a speed surpassing the tempo of any other historical period of evolution; and when the movement is led by a really revolutionary party, such a speed is an unqualified possibility.

I now come to the problem of the ground law. As you are aware, our first laws immediately after the revolution contained regulations respecting land which, though not quite technically perfect, nor perhaps juridically so, none the less contained all essentials, all that was of unqualified necessity for the peasant, and ensured his alliance with the working class. And even if the law which you have now accepted proves to require improvement in this or that regard, we shall be able to carry out these corrections without any special difficulty, just as you have accepted improvements in the code of criminal law at this session.

The land, the living question for the majority, of the population, the peasantry, is for us a fundamental question. In this respect we are so far advanced that the Russian peasant knows that not only do we set no brake on proposals towards the alteration of old laws, but we accept these most favourably.

You have also dealt with such questions as the civil code of laws and the general regulations for litigation. In the policy which you pursue so faithfully these questions touching the interests of the broad masses of the population, are the most important. Here it has also been our endeavour to draw a line of limitation between the justifiable satisfaction of the needs of every citizen living under the new economic policy, and the abuses of the new economic policy, which are law in all other countries, but whose legalization we decline. It remains for the future to show in how far the corrections which you have just made with this intention, and which you approve, will succeed in their object. In any case, we do not bind our hands in any way. Should daily experience show that there are abuses upon which we had not calculated, we shall take immediate steps for their removal. In this respect, as you are aware, such rapidity of legislation is unfortunately unknown in other states. We shall see if the near future will not force these powers to try and keep up with Russia in this respect.

We must also accord some attention to the equally important question of the provincial Soviet congresses and government executive committees. All former systems, legislatures, and constitutions left this question unanswered. It was thought that in the provinces everything would take its old course. We, on the other hand, are convinced that if our revolution has been able to attain many successes, this is solely because we had the power in the provinces in our hands, and because we invariably paid the greatest attention to local experiences. When the revolution in October 1917 was crowned at once with such success that in the spring of 1918 we believed the war to be over, though in reality it was just beginning in its worst form, that of civil war (in reality the peace concluded at that time with Germany who did not collapse until the autumn, in every way gratified those elements among the Allies who resented our peace with Germany)—when as I say, the revolution was able to carry out its work with such rapidity, this was due to the fact that we have always counted upon the peasant population, and have opened new vistas of activity to them; we always expected from the provinces that enthusiasm, which imparted perseverance and speed to our revolution.

I am aware that at that time the provinces went through troublous times. We were much occupied by the relations of the provinces to the centre, and I will not assert that we were always able to carry out our task in the most ideal manner. The general level of our culture could not permit us to even dream