First Session of the Enlarged Presidium

Moscow, June 11. The first session of the Enlarged Presidium of the Executive of the Communist International was held on Sunday June 10; in the Red Hall of the Comintern in the Molchowa. Comrade Zinoviev was in the chair and there were present, in addition to Comrade Bucharin and the members of the Presidium, one member from each of the Delegations.

From the report of the Secretariat it appears that all the sections of the Comintern have sent strong delegations to the Enlarged Executive and that with one or two exceptions (Australia and South Africa) all the delegates have arrived in Moscow.

It was decided that the Enlarged Executive should commence its sittings on June 12 at 6 p.m. with the report of Comrade Zinoviev.

A lively discussion arose during the consideration of the detailed points of the agenda, in which practically all the delegations took part, and many proposals were made. The agenda decided on was agreed to unanimously. In addition to the points of the agenda already published it was decided to include the date of the next World Congress and the present situation in Russia.

The following is the agenda adopted by the Presidium:
   b) Practical measures for continuing the campaign for the United Front.
   c) Fusion of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals. Speaker: Comrade Zinoviev.

2. The World Political Situation. Speaker: Comrade Radek.
3. Fight against Fascism. Speaker: Comrade Clara Zetkin.
5. The Limits of Centralism in the Comintern (Discussion with the Scandinavian comrades). Speaker: Comrade Bucharin.
7. Preparatory work for the drawing up of a Program of the Communist International. Speaker: Comrade Bucharin.
8. The Problems of Sections.
9. Date of the next World Congress and the Congresses of the Individual Sections.
11. Other business.

It was decided to set up a number of Commissions, their size varying with the importance of the question to be considered. The Political Commission which will be set up to discuss the first point on the Agenda, will consist of 21 members, and the remaining Commissions from 9 to 15 members.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Zinoviev invited the delegates to attend the deliberations of the Council of Leading Representatives dealing with the national question in the Federated Soviet Republics, since the national question was an important problem in practically every Section.

Comrade Zinoviev closed the sitting at 1 a.m.

The Enlarged Executive Opening Session

The Congress of the Enlarged Executive opened on Tuesday June 12, at 7 p.m. in the Andreyevsky Hall—in which the Fourth World Congress and the recent Congress of the Russian Communist Party were held.

The Session was opened by Comrade Zinoviev who was greeted by the stormy applause of the delegates upon his entry into the hall.

There were present at the Congress the members of the Executive, 3 representatives from each of the parties of the larger countries and of the Communist Youth International, and the R.I.L.U.: 2 representatives each from countries where the Communist Parties are relatively weak, and one representative each from the countries with small Communist Parties, with the exception of Austria which sent three and Holland which sent two delegates.

Ten comrades were invited from England to attend the English Conference of which the majority have already arrived in Moscow.

The following members of the Executive were present: Zinoviev, Levy, Souvarine, Hörnle, Bucharin, Radek, Smeral, Neurath, Genari, Gramsci, Schiller, Schatzkin, Hofflund, Schefflin, Kuusinen, Kolarov, Stirmer, Katayama, Safarow. Comrades Zetkin, Maenanus and Andrews are on their way to Moscow.

In addition to the above, Comrade Falk was present from the Norwegian Party.

The following delegates from the individual Sections have already arrived in Moscow. France: Tibet, René, Rosmer, Italy C.P.: Urbani, Martini, Negri. Germany: Böttcher, Walcher, Ewert. Czecho-Slovakia: Zypatacky, Beier. England: New-
Second Day of Session

Morning

Wednesday, 13 June 1923.

The Second Session of the Elargé Executives was opened by Professor Durt (France).

The Chairman's proposal to limit the reports to one hour and fifteen minutes was adopted.

Durt (France)

The inclusion (although necessary) of the Socialist leaders in the application of the Union tactics in fraught with many difficulties, as the social democratic proletariat. This method of putting the point is quite effective in approaching the social democratic and the non-party workers.

We always were. But formerly we wished to achieve this end ourselves, and this could not work. We must again appeal to the leaders until the masses understand the dangers that the Union faces. The tactic of a strategic maneuver? That depends entirely upon the leaders. If they are guided in a fight, than it is Bethmann and Blumfeldt will fight in common with us, but only peremptorily repeat? In order not to bring confusion into our own ranks. We must show the masses the whole road.

If we had neglected to do this in France, the Union would have never marched with us. The tactic of the United Front contains a danger for our party, as the experience has shown. And this danger is not, naturally, the danger of demoralization and desertion. Nationalists and non-Communists, too, have to be taken into account. But we have also to face an absolute opponent of the tactic of the United Front. That is not present in Germany, but I am a convinced partisan of the tactic of the United Front.

The R.I.L.U. achieved considerable success during this period. Now, the task of the R.I.L.U. is to be a permanent creation. They will now have changed.

In France, since the Fourth Congress, the Party has passed into healthy consistence. It was obliged to undergo a severe operation. The French Party has thus been saved. The Party has been consolidated, its membership has increased, and its press has been enlarged. The Party still lacks correct routine in conducting political action. A certain confusion of thought has plagued the words "Labor Imperialism" into people's heads. One of our best comrades, Mussolini, has broken the overgrowth of the bourgeoisie by a triumphant proletariat to labor imperialism. The bourgeois press exploited this to the full. We have nothing to do with labor imperialism. Labor imperialism belongs entirely to the bourgeoisie. It was Treat, too, which showed up the absoluteness of the Social Democrats. That is wrong.

We welcome the fact that the French Party has succeeded in evoking a common opinion for the dictatorship of the proletariat. There was also a conflict in the German Party, arising out of the great enmity between a section of the Party and the Social Democrats; and that new problems arise causing differences of opinion. With the help of the Swiss and French Party the German Party was engaged with the Italian question. The Communist Party of Italy saw the arch enemy in Mussolini and Labor Imperialism, and it changed there. In theabee Congress, and that Serrati has been expelled from the party and the party has been in danger. It was decided that it was necessary to unite with the Social Democrats in France and the Fourth Congress to affiliate with the Social Party solely as a labor party, and it was decided to append this fact to the Congress. The Serrati had a left the party. The new Party, therefore, is a labor party, and it is not a labor party.

Accordingly, the new Party has been established on the basis of the participation of the left elements, and hence the fusion of the German SocialDemocratic and the Independent German Social Party. But it is evident that the struggle of the German Social-Democrats with the Independent German Social Party was weakened by the union with the Independent Social Party.

There is only one real International—the Communist International. But we have yet got the majority of the proletariat behind us, and as much force we have coonsidered for the purposes of international action. The leaders of the various parties of our International have the joint task of achieving this goal. But the French, in a decisive and momentous hour, carried on a great fight to show presence and demonstration that they know how to work together when they work. It is a great thing for our International, at the end of the creation of a truly United Communist World Party, to make the French working class stand the test of a big fight, and back, appeals for armed aid to the French Outraged Democrats.

On the question of the united front we have ever come yet fully justified in France where even the Socialists have invited to apply this principle. In France it is a strategic maneuver, but in the United Front a strategic maneuver is not sufficient to tackle the issue and the application of the social democratic proletariat. This method of putting the point is quite effective in approaching the social democratic and the non-party workers. We always were. But formerly we wished to achieve this end ourselves, and this could not work. We must again appeal to the leaders until the masses understand the dangers that the Union faces. The tactic of a strategic maneuver? That depends entirely upon the leaders. If they are guided in a fight, than it is Bethmann and Blumfeldt will fight in common with us, but only peremptorily repeat? In order not to bring confusion into our own ranks. We must show the masses the whole road.

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Hoepli (Sweden)

Complained that Comrade Zinoviev's report was lacking, in as much as he had only presented a negative picture of the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. He considered that the anti-religious propaganda of the Soviet Government should not be continued, and that every religion represents a class ideology and is therefore a class tool for the enemies of the Soviet people.

In our Party we can tolerate religious people, for religion has taken a most reactionary form in this country. But we must fight against the propagation of religious ideas, and we must be clear that we as a Party have nothing to do with religion. We must fight against a certain anti-religious pressure, and I am sure that we must be cautious in our struggle against religion. That is only natural. In the course of the anti-religious campaign we must apply different methods to the peasants to those we apply to the workers, as we need more patience with the former. Comrade Zinoviev asserted that he began a campaign against religion now was extremely stupid. He is evidently oblivious of the fact that we, who have undertaken a campaign against religion, but rather that Comrade Hoepli is carrying it on.

And now a few words on Comrade Falck's speech. He asserted that so-called anti-religious struggles between the Communist Party in Germany and the Socialist International, which is a case against the Communist International. The speeches of the Falck and Hoepli echo the Zinoviev's speech. The other newspapers and organisations of that time, the KAPD, the Communist Party in Germany and the Social-Democratic organisations of that country, which are the German Communist Party, will find ways and means to remove all the difficulties.

Böttcher (Germany):

The main question of the tactics of the European Parties is the question of the attitude towards the Communist International. Hitherto the greatest success with the United Front tactics has not been achieved. Nevertheless the differences arise concerning the mass in which these tactics are to be applied. In order to keep our principles intact, it is essential to lay special emphasis on the role of the Communist Party as the leader in the struggle for the establishment of the Provisional Government, and to go beyond without doubt that the application of the United Front tactics does not mean that we should abandon our principles in the Social Democratic Workers. We are extremely suspicious of the Social Democratic Workers, who believe they have played Hitlerism and which, objectively, they are.
A few words on the national question. In the beginning of the Kuhl case we were not well enough informed in Germany, and there were differences of opinion even within the party. It turned out, however, in Germany this is not a very difficult problem, because the bour-geoisie, the middle class, the industrial workers and the peasants are all a part of the same small country.

In other countries this question is of course more difficult. So we can only hope for collaboration between the French and the German Commmunist Parties. This issue, however, does not detract from its importance as the first action of this kind.

Radek:

It is feared that owing to rigid centralism there is a danger of forming a purely international. From the discussion which went on here, one could gain a better understanding of the difficulties that arise in questions of national policy. In order to be able to make an action upon a single question, here we are], writing a pointed public discussion amongst the various committees, which express themselves that this is the only place for thorough discussion. Compared to this, the actions of the central committee of the International are too active.

But how can we put this into action? We have to work hard. The Comrade Gumenov and Gatyinen in Germany com-posed to say, What they said has come straight from the mouth of Gatyinen. They tell us that the only hope was in action taken by the International.

Humphrey's article draws attention incidentally to a particular danger, which can be observed only by opportunistic discussion. Zimmerov's report contained two main points: the consolidation of the International, and the extension of the basis of our power. In so far as the consolidation of the International is concerned, there is close connection between the Italian and Norwegian question. Comrade Urban as much as say him on which occasion the decisions of the Commmunist International in favour of the Italian and Norwegian question. Comrade Urban points out that in Soviet Russia in 1920 the National-Social is an extremely difficult one, but this does not prevent us from pointing out the positive role played by the International. The result is a new international experience, which has the advantage of being a new one.

The resolution to be submitted on this question must out- line the tasks of the International. The question of the alliance with the Social Democrats should be raised and that the Communist International should continue its march forward.

Tradunberg (America)

He was glad to hear the references made by Zimmerov to the splendid strides made by the American Communist Party in the past year. He expressed the hope that the resolutions should be action adopted at the last International Congress.

He wished to make a personal appeal. He, as an American of the new generation, workers and peasants' Government issued by the International. America, unlike Europe, has no large number of independent workers' and peasants' Governments. The position of the position of those who have recently come to recognize of the International is that they are not yet in a position to form a government. There are numerous factors which are gradually bringing the International in closer contact with the working class. There is a considerable mass of workers who has been influenced by the workers' movement. This is an important factor for the International. Now we ask: What opinion do you represent now? The Nor- wegian workers who would try to separate is from the International will burn his fingers. The new generation of workers must be prepared to cooperate with all the International. What will the new generation of workers do with the International? He was glad to hear the references made by Zimmerov.
The speaker referred to an alarming declaration of Tsarist-Russia, which he regarded with a foreboding that the community in his country should be prepared for its consequences. He feared they might cause serious damage and that it would have to be answered. The resolution of the Congress was adopted without a division.

The question of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Government is a very important issue in the current political situation. It is necessary to discuss the possibility of establishing a Workers’ Government by the elected people’s assembly. It will contribute to the growth of the movement and the development of the country.

The Italian Communist Party is a small country, but internationally, it is a powerful force. The Italian Communist Party has always been a leading force in the struggle for national liberation. Its position has been reinforced by the consistency of its policy and the strength of its organization.

In the present situation, the unified Front tactics cannot be considered only as a means to achieve our objectives. They are a necessary part of the general strategy of the Communist International. We shall continue to work and to fight for the realization of our programme.

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I.

Conrad Radek wanted me to substantiate my criticism of the attitude of the Executive upon Scandinavian questions, and I am going to try to do his wish. We recognize that certain mistakes had been made in the Norwegian situation by both sides, which called for intervention by the Executive. The mistakes of the past and present Executive may be summarized as follows:

1. Expulsion of Lain, chairman of the Norwegian Trade Union Executive.
2. Publication of the first letter of the Executive to the Party Executive was first made in the Pravda, and the Norwegian Party got it only after it had already been published in the Socialistdemokratie, which had repripted it from the Pravda for democratic purposes.
3. The second letter of the Executive, of the 22nd September, was drawn up without either consulting or negotiating with the Norwegian Party Executive.
4. The so-called magazine articles by comrade Traamell were represented as though he was in favor of a right-wing schism in the NRA, which was not the case.
5. The second letter so sharply and scathingly attacked the Traamell following that it really aggravated the conflict instead of alleviating it.
6. It was a mistake when the Executive appointed a representative of the Norwegian Party minority to a seat upon the Executive.
7. Comrade Bucharin preferred grave charges against the Krudt and against foreign sections of the Comintern, which were without support in any one of the individual parties of this group. Then again, Comrade Shachtman in the Komsomol accused the Communist Youth against the Party, although the Norwegian Party strife was declared liquidated at the Party Congress. In the Danish question it was a mistake to negotiate with the semi-anarchist "smash"ers who had committed the Copenhagen and Copenhagen, Helfling and Ernst Christian who expelled, although they had not been expelled, from the International in hard times. Comrade Hoeglund went on to deal with the commotions of Radek and Koeppe, without either consulting or negotiating with the Socialist Democratic leaders, thus seeking to change his educational position in this matter, but he merely wished to prevent any bland anti-religious propagandistic campaigns. The latter is not in favor of the right-wing nationalists and religious workers and persons. He believed that in spite of everything, a left-wing leadership would not upset the principal questions.

II.

Laursen (Denmark)

Conrad Hoeglund seems to resent the fact that the E.C. was active as mediator in the Danish Party dispute. The attitude of the Executive of course was correct. At that time there had been at least possible to reestablish a united communist organization in Denmark, in the face of the anti-socialist tendencies. After the rejection of its proposal to mediate, the Executive Council demanded that the dispute be settled at any cost. When the Executive Council of course decided to accept the proposal made by Scandinavian Commissar, it decided quite rightly that this obstacle must be removed. In that Danish Commissar, which was appointed by the Enlarged Executive, we will once more find the labor movement to bring about the unification of all the Communist elements in Denmark. However, we are justified in demanding that all Danish comrades of the Party Parties will do their utmost to bring about such a unification.

Aoki (Japan)

In Comrade Aoki's references to the Japanese movement he expressed the opinion that a legal political labor party should be formed. The Japanese comrades were not afraid of persecution or imprisonment. They had put up with suppression for the last thirteen years. But in his opinion it would be premature to form a legal political party. They avoided the support and sympathy of the militant elements among the working class. These comrades were indifferent to the problems of the militant class. They were inexperienced and had a narrow outlook on politics. Even the present leaders of the Communist party were of this kind. The socialist comrades were of the same type: they were not of the working class. They formed a party at the risk of losing the militant elements of the working class. The socialist workers were opposed to the communists merely because they were politically different. If they formed a party they would suffer great loss, at least for some time.

Traamell (Norway)

When considering the differences between the Norwegian Party and the International it was necessary to take into account the structure and traditions of the Party. It was organized 30 years ago mainly as a federation of Trade Unions without definite political opinions or socialist aims. Its radicalization into a Socialist Party and finally into a Communist Party has been a long process. Its transformation into a Communist Party had begun long before its affiliation to the Third International.

On the question of the United Front, the situation in Norway is rather different than is the case in most other countries. Some of the Communist leaders of the trade unions, who were influenced by the social democrats can be reached with the united front at the Party Congress. In the Danish question it was a mistake for the Socialist Democratic leaders to refuse to support this party.

The second letter of the Commissar was also without any previous discussion with the Party Executive and was based upon incorrect and incomplete information.

The Fourth Congress decided upon a sharpening of centralization. This was serious for a Party with the traditions of the Norwegian Party. The experience they had already had of the manner in which it was to be carried out. The Executive Committee made some concessions and there was no doubt that it had, in some measure, altered its views in regard to the questions at issue, among those the time required for the problem of the Party. It is also true that there are reasons to believe that the conflict was over. But the strike was again accepted by the Norwegian trade unions as a result of the previous discussion between the Executive and party of the American Communist Party. Such remarks presuppose that the strike is still necessary, and if it is, at least the united front meeting also gives us reason to fear that the conflict has again reopened.

There are areas in which the difficulties and the contradictions are still going on. There are also proclaimed large strikes, and lockouts. It should be understood that this is a simple and easy to induce the Trade Unions at this particular time to send a delegation to the Conference of the Fraternity.

The Chairman then called on Comrade Zagosky to reply to the discussion.

Concluding speech of Comrade Iljinov

"Hoeglund complained that in my speech I overlooked a great deal. That was only natural. We leave 50 Parties and there are so many problems to be discussed. It was not my intention to give a catalogue but only to deal with the most important matters. I also was a writer so it is a criticism. Why did Hoeglund raise his criticism? Because he would have preferred if I had not dealt quite so much with the Scandinavian questions. But it was those very questions that were most important.

The discussion on religion will prove to be very useful. Hoeglund is now putting the best face on the matter: he says he is satisfied, he had won the argument. It would appear that we were proposing a grand campaign against religion. It is not we who are conducting a campaign but the bourgeoisie who are attacking us because we have proposed to punish counter-revolutionary priests. We know very well that in Germany, in England and in Ireland, there are broad sections of the proletariat who are still religious. At the Fourth Congress, agreeing indifferent to the Old Testament government, we declared that we were prepared to cooperate even with Christian workers. We hope that there is not an end of the trade union instruction. But the Russian Party has to adopt a different policy toward religion, that it is not a question of religion alone. Frequent purgings of our Russian Party are unadvisable. In other countries, where the Communist Parties have not yet come to the conclusion of the question of religion, there is a group of religious elements. Frequent purgings of our Russian Party are unadvisable. In other countries, where the Communist Parties have not yet come to the conclusion of the question of religion, there is a group of religious elements.

We therefore propose to establish a grand campaign against religion."

Hoeglund complained that I criticized him without quoting him. I did that, so to speak, out of friendship, but I shall now briefly explain the principles. Hoeglund writes: "The Party is not concerned whether certain Communists carry on religious or anti-religious propaganda. As a Party we demand only that our members should adhere to our political program and our statutes."

This point of view is wrong. Lenin, as early as 1905, bluntly stated that religion as far as the Party was concerned, was a private matter, but not as far as the Party was concerned. Our Party is not indifferent to religious questions. We must demand of our members something more than the acceptance of our political programs and statutes; we must demand that Lenin demanded--a scientific attitude. Lenin in favor of a sect? He asked the greatest leaders that Hoeglund has, not only as Russian, but throughout the world. The Communist Party, as a party, says again to Marx said that religion is an opiate of the people. Of course, it is very important how your anti-religious propaganda is carried. Whether it is carried as a crude tool, or not, Hoeglund did not use this way. He merely says that the social democrats will exploit for discussions. Unfortunately, we have to take that risk, but Hoeglund must not forget that a social democrat will exploit his article against us. I therefore repeat that we are preparing to cooperate with any body of religious workers; we have no intentions of starting a grand campaign against religion. We hold with Lenin and Marx, but we expect that the work of education should be carried on in a reasonable manner.

Passing to the Norwegian question, I must admit that the whole of Traamell spoke in a very comradely manner. I notice their desire that an understanding should be reached. But we must not overlook the facts. In 1921 we were already engaged in the struggle against the Norwegian comrades. Two years later the Central Committee decided to leave the communist international. Therefore, there is no question of a way back in, through which one can pass in and out, but a matter of principle, whose members are bound together for life and death.

Hoeglund defended the periodical "Den Dag." Hoeglund demanded that we should be loyal to the party, which is not a way of breaking in and out, but a matter of principle. The members are bound together for life and death.

We have the good fortune to live in a country where we can defend our position, and we are not afraid of any controversy. Our question is whether we are prepared to cooperate with any body of religious workers; we have no intentions of starting a grand campaign against religion. We hold with Lenin and Marx, but we expect that the work of education should be carried on in a reasonable manner.

The enlarged executive of the fourth day of session

The session opened at mid-day. Comrade Boetcher was a speaker; he read a Comrade Schacht's summary among other things it said: My article was printed in the "Jugendinternationale" and was repripted without my knowledge in "Klassiskehjem." The article criticized the resolutions of the Norwegian Party which were opposed to the decisions of the Fourth Congress, and it furthermore stated that the Norwegian Young Communist Councils were established and even bound in the displaced questions to give preference to the decisions of the Communist International rather than to the majority of two votes of the Party Congress.

The Chairman then called on Comrades Zagosky to reply to the discussion.

June 15, 1923.

Printed by Friedrich-Schiller-Druckerei G.m.b.H., Berlin SW 48.