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Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Communists in the Transnational World of the Comintern before the Great Purges

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Abstract: The Comintern represented in the international relations of the inter-war period a transnational global force. It has been rightly described as an organisation with political program ambitions extending beyond national boundaries. Its sections were active in most countries of the globe. The involvement of the Comintern with the Baltic states and the activities of Baltic communists in the transnational framework of the organisation has remained almost unexplored. This article deals with the period from 1918 to 1935 and looks at the Baltic communists' activities in the Comintern before the Great Purges in the USSR.

Keywords: the foreign policy of Soviet Union; the international Communist movement; the Brest Peace Treaty; the Communist International; the Communist Party; the Baltic states

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Comintern and of the communist parties and organisations connected with the Comintern is a political history centred on transnational individuals for whom, in many cases, communist activity

meant movement from one mission to another, from one exile to another and this not only of their own choice.[1] Transnationalism emphasizes the deciding role of similar elements within the framework of differing national cultures. Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo differentiate here between two types of transnationalism: from above and from below. The first of these presumes reciprocal influence among states, regions and supranational political organisations. Transnationalism from below represents reciprocal influence on ethnic-nationalist, individual and cultural levels.[2] Smith and Guarnizo assert that it is important to determine how the transnational networks function and what trust and solidarity are based on. Perry Anderson notes that the politics of the communist parties was determined by a complicated dialectic that existed between international and national factors.[3] David Mayfield notes more generally that understanding the nature of communist traditions depends largely on defining the essential context, keeping in mind that in different places at different times there are traditions that change yet remain deeply meaningful.[4] Bernhard Bayerlein, Kaspar Brasken and Holger Weiss view the Comintern's activity as a transnational radical leftist solidarity that became immediately threatening to the British and French colonial empires, which had emerged victorious from the First World War.[5]

The starting point of this study is the proposition that in different countries the communist movement was not equal and monolithic, that within it functioned opposing groupings. Transnational networks and communications from communists in different countries were what influenced the individuals' beliefs and understanding of the world. Each nation's communist party considered in their activities their country's history, political and social situation, and attempted to adapt directives issued by the Comintern to their national understandings.

The Russian revolution of 1905–1907 brought with it the involvement of Baltic political emigrants in several European countries. The

1 See Studer, B. The Transnational World of the Cominternians. Palgrave Macmillian, London, 2015, 2.

2 Smith, M. P., Guarnizo, L. E. The Locations of Transnationalism. – Transnationalism from below. Ed. by M. P. Smith, L. E. Guarnizo. (Comparative Urban and Community Research 6.) Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1998, 3–34.

3 Anderson, P. Communist Party History. – People's History and Socialist Theory. Ed. by R. Samuel. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981, 150.

4 Mayfield, D. What is the Significant Context of Communism? A Review of the University of Michigan Conference on International Communism 14–15 November 1986. – Social History, 1988, 13, 3, 351.

5 Bayerlein, B., Braskén, K. and Weiss, H. Transnational and Global Perspectives on International Communist Solidarity Organisations. – International Communism and Transnational Solidarity. Radical Network, Mass Movements and Global Politics, 1919–1939. Ed. by H. Weiss. (Studies in Global Social History 26.) Brill, Boston, 2017, 1–27.

First World War, the 1917 Russian revolutions and the subsequent civil war were accompanied by the emergence of a Baltic-descent anti-capitalist political emigration to Soviet Russia. As this article tries to show, communists of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian descent developed a Baltocentric belief context that derived from the birth of the new independent states. However, these states were, in the Soviet opinion, constructions created with the support of Western imperialists and the political manipulation of Baltic bourgeoisie and social democrats that had to be liquidated in order to be united with the Soviet state. In this context, both the similarities and differences among Baltic communists played a role.

Historiography concerning the Comintern and the Baltic communist parties has benefited from the opening of Russian archives since 1991. Typical of the Soviet treatment of history has been a one-sided interpretation based on the communist world view and the presentation of communists' actions in a positive light. At the centre of the tale were communist revolution theory, class war, and communist heroes and their enemies. During the years of the Cold War it was typical for Western historiography to treat the activities of international communists simply as political movement closely following orders issued by the Soviet government. Moreover, according to Cold War-period authors, nationalism played no significant role in the activities of the communist parties.[6] Because of the lack of access to Soviet archives, the research into this period contains various kinds of rumour, invention and baseless guesswork.

Perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union opened Russian archives to researchers. To date, collections of documents reflecting Comintern activities in several European, Asian, African and South American countries have been published, as well as diaries and collections of documents that reflect Comintern cooperation with other organisations. However, to date, the involvement of the Comintern with the Baltic states and the activities of Baltic communists in the transnational framework of the organisation has remained almost unexplored.[7]

6 Mayfield, D. What is the Significant Context of Communism?, 351; Carr, E. H. Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935. Pantheon Books, New York, 1982.

7 Only some Lithuanian historians have covered certain questions related to the Comintern and the Baltic states. See, for example, Butkus, Z. Jei opozicija gauna paramą iš svetur... Tarpukario prosovietinės ir antilenkiškos propagandos kreditoriai. – Kultūros Barai, 1998, 8/9, 80–84; Butkus, Z. SSRS intrigos Baltijos šalyse (1920–1940). (Darbų ir Dienų 7.) Vytauto Didžiojo Universiteto leidykla, Kaunas, 1998; Švilpa, J. Kominternas ir komunistinis pogrindis Lietuvoje XX a. 4-ajame dešimtmetyje (Organizaciniai veiklos aspektai). Daktaro disertacija. Vitauto Didžiojo Universitetas Lietuvos Istorijos Institutas, Kaunas, 2007.

As regards the work of Baltic communists in the Comintern, the transnational aspect has not been addressed by previous researchers. Unlike in France, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, etc., during the 1920–1940 period the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communist parties could function only illegally in their homelands. Thus they did not represent the interest of any nation state. How did they look for support from other communists, how did they represent their national interests, if at all? This article deals with the period from 1918 to 1935 and looks at the Baltic communists' activities in the Comintern before the Great Purges in the USSR. More specifically, we will examine the activities of Baltic Bolsheviks from the Brest Peace Treaty to the creation of the Comintern and at the Second World Congress of the Comintern and discuss the position of people with Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian backgrounds in the governing bodies of the Comintern, and finally the attitude of the Baltic communists towards Social Democracy.

ESTONIAN, LATVIAN AND LITHUANIAN BOLSHEVIKS 1917–1919

By the autumn of 1915 the armed forces of the Central Powers had occupied fourteen provinces of the Russian empire, among them the area of what is now Lithuania and part of today's Latvia. The population of these fourteen provinces before the war totalled more than 35 million. Different authors have put the number of war refugees – Poles, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, Latvians, Armenians, etc. – who fled the war to different parts of Russia at 6 to 7.4 million. In addition, 2.5 million German and Austrian prisoners of war were interned on Russian territory.[8] According to information from 1915, approximately 76,000 Latvians left their homes in Livland, Courland, Kaunas and Vitebsk guberniya because of the war. By April of 1917 the organisations formed to help Latvian refugees had registered 334,651 refugees. The British historian Peter A. Gatrell puts the number of Latvian refugees at 500,000 and that of Jewish refugees from the Baltic territory at 200,000.[9] The Lithuanian linguist Zigmas Zinkevičius states that ca

8 Волков, Е. З. Динамика народонаселения СССР за восемьдесят лет. Государственное издательство, Москва, Ленинград, 1930, 72–76; Gatrell, P. A. A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I. Indiana University Press, Blomington, 1999, 3, 22; Курцев, А. Н. Беженцы первой мировой войны в России (1914–1917). – Вопросы истории, 1999, 8, 9–113.

9 Шалда, В. Латышские беженцы в России и революция 1915–1921 гг. – Россия и Балтия 2. Эпоха перемен (1914–1924). Отв. ред. А. О. Чубарьян. ИВИ РАН, Москва, 2002, 63; Gatrell P. A. A Whole Empire Walking, 22, 25. See also Волков, Е. З. Динамика народонаселения, 71.

550,000 individuals fled Lithuania as a result of the German occupation, approximately 300,000 of them Lithuanian.[10] The Bolsheviks as well as the bourgeois parties, upon liquidation of the tsarist government, made every effort to gain influence over the refugees. In many Russian cities committees were established to aid Latvian and Lithuanian refugees.

In September of 1917, German armies occupied Riga. On 29 September the German forces began Operation Albion with the aim of conquering the strategically important Moonsund archipelago. The Austrian–German peace proposals presented in December of 1917 in Brest-Litovsk contained the demand to annex Poland, Lithuania, Courland and parts of Estland and Livland. At the peace negotiations in Brest, the Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs Leon Trotsky refused to sign the peace treaty and voiced the slogan "No war, no peace". On 18 February the German forces in fact began a broad-front attack from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.[11]

In the evening of the 18 February a meeting of the Central Committee (CC) of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) (RSDLP(b)) took place which included two Latvian Bolsheviks, Peteris Stučka and Ivars Smilga, who belonged to Lenin's inner circle. Here, sharp disagreements concerning the peace broke out.[12] According to the protocols of the meeting, Stučka stated that if the German proletariat did not protest against it, the treaty should be agreed to.[13] A day earlier, on February 17, the Lithuanian section of the RSDLP(b) had presented the CC a resolution with four signatures, among them Zigmontas Antanas Aleksa-Angarietis who had languished in tsarist jails until 1915 when he was exiled to Siberia, and Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas, whose activities had until then been aligned with several participants in the Lithuanian national revival movement and who had studied political economics in Bern. The resolution declared that the peace conditions contained in the Central Powers' proposal were unacceptable, that the CC had no right to agree to a compromise with the imperialists and that a party conference must be summoned within a week.[14]

The discussions concerning the need to agree to the Brest Peace Treaty created a deep breach among the leading Bolsheviks.[15] Six

10 Зинкявичюс, З. Восточная Литва в прошлом и настоящем. Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, Vilnius, 1996, 188.
11 See Rust, C. Self-Determination at the Beginning of 1918 and the German Reaction. – Lithuanian Historical Studies, 2008, 13, 53.
12 Протоколы Центрального Комитета РСДРП. Август 1917 – февраль 1918 г. От. ред. М. А. Савельев. Государственное издательство, Москва-Ленинград, 1929, 233–239.
13 Ibid., 238.
14 Протоколы Центрального Комитета РСДРП. Август 1917 – февраль 1918 г., 289.
15 Ibid., 200, 208; Протоколы Центрального Комитета РСДРП. Август – февраль 1918 г., 264.

government members, among them the Latvian Aleksandrs Spunde, who was chief commissar of the Peoples' Bank of Soviet Russia, made known that they would not accept the German ultimatum and would yield their posts as members of the Soviet of the Peoples' Commissars.[16] But at the same time there were optimistic predictions that the proletariat in Germany would rise up, that the start of the German revolution wasn't far off and that history would correct the mistake.[17]

At the VII Congress of the RSDLP(b), which took place on 6–8 March 1918, after the treaty was signed, a sharp war of words broke out among the Bolsheviks. Published materials indicate the presence of only three Latvian Bolsheviks: Smilga, Stučka and Arvids Pelše.[18] Opponents of the peace treaty presented the congress with demands to denunciate the treaty and start a partisan war. They declared that the existing conditions of class warfare and imperialistic exploitation made it impossible for Soviet Russia to coexist with the imperialistic coalition of the Central Powers. They further declared that agreeing to the peace treaty would kill several big centres of the revolutionary battle, i.e. Latvia and Ukraine.[19] It was stated that the peace was obscene (*похабный*). Opponents of the treaty also found that Germany had been handed Ukraine, Finland and Estonia to plunder.[20] The Latvian Bolshevik Smilga, however, stated that the peace treaty was necessary to preserve the power taken over in October and to prepare for a counter strike. His Latvian comrade Pelše claimed that the provincial opponents of the peace treaty had nothing new to present and that he was for ending the discussion.[21] The resolution adopted by the congress declared that Soviet acceptance of the peace was unavoidable and necessary.[22]

On 5 March the Extraordinary IV Congress of the Soviets of Delegates of Workers, Peasants and Cossacks convened to ratify the peace treaty. Finnish, Estonian and Livonian and Latvian Bolsheviks were represented among the 970 participants.[23] The delegates presented five resolutions for ratification. Of these only the Bolshevik resolution

16 Протоколы Центрального Комитета РСДРП. Август – февраль 1918 г., 264.
17 Переписка Секретариата ЦК РСДРП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Ноябрь 1917 г. – февраль 1918 г.) Сборник документов. Государственное издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1957, 191–192.
18 Of these Smilga is marked as Finnish, Stučka as Lithuanian and Pelše as representative of the Moscow Bolsheviks. See Седьмой съезд Российской Коммунистической партии. Стенографический отчет 6–8 марта 1918 г. Государственное издательство, Москва, Петроград, 1923, 209.
19 Ibid., 200–202.
20 Ibid., 98.
21 Ibid., 26, 64–69, 117.
22 Ibid., 200.
23 Стенографический отчет 4-го Чрезвычайного сѣезда Советов рабоч., солдатск., крестьянск. и казачьих депутатов. Государственное издательство, Москва, 1920, 83.

approved the ratification of the treaty.[24] After the approval of the Bolshevik resolution, other factions and individual party members made their declarations. They stated that they refused the ratification of the peace treaty and denied responsibility for it. Many of them spoke of the betrayal of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian proletariat.[25] Of course it was possible to find among the Latvian Bolsheviks those who defended the peace treaty. An example is one of the leaders of the Latvian Bolsheviks, Kārlis Jūlijs Daniševskis, who stated in July at the V Congress of the Delegates of the Soviets of Delegates of Workers, Peasants and Cossacks that, regardless of how brutal the Brest Peace seemed, it was nevertheless necessary for Soviet Russia to catch a breath, that this was a sacrifice that would be made for the victory of the world revolution.[26]

However, that was not yet all. On 27 August Germany and Soviet Russia signed an addendum to the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty in Berlin. Paragraph 7 provided that, considering the situation in Estland and Livland provinces, Soviet Russia relinquished its ruling power over these areas, including intervening in any way in their internal affairs. It also provided that the future of these areas would be determined in conjunction with the local populace.[27] After ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty accusations continued that Soviet Russia ceded its borderlands to imperialistic Germany. The fact that some representatives of the occupied areas had participated in the peace discussions in Brest, that they had protested against the yielding of the territories, that some of them justified after the ratification of the treaty the politics of Soviet Russia with the assertion that the time of liberation would come and that it was tied to the coming revolution in Germany – this had little merit in the eyes of the accusers.[28]

After the Brest Peace Treaty, but especially after the signing of the addendum, the Baltic Bolsheviks and refugees were struck with despair. For example, according to the Estonian Bolshevik Jakob Palvadre the Estonian Bolshevik leaders Jaan Anvelt and Hans Pöögelmann announced that all was now lost and that everyone should emigrate to

24 Ibid., 56–63.
25 Ibid., 80.
26 Пятый Всероссийский съезд Советов рабочих, солдатских, крестьянских и казачьих депутатов. Москва, 4–10 июля 1918 г. Стенографический отчет. Издательство Всерос. Центр. Исполкома Советов Р., С., К. и К. Депутатов, Москва, 1918, 11–13.
27 Документы внешней политики СССР. Том первый. 7 ноября 1917 г. – 31 декабря 1918 г. Государственное издательство политической литературы. Москва, 1959, 437–442.
28 See See Круталевич, В. А. Рождение Белорусской Советской Республики (на пути к провозглашению республики. Октябрь 1917 – декабрь 1918 г.) Наука и Техника, Минск, 1975, 191; Palwadre, J. Trotskismi alused ja leninism. Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus, Leningrad, 1925, 130, 74.

Siberia.[29] Some accused Soviet Russia of treason and stated that the Baltic provinces would be left to imperialist Germany, that the Russian revolution made a short-sighted treasonous transaction when it made the agreement with Prussian-German imperialists; others shared Lenin's belief that the proletariat must prepare for the future revolution and enter the battle when conditions changed.

In Petrograd as early as October 1917 the Lithuanian Bolsheviks had formed a Temporary Central Bureau, which was renamed in January 1918 the Lithuanian Sections Central Bureau, operating alongside the CC of the RSDLP(b).[30] At that time there was no Bolshevik Lithuanian party or organisation. However, there were individual Lithuanian Bolsheviks in the RSDLP whose political activity progressed in cooperation with the Mensheviks (Social Democrats), the Jewish Labour Bund, as well as the Polish Social Democrats (*Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy*).[31] At an illegal meeting of Lithuanian Bolsheviks in Vilnius in October 1918, the Lithuanian CP was founded and Pranas Eidukevičius, a former member of the CC of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, became its head.

In February and March 1918 Latvian and Estonian Bolsheviks fled to Soviet Russia. After the Soviet government relocated from Petrograd to Moscow, the majority of the leaders of the Latvian Bolsheviks also moved there. The majority of Estonian Bolshevik leaders remained in Petrograd, although a smaller number of them were active in Moscow. In July 1917 the Estonian section of the RSDLP(b) was formed in Moscow. In a meeting in Petrograd on 26 March 1918 the Estonian Bolsheviks elected a Provisional Bureau. This was expected to restore ties with the Bolsheviks remaining in Estonia.[32] In a 19 May meeting, however, a CC was elected which would report to Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (RCP(b)). On 14 August at a meeting of the Latvian Bolsheviks an instruction was adopted which defined the relationship between the RCP(b) and its Latvian section. According to the instruction, Latvian members of the RCP(b) were to join the local Latvian sections. The latter were to have cultural and political autonomy as far as work with Latvian

29 See Klassivõitlus 1919, 9, 23; Обяснения Пальвадре по затронутым вопросом в Комиссии ИКК, 13.11.1934. National Archives, Branch of the Estonian State Archive (RA, ERAF), 25.2.1228, 42.

30 Центральное бюро литовских секций при ЦК РСДРП(б) (Lith.: Centro Komiteto Lietuvos sekcijų centrinį biurą).

31 Мицкявичюс-Капсукас, В. Мой расхождения с тов. Ангаретисом и ЦК КП Литвы, 17.12.1926. Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archives, LYA), 77.9.12, 50–51.

32 Переписка Секретариата ЦК РСДРП(б)-РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Ноябрь – декабрь 1918 г.). Сборник документов. Издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1970, 101–102.

workers was involved. Local sections were to report to the local RCP(b) organisation.[33] Sections were to engage in Bolshevik agitation and propaganda among workers, soldiers and refugees of their own nationality, issue Bolshevik publications to be disseminated in their homeland as well as in Soviet Russia, and get involved in establishing an illegal party organisation at home. Funding was requested and received from the Soviet Russian government.

In November 1917, i.e. after the Bolsheviks came to power, an administrative unit was created in Soviet Russia that combined the guberniya of Vilnius, Minsk, Vitebsk and Mogilev into the Western Oblast, with Minsk as its centre. It was governed by the War-Revolution Committee among whose members were the Armenian Alexander Miasnikian, the Latvians Vilhelms (Vilis) Knoriņš and Kārlis Landers, the Anglo-Lithuanian Riczard Pikiel and the Jewish Isaak Reingold and Moissei Kalmanowitsch. Many of them did not differentiate between Belarusians and Russians. Knoriņš, who will play a role in this article later on, explained that the ethnographic differences between them must disappear.[34] After Germany had occupied the whole territory of the Western Oblast in February of 1918, the leadership of the Western Oblast evacuated to Smolensk.

On 26 October 1917 the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the RSFSR had decreed the establishment of the Peoples Commissariat of Nationalities (*Narkomnats*) with Joseph Stalin as its leader. Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Bolsheviks became involved in the work of this Commissariat, many of them later gaining attention in connection with the Comintern. At the first session of the Council, commissariats dealing with Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, Armenian, Islamic and Jewish matters were added to the *Narkomnats*. Mickevičius-Kapsukas became the Peoples' Commissar for Lithuanian affairs. His aides were Angarietis and the physician and journalist Stasys Matulaitis.[35] The Peoples' Commissariat for Jewish matters, led by Semyon Dimanstein, directed its activities toward the Jewish population in German-occupied areas.[36] This was

33 Ibid., 319.

34 Кто руководил Беларусью последние 100 лет. – Новости ТУТ.БУ, 5.9.2014. URL: https://news.tut.by/society/413642.html?c (last accessed 4 February 2021).

35 Назначение С. Матулайтиса вторым помощником комиссара по литовским делам, 15.4.1918. Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, РГАСПИ), 558.1.3664, 1; Декреты Советской власти, т. IV. 10 ноября 1918 г. – 31 марта 1919 г. Политиздат, Москва, 1968, 26–28, 589.

36 Переписка Секретариата ЦК РСДРП(б)-РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Март – июль 1918 г.) Сборник документов. Издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1967, 249–250; Грицкевич, А. Западный фронт РСФСР 1918–1920. Борьба между Россией и Польшей за Белоруссию. Харвест, Минск, 2010, 101.

followed by the creation of a Latvian Peoples' Commissariat in March of 1918 and the creation of an Estonian section which began to function on 11 May. The Peoples' Commissar for Latvian matters was initially one of the founders of the Latvian Social Democratic Party, Fricis Roziņš, thereafter the post was held by the former head of the Provisional Diet of the Livland Governorate Oto Kārklinš, who was replaced by the former acting officer for the RSDLP CC faction at the Fourth State Duma Kārlis Gailis.[37] The head of the Estonian section of the Peoples' Commissariat was Pöögelmann, a graduate of *Handelshochschule Leipzig* who had returned from exile in the United States and who was at this time a member of Provisional Diet of the Estonian Governorate (*Maapäev*).[38] On 28 September 1918 the Council of Peoples' Commissars confirmed the ten member collegium of the *Narkomnats*. Among its members were, among others, Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Kārkliņš and Pöögelmann.[39]

The activity of the *Narkomnats* encompassed the territory of Soviet Russia as well as the borderlands of the former Russian empire, over which the Bolsheviks had lost control. The work involved dealing with archives, material goods evacuated from occupied territories, registration of refugees, questions concerning soldiers of minority nationalities, re-evacuation of refugees, closing of national unions not linked to Bolshevik activities. Bolshevik news media in native languages was funded. The *Narkomnats* also organised and sent national delegations to the peace talks in Brest who appeared there with declarations that the people of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia[40], Ukraine and Belarus did not want to be separated from Soviet Russia. The commissariats and sections formed branches in Soviet Russia in locations where the respective national minorities had congregated and sent their agents to their German-occupied homeland. These agents distributed Bolshevik literature and collected information on the activities of German units, as well as of German, Baltic German and local punitive detachments.[41]

37 Постановления Наркомнаца, 28.12.1917. РГАСПИ 558.1.4385, 1; Декреты Советской власти, т. II. 17 марта – 10 июля 1918 г. Государственное издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1959, 635.

38 The expulsion of the Bolsheviks Pöögelmann and Anvelt as traitors from the *Maapäev* was drawn up on 5 February 1919. See Maanõukogu koosoleku protokoll, 5.2. 1919. RA, ERA 78.1.129, 2.

39 Народный комиссариат по делам национальностей. Отчет о деятельности. 1 ноября 1917 года – 20 июня 1918 года. Нар. комиссариат по делам национальностей, Москва, 1918, 6; 21–33; Протоколы руководящих органов Народного комиссариата по делам национальностей РСФСР 1918–1924 год. Каталог документов. Отв. ред. В. П. Козлов. (Серия «Каталоги» 7.) РОССПЭН, Москва, 2001, 8; Красовицкая, Т. Ю. Национальные элиты как социокультурный феномен советской государственности (октябрь 1917–1923 г.). Документы и материалы. ИРИ РАН, Москва, 2007, 81, 69.

40 Воззвания (Анвельта) (1918 г. февраль, ранее 22). РГАСПИ 558.1.473.

41 Протоколы руководящих органов Народного комиссариата по делам

To control the activities of communist groupings in occupied areas, ensure the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda in appropriate languages and pacify radicals forced to leave their homes, the Occupied Areas Bolshevik Organisations' Bureau was formed by the CC of the RCP(b) in Moscow. The initiative for this came from the Peoples' commissar for Lithuanian matters of the *Narkomnats*, Mickevičius-Kapsukas.[42] In the latter part of August 1918 a meeting of the *Narkomnats* took place, attended by the peoples' commissars for Latvia, Lithuania and Jewish matters Kārkliņš, Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Dimanstein respectively; the heads of the Estonian and Ukrainian sections of the Peoples' Commissariat Pöögelmann and Ivan Kulyk; and the deputy of the Peoples' Commissar of *Narkomnats*, Stanisław Pestkowski.[43] Here it was decided that to coordinate activities in occupied areas it was necessary to establish alongside the CC of the RCP(b) a special advisory organisation, a Bureau of Bolshevik Organisations of Occupied Areas. This was to inform the CC of the needs of Bolshevik movements in the occupied areas, to consolidate financial resources for the assistance of Bolshevik movements, for the dissemination of information and to coordinate Bolshevik activities in occupied areas. In a letter sent to the CC the immediate formation of the new organisation was justified with the assertion that Soviet Russia's aid to occupied areas often fell, for lack of organisation, into the hands of the enemies. On 19–24 October, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Secretariat of the RCP(b) Yakov Sverdlov, a conference of Bolshevik organisations of the occupied areas took place in Moscow. Among the individuals participating were the Lithuanian Bolsheviks Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis and Kazys Giedrys, the Estonian Bolsheviks Pöögelmann and Johannes Mägi, the Finnish Bolshevik Hugo Jalava, and the Latvian Bolsheviks Kārlis Krastiņš and Knoriņš – the latter also connected with Belarus. The conference elected a central bureau of Bolshevik organisations of occupied areas to serve as the guiding organisation for future activities, and which would also function under the control of the CC of the RCP(b).[44] The aim was to carry out Bolshevik agitation among the

национальностей РСФСР 1918–1924 гг, 19, 22, 35; РСФСР. Народный комиссариат по делам национальностей. Шесть лет национальной политики Советской власти и Наркомнац. 1917–1923 гг. (вместо отчета.) Издание Отдела Печати и Информации Н. К. Н., Москва, 1924, 4, 7–8, 126–129; Постановление Наркомаца, 16.4.1918. РГАСПИ 558.1.4694, 1; Отчет Пегелмана, 10.6.1918. RA, ERAF 6495.1.4, 2–6.

42 Переписка Секретариата ЦК РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Август – октябрь 1918 г.) Сборник документов. Издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1969, 117.

43 Ibid., 166–167.

44 Песикина, Е.И. Народный комиссариат по делам национальностей и его деятельность

national military units located in Soviet Russia and, in occupied areas, among the local residents and the occupying military units, and to prepare for an armed uprising. Financing for this was requested from the Soviet Russian government.[45]

On 10 March 1918 the Soviet Russian government departed Petrograd for Moscow. Already the next day the Petrograd Labour Commune was formed on the basis of the Petrograd soviet. Power over it was exercised by the Executive Committee (EC), led by Grigory Zinoviev and his peoples' commissars. On 26 April representatives of the soviets of Petrograd, Novgorod, Arkhangel'sk, Pskov, Severo-Dvinsk, Tsherepovodsk and Olonets convened in Petrograd. A conference took place that came to be called the I Congress of the Northern Region Soviets. The EC was elected, headed by Zinoviev. Among its members was one of the leaders of the Estonian Bolsheviks, at this time a member of the *Maapäev*, Jaan Anvelt.[46] Thus out of eight guberniya of approximately 8 million citizens the Soviet Republic Union of the Communes of the Nordic Region (UCNR) was created, which existed until 24 February 1919. UCNR had its own organs of power in the commissariats.[47] On 11 June the functions of the special peoples' commissariats of nationalities, which had been carried out at the Petrograd Labour Commune by decree of the EC of the UCNR, were transferred to the nationalities peoples' commissars of the UCNR. Based on this, Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, Estonian, Latvian, Finnish, etc., sections were formed under the new peoples' commissariat.[48] The Estonian section, which had already become operational on 25 April, was initially led by Daniel Plau, the Latvian section by Didrich Roze and the Lithuanian section by the head of the Lithuanian section of the RCP(b), Kazys Giedrys.

The activities of the UCNR Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities were in general the same as those of the Stalin-led *Narkomnats*.[49] At the II Congress of the Union of the Communes of the Northern Region,

в 1917–1918 гг. Академия общественных наук при ВКП(б), Москва, 1950, 88–89; Переписка Секретариата ЦК РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Август – октябрь 1918 г.), 341.

45 Переписка Секретариата ЦК РСДРП(б)-РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Ноябрь – декабрь 1918 г.), 100; Переписка Секретариата ЦК РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Январь – март 1919 г.) Сборник документов. Издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1971, 153–154.

46 Сборник декретов и постановлений по Союзу Коммун Северной Области. Вып. I, ч. 1. Изд. Петроградского Совета Рабочих и Красноармейских депутатов, Петроград, 1919, 21.

47 See Яров, С., Рупасов, А., Чистиков, А., Мусаев, В., Балашов, Е. Петроград на переломе эпох. Город и его жители в годы революции и Гражданской войны. Центрополиграф, Москва-С.-Петербург, 2013, 43–44, 50.

48 Северная Коммуна, 13.6.(31.5.)1918; Переписка Секретариата ЦК РСДРП(б)-РКП(б) с местными партийными организациями. (Ноябрь – декабрь 1918 г.), 124.

49 Klassivõitlus, 1919, 3/4, 15; Сборник декретов и постановлений по Союзу Коммун Северной Области, 261–262.

which took place at the beginning of August, a new EC was elected which again included, at the recommendation of Zinoviev, Anvelt. Thereafter the UCNR council of Peoples' Commissars was formed, headed by Zinoviev with Anvelt as the peoples' commissar of nationalities.[50]

The November revolution in Germany resulted, on 9 November, in the end of the First World War. According to the Compiègne armistice treaty signed on 11 November, German forces were to withdraw from Eastern Europe to Germany, although this only after the allies made the relevant decision. Article 15 of the armistice provided that Germany must renounce the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with its annexes.[51] On 13 November the Soviet government declared treaty and all its annexes were annulled.[52]

After the annulment of the treaty , three groupings had pretensions to power in the former Baltic provinces of the Russian empire: first, the Baltic Bolsheviks supported by Soviet Russia and directed by *Narkomnats*; second, the Estonian and Latvian provisional governments and the Lithuanian *Taryba*, supported by the Entente; third, the former Baltic German local elite with the *Baltische Landeswehr* and German troops sent to Courland in early 1919. At first the latter worked with the Latvian provisional government and the Lithuanian *Taryba*, but soon began to act independently to create its own power centre. In reality, there was also a fourth centre of power – Poland, whose territorial-political ambitions were aimed at the annexation of large parts of Lithuania. The unifying factor for the last three forces was their opposition to Bolshevism but this did not preclude conflicts among them.

By the beginning of 1919, a large part of today's Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania had fallen into the hands of the Baltic Bolsheviks who were backed by Soviet Russia. This resulted in the creation of the Estonian Workers' Commune and the Soviet Republics of Latvia and Lithuania-Belarus (LITBEL). Among the leaders of these state-like creations were a number of individuals formerly belonging to the Stalin-led *Narkomnats* and the Zinoviev-led Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities of the UCNR, such as Pöögelmann, Anvelt, Roziņš, Kārkliņš, Gailis, Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis, Giedrys, Dimanstein, Zmicier Zhylonovich, et al. But these three state-like formations proved short-lived thanks to the Entente-supported military units of the Estonian and Latvian Provisional Governments, the Lithuanian *Taryba*, the German and

50 Северная Коммуна, 16.8.1918.
51 See http://www.hrono.ru/dokum/191_dok/19180303brest.php (last accessed 4 February 2021).
52 Из истории Гражданской войны в СССР. 1918–1922: Сборник документов и материалов в 3 т. Т. 1. Май 1918 – март 1919. Советская Россия, Москва, 1960, 645–647.

the Polish military units coordinating their activities with the Entente. The Bolsheviks were forced to leave Estonia as early as January 1919, and Latvia and Lithuania in May and August of the same year.

THE CREATION OF THE COMINTERN

Lenin made his proposal to form an International aimed against the "social-chauvinists" and "centrists" on 4 April 1917 in his theses[53] presented at the RSDLP(b) meeting at Tauride palace, which became known as the April Theses. These Theses, among them the creation of a new international, received the approval of the Baltic Bolshevik members of the RSDLP(b).[54] On 24 January 1919 the newspaper *Pravda* published a joint declaration in the name of RCP(b), the Polish, Hungarian and German-Austrian Communist parties, the CC of the Latvian Communist Party's Russian bureau, the CC of the Finnish Communist Party, the EC of the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party of the USA. The declaration stated that the signatories considered it unavoidable that a first congress, the new revolutionary International be called, and that the mission of the proletariat was now the immediate seizure of power, destruction of bourgeois state structures and the organisation of a new proletarian government. The declaration named 39 representatives who might participate in the congress. In reference to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the terms 'communist party' were not used but rather a vague description, 'the revolutionary elements'. Under point 12 the declaration stated that the following parties and movements should participate: the German Spartacus League, the RCP(b), the German-Austrian Communist Party, and similarly also Hungarian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Czech "revolutionary elements".[55] The declaration did not specify the location where the delegates creating the new International should meet.

On 2 March 1919 an international communist conference gathered indeed in Moscow in the Kremlin to found the Third International. In addition to Lenin the founders were the editor-in-chief of *Pravda* Nikolai Bukharin, Trotsky, Stalin and Zinoviev. That this was meant as a foundation congress of the Communist International was announced

53 See the facsimile available at https://istoriarusi.ru/cccp/aprelskie-tezisi-lenina.html (last accessed 4 February 2021).

54 See Правда, 6.5.(23.4.)1917; Pöögelmann, H. 1917. aasta revolutsioon Eestis (Manuscript). RA, ERAF 25.1.39, 50–51; Ciņa, 13.(26.)4.1917; Tiesa, 22.4.1917.

55 Первый конгресс Коминтерна. Март 1919 г. Под ред. Е. Короткого, Б. Куна и О. Пятницкого. Партийное издательство, Москва, 1933, 253–256.

only at the conclusion of the conference. Fifty-two delegates attended the congress, representing 35 organisations or groupings and 21 countries,[56] among them representatives of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian-Belarusian Bolsheviks: Pöögelmann as Peoples' Commissar of National Economy of the not yet disbanded Estonian Workers Commune, Gailis as Peoples' Commissar for Latvian matters in the *Narkomnats* and Giedrys as leader of the Lithuanian section of the Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities of the UCNR and the Lithuanian Soviet Republic Provisional Government's representative in Soviet Russia. Thus, in all three cases representatives of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian-Belarusian national sections of the RCP(b), located in Luga, Saint Petersburg and Moscow, were involved. It should be noted here that some members of the Lithuanian-Belarusian and Estonian sections declared that they had formed a communist party in the autumn of 1918.

The decision to change the name of the national section of Latvian territory Social Democracy of the RCP(b) to the Latvian Communist Party was reached at the beginning of March 1919 at a party conference in Riga, which occurred at the same time as the Comintern congress. Regardless, in the list of delegates published in the *Kommunisticheskii internatsional* journal after the congress, Pöögelmann, Gailis and Giedrys are identified as Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian-Belarusian Communist Party representatives.[57] After the I congress of the Comintern, the VIII congress of the RCP(b) took place on 18–23 March. It stated that currently Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus exist as special Soviet Republics, thus resolving the form of their national existence. However, this did not determine that the RCP(b) should be organised as a federation of independent communist parties. A centralised communist party, however, whose decisions were compulsory for all parties regardless of their national constituencies, was declared paramount. It was emphasised that Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian Bolsheviks could exercise the rights of oblast committees and were subject to the CC of the RCP(b).[58] Therefore it is understandable that the VIII RCP(b) congress chose as a member of the CC the leader of the Latvian Soviet Republic Stučka; as alternate members his deputy and chairman of the

56 A list of the delegates is available at https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/1st-congress/delegates.htm (last accessed 4 February 2021).

57 Коммунистический Интернационал, 1919, 1, 125.

58 Восьмой съезд РКП/б/ марта 1919 года. Протоколы. Протоколы и стенографические отчеты съездов и конференций коммунистической партии Советского Союза. Государственное издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1959, 425; Восьмой съезд РКП(б) 18–23 Марта 1919 г. Протоколы съездов и конференции Всесоюзный Коммунистической партии (б). Партийное издательство, Москва 1933, 387, 413.

All Russia Revolutionary War Tribunal Daniševskis and the LITBEL leader Mickevičius-Kapsukas.[59]

It has been claimed that the majority of delegates lacked authorisation to represent their country or organisation.[60] The identification of possible delegates and organising their arrival in Moscow had been assigned to the Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs Georgy Chicherin. Pöögelmann had been given a mandate on 23 February in the name of the Estonian section of the RCP(b) and this had been signed in Pskov by Anvelt as a member of this section's CC.[61] On 26 February, Chicherin asked the CC representative Adolf Joffe to clarify when the Lithuanian and Polish delegates would arrive in Moscow. In reply, Mickevičius-Kapsukas stated that Lithuania's delegate would be Giedrys, who was in Moscow, and that the Poles would designate Broński or Józef Unszlicht. Mieczysław Broński-Warszawski was the deputy of the Peoples' Commissar of Soviet Russia's Trade and Industry, Unszlicht the Lithuanian-Belarusian Soviet Republic's Peoples' Commissar of War. Unszlicht was given the mandate to represent the Polish CP by LITBEL EC member Jakow Dolecki,[62] acting in the name of the CC of the Polish Communist Party. On 26 February Stučka informed Chicherin that, because of the difficult military situation and the conference of Social Democracy of the Latvian Territory, which was to be held at the beginning of March, it was not possible for the designated representative to travel to Moscow. He confirmed that Gailis[63] was authorised to participate in the conference. Many of the mandates of representatives of several peoples from the East and the Caucasian region were signed by Stalin in his capacity as chairman of the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of Peoples of the East.[64] The 2 March protocols of the mandates commission show that there were two kinds of mandate: those with full value and those with solely an advisory role.[65]

Not all delegates were in agreement with the accelerated creation of the Comintern. The representative of the German CP Hugo Eberlein

59 Восьмой съезд РКП(б) 18–23 Марта 1919 г., 361.
60 See Weber, H., Herbst, A. Deutsche Kommunisten. Supplement zum Biographischen Handbuch 1918–1945. Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 2013; Куусинен, А. Господь низвергает своих ангелов. Воспоминания, 1919–1965. Карелия, Петрозаводск, 1991, 15.
61 РГАСПИ 488.1.13, 38; Hedeler, W., Vatlin, A. Planung und Gründung der Dritten Internationale. – Die Weltpartei aus Moskau. Der Gründungskongress der Kommunistischen Internationale 1919. Protokoll und neue Dokumente. Hrsg. von W. Hedeler, A. Vatlin. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2008, XXXVII.
62 See РГАСПИ 488.1.13, 12.
63 See Hedeler W., Vatlin A. Planung, XLI; Шифровая телеграмма от Стучка, 26.2.1920. РГАСПИ 488.1.2, 13.
64 See Hedeler W., Vatlin A. Planung, L, LIV; see Bucharin, N. Entwurf des Einladungsschreibens, – Die Weltpartei, 11.
65 Первый конгресс Коминтерна, 248.

(Max Albert) stated in the name of his party's leadership that it would not pay to hurry with the proclamation of the Communist International, and that the decision should be postponed. In a so-called *Zeitzeugenbericht* (observer's account) written at the conclusion of the congress, he stated ironically that representatives of small revolutionary groupings from many countries had come to Moscow.[66] Regardless of the position of the German CP leadership, on 4 March a vote was taken on the question of creating the Third International. The result of the vote was 32 votes in favour, among them Pöögelmann, Gailis and Giedrys, and five abstentions.[67] The Comintern manifesto to proletarians of the world, which was signed on the same day, had 17 signatures, among them those of two Baltic Bolsheviks – Pöögelmann and Gailis. The signatories were identified as representatives of their nations, not as representatives of parties or groups.[68] The manifest formulated the ideological- political basis of a new global transnational organisation, the Comintern, which was to be the basis of the battle to establish a global proletarian dictatorship.

Giedrys gave his speech on 4 March in German. He declared that the flame of the Russian revolution had filled the hearts of the Lithuanian and Belarusian proletariat, who were suffering from the weight of war and occupation, with real joy.[69] Thereafter he explained that in May 1918, with the help of some communists from Russia, an independent Lithuanian and Belarusian CP was created in Vilnius as relations with the RCP(b) were at that time not possible. The remainder of the speech contained assertions about the great enthusiasm of the Lithuanian workers and peasants concerning the III International's slogans about social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; Giedrys added that everywhere in Lithuania labour unions were being formed that were totally under the influence of the communists. At the end of the speech he declared that the LITBEL CP was the vanguard of the fighting workers and peasants and that the uniting of proletarian forces around the Comintern would contribute to the victory of the workers of the world and the establishment of Soviet power in all countries.[70]

66 Deutschland, Russland, Komintern. II. Dokumente (1918–1943). Teilbd. 2: Nach der Archivrevolution: Neuerschlossene Quellen zu der Geschichte der KPD und den deutsch-russischen Beziehungen. Hrsg. von H. Weber, J. Drabkin, B. H. Bayerlein. (Archive des Kommunismus – Pfade des XX. Jahrhunderts 6,1.) De Gruyter, Berlin, 2015, 84–87.

67 Первый конгресс Коминтерна, 131.

68 Коммунистический Интернационал, 1919, 1, 6–20; Первый конгресс Коминтерна, 201–211; see Manifest der kommunistischen Internationale an das Proletariat der ganzen Welt. РГАСПИ 488.1.9, 33.

69 Bericht des Delegaten der kommunistischen Partei Littauens und Weissrusslands. РГАСПИ 488.1.10, 68–69.

70 Ibid.

The Comintern's first congress can be considered declarative – that is, a congress that informed the world that a new international and transnational organisation, the headquarters of a world revolution, was being formed. Initially, however, after its founding, the Comintern was involved mainly with the publicising of printed propaganda. This was primarily aimed at revealing the traitorousness of the Second International and the Social Democrats and the danger of the "White Terror". After the RCP(b) VIII congress (18–23 March) had approved the founding of the Comintern the creation of the governing structure of this new organisation began along with the expansion of communist organisation networks under its control.

The founding congress did not discuss the organisational structure and constitution of the Comintern. In a resolution on "organisational questions", adopted by the congress, it was only assumed that it would be led by an Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) which would consist of one representative of the communist party of a certain group of countries. These "most consequential countries or parties", which had to send, without delay, their party representatives to the ECCI, were listed: Soviet Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation, Switzerland and Scandinavia. It was anticipated that countries announcing that they had joined before the convening of the II congress would also get a seat on the ECCI, although many communist parties failed, for various reasons, to send representatives to the ECCI. Therefore until the II Congress the functions of the ECCI were performed by a five-member bureau led by Zinoviev.[71] Among the bureau's members were the Latvians Jānis Bērziņš-Ziemelis and Stučka. The bureau's secretaries between the first and second congress were, in succession, a former activist of the Zimmerwald movement Angelica Balabanoff who had a friendly relationship with Benito Mussolini at the beginning of the century, Bērziņš-Ziemelis, Wacław Woronski and Karl Radek.[72] In addition to the above bureau, at the direction of the CC of the RCP(b) a so-called little committee and secretariat were created, to which Bērziņš-Ziemelis also belonged.

At the 26 March meeting of the ECCI it was decided that the All-Russian Central EC propaganda section, which had been placed by the RCP(b) under the Comintern, would be called the Comintern's international propaganda section. Woronski was designated its leader,

71 Первый конгресс Коминтерна, 218–219.
72 Адибеков, Г. М., Шахназарова, Э. Н., Шириня, К. К. Организационная структура Коминтерна. РОССПЭН, Москва, 1997, 7–8.

to be replaced in May of the same year by Bērziņš-Ziemelis. A so-called translators' bureau was also set up, along with a journal, *Kommunisticheskii internatsional*, to be published in several languages.

Gustav Klinger, former member of the council of the Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities and future Soviet Union trade representative in Tallinn, was appointed Managing Director of the ECCI. The ECCI ordered its bureau to begin working without delay with the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in the use of radio and of couriers sent abroad. To coordinate activities with the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Livinov,[73] the future Soviet Russian envoy in Tallinn and future Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was designated a special envoy.

At a meeting of the ECCI bureau on 14 April the decision was made to form regional bureaux and sections. These functioned or were to begin functioning in Hungary, Austria, Bavaria, Scandinavia, Norway, the Netherlands, Ukraine and Bulgaria.[74] They were engaged in analysing the political and economic situations in their respective countries, maintained connection with the ECCI and communist parties and acted as intermediary in transferring funds to communist parties or groups.

One of the responsibilities of the ECCI became the furnishing of political and financial aid to, or create, communist movements in different countries. The financing of the ECCI itself and foreign communist parties became the responsibility of the RCP(b) Politburo, secretariat and Organisation Bureau (*Orgburo*). These two permanent governing organs of the RCP(b) had been created at the party plenum on 25 March 1919. The Politburo consisted of five members, Lenin, Stalin, Nikolai Krestinskii, Kamenev and Trotsky, and three alternate members, Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kalinin; the *Orgburo*, however, was made up of Stalin, Krestinski, Serebriakov, Beloborodov and Stasova.[75] At the 26 March meeting of the ECCI Zinoviev was able to announce that the CC of the RCP(b) had decided to grant the Comintern a credit of one million roubles. Thereafter another ten million roubles were requested although the total amount was not granted. The RCP(b) *Orgburo*, where the subject was discussed, decided on 7 May to grant the Comintern three million roubles.[76] Requests for funds for foreign communist parties

73 Коминтерн и идея мировой революции. Документы. Отв. ред. К. М. Андерсон, А. О. Чубарьян. Наука, Москва, 1998, 118–120.

74 Ibid., 122–123.

75 Протоколы девятого съезда РКП(б). Март – апрель 1920 г. Протоколы съездов и конференции всесоюзной коммунистической партии(б). Партийное издательство, Москва, 1934, 556.

76 Коминтерн и идея мировой революции, 118; Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн 1919–1943. Документы. РОССПЭН, Москва, 2004, 28.

were presented by the ECCI to the RCP(b) leadership. For example, on 28 August 1919, the head of the ECCI bureau, Bērziņš-Ziemelis, informed Zinoviev that during discussions with Lenin it was concluded that the requested five million francs was too little, that 20 million francs was needed. In connection with this, Bērziņš-Ziemelis also stated that the leader of the Swedish CP Karl Höglund should be advised that a portion of the money must remain in the reserve fund, the rest to be distributed among Western European and American communist and left/socialist groups. It appears that there were problems obtaining the five million as Bērziņš-Ziemelis had demonstratively announced on 22 August that he would resign from the position of head of the ECCI bureau. He justified his decision with the claim that the CC had often refused to make money available. His offer to resign was not accepted. Some days earlier, Bērziņš-Ziemelis and Klinger had prepared a correction that shows that as of 15 August the Comintern had received from the CC money and valuables totalling 7.44 million roubles.[77] It is true that the CC was not able to fully satisfy the Comintern's requests for funds. For example, at the beginning of 1920, the Finnish CP asked the Comintern for 25 million roubles for "party work in Finland" and the Latvian CP for 20 million for work behind the front lines. On 9 February the *Orgburo* granted the Finnish CP a one-time sum of five million and a monthly stipend of two million; the Latvian CP a one-time payment of five million roubles and an additional two million roubles a month.[78] This was not enough for the Latvian CP. Already in June a request had been made for 15 million roubles for "extraordinary needs". The money was intended for propaganda among Latvian refugees returning home and to ensure the party organisation's work in Latvia. Also voiced was a foreign policy argument: a possible breakdown of the peace negotiations and a possible Latvian-Polish anti-Soviet Russian union required agitation for a speedy peace agreement. At the same time it was asserted that Latvian soldiers were especially hostile toward the government for dragging out the peace talks, which was creating a fertile ground for revolutionary activity.[79]

77 Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 31–33.
78 Ibid., 38.
79 Загранбюро КП Латвии III-ему Интернационалу (июнь 1920). Latvijas Valsts arhīvs (State Archives of Latvia, LVA), PA-240.2.37, 3.

PEACE TREATIES

The news of the plan to begin peace talks with the Estonian and Latvian Provisional Governments and the Lithuanian *Taryba* was for many Baltic Bolsheviks an unwelcome surprise, if not a betrayal.[80] Regardless of their displeasure, there were those who pointed to the Brest Peace Treaty and claimed that making peace had been a similar manoeuvre; they claimed that regardless of the social democrats' or "social betrayers'" denial of the outbreak of the revolution, the revolution was unavoidable.

At the 5 June 1919 meeting of the Estonian Workers' Commune council in Luga[81] decided to end the operations of its offices. The decision protocols, however, stated that if revolution broke out in Estonia that formation of a government would be left to the Estonian CP.[82] In June of the same year the Estonian Bolsheviks, among them Anvelt, Pöögelmann and Otto Rästas, formed a Russian Bureau with the aim of coordinating the future activities of Estonian Bolsheviks with the RCP(b) and the Comintern, disseminating Bolshevik literature and distributing the funds received from the RCP(b).[83] A notice to the CC of the RCP(b) dated 12 June stated that it was important to arrive at a situation in which an Estonian socialist republic would be put in power through an internal revolution.[84] The manifest issued after the liquidation of the Estonian Workers' Commune and explanations by Anvelt and Pöögelmann declared that a peace agreement between bourgeois Estonia and Soviet Russia was necessary to protect the "hotbed of the revolution", which in turn was necessary to create the conditions for the Estonian workers' decisive battle against the bourgeoisie and the Estonian workers' revolution, which was declared unavoidable.[85]

On 4 September, Lenin sanctioned the start of peace negotiations with Estonia. At a 6 September meeting, the RCP(b) Politburo named the members of the Soviet Russian peace delegation. In the same session there was discussion of proposing peace negotiations to the Latvian Provisional Government and the Lithuanian *Taryba*.[86] On 11 September

80 See for example Kingisepp, V. Wilson heeringa eest. Kommunistliku Partei Eesti Keskkomitee väljaanne ja toimetus, Tallinn, 1919, 12.
81 A town in Russia, located 140 kilometres west of St. Petersburg.
82 Kodusõda ja välisriikide interventsioon Eestis 1918–1920. Dokumente ja materjale. Esimene köide. Eesti Raamat, Tallinn, 1984, 217–219.
83 Доклад М. Ликметса о положении дел в Эстляндии Зиновеву и ЦК РКР(б) (not dated). RA, ERAF. 24.1.4; Россбюро ЦК КП Эстонии. Квитанции, отчёты и расписки 1920 г. RA, ERAF 24.1.113, 1–34.
84 Россбюро ЦК КП Эстляндии в ЦК РКП(б), 12.6.1919. RA, ERAF 24.1.4, 2–4.
85 Klassivõitlus, 1919, 9, 3; 1919, 10, 3–4; 1919, 12, 4.
86 Протокол ПБ, 6.9.1919. РГАСПИ 17.3.25, 2.

an expanded meeting of the Politburo took place at which the need for peace treaties was explained to representatives of the Finnish communists, and Latvian and LITBEL Bolsheviks. The intended purpose was to allay the dissatisfaction of the representatives from these areas. Several possible political solutions were under discussion. In their response to the proposal to begin peace negotiations with the Finnish government and the Lithuanian *Taryba*, Latvian Bolsheviks remained neutral. On the question of whether to begin negotiations with the Latvian Provisional Government, the Lithuanian Bolshevik and Finnish communists representatives remained neutral, with three Latvian Bolsheviks voting against. On the question of whether to start peace negotiations immediately with Finland and Latvian Provisional governments and the Lithuanian *Taryba*, both Finnish communists and LITBEL Bolshevik representatives remained neutral. Three Latvian Bolsheviks, however, proposed that the decision on this question be altogether postponed.[87]

On 4 February 1920, the All-Russian Central EC ratified the peace treaty concluded in Tartu two days earlier.[88] The reaction of the leaders of the Estonian Bolsheviks to the Tartu Peace Treaty came on 6 February when the party CC published the relevant manifest. This again contained the assertion that the conclusion of the peace treaty did not mean peace between the Estonian workers and the bourgeoisie.[89] Pöögelmann, who wrote about the peace treaty in the journal *Klassivõitlus* (Class Struggle) described Estonia in the post-Treaty period in dark colours, saying that the revolution would discard the Tartu peace agreement just as had occurred with the Brest Peace.[90]

In the first days of January 1920, a delegation from the Latvian Provisional Government headed to Moscow with the aim of starting peace negotiations. On 4 January, leaders of the Latvian Bolsheviks gathered in Režitsa (Lat. Rēzekne) to discuss the developing situation. They declared that the Latvian Red Riflemen fighting on the front lines of the Soviet Republic would indignantly refuse any agreement with the "White Guard" as their hopes were tied to a revival of the Latvian Workers' Commune. This was accompanied by the threat that any agreement between Soviet Russia and the "White Latvians" who went against the

87 Протокол ПБ, 11.9.1919. РГАСПИ 17.3.26, 1.
88 See Декреты Советской власти, т. VII. 10 декабря 1919 – 31 марта 1920 г. Политиздат, Москва, 1975, 194–195.
89 See Mattisen, E. Tartu rahu. Monograafia. Teine trükk. Eesti Raamat, Tallinn, 1989, 413.
90 Klassivõitlus, 1920, 1-2, 4–7.

will of the Latvian workers could be accompanied by serious conflict between Latvian Bolsheviks and the RCP(b).[91]

On 13 January, the Soviet Latvian Provisional Government ended its work. An address to the Latvian workers stated that it had received its power from the Latvian CP and was now handing that power back to the party CC until the opportunity came to convene a Latvian Soviet congress. On 25 January, however, the Foreign Bureau of the Latvian CP was formed. Its members were, among others, Stučka, member of the All-Russian Revolutionary War Council Jānis Lencmanis, and Dāvids Beika, who was of Jewish descent and had been, between 1907 and 1917, one of the leaders of the Latvian Social Democrats in the United States.[92] On 6 April 1920 peace negotiations between Latvia and Soviet Russia began in Moscow, concluding on 11 August with the signing of the peace treaty in Riga. The leadership of the CP attempted to calm its membership about the defeat and the negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Latvian Provisional Government. Stučka stated on the pages of the newspaper *Cīņas Biedrs* that Latvian Bolsheviks must prepare for a new proletarian revolution.[93]

After Poland had conquered Minsk in August 1919 and the Bolsheviks had also been driven out of Lithuania, LITBEL Bolsheviks turned to Smolensk, where they attempted to organise partisan movements in the lost territories. To do this, a Bureau was formed at the beginning of September, consisting of Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis, Knoriņš and the Pole Wacław Bogucki. In May 1920, the Politburo gave its blessing for the reorganisation of the LITBEL government. Its chairman was the Latvian Smilga and the members were Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis, Knoriņš, Miasnikian and Unszlicht.[94] On 12 July, however, the representatives of Soviet Russia and the Lithuanian *Taryba* reached a peace agreement in Moscow.

Defeat and loss of power led to sharp disagreements and demoralisation in the ranks of the Baltic Bolsheviks.[95] At the conference of representatives of the Estonian red cadre that took place in Porkhov, a town close to Pskov, in the latter part of July 1919 and at the August conference of All-Russian Estonian sections of the RCP(b) the actions

91 Постановление ЦК КП Латвии, 4.1.1920. LVA PA-240.2.8, 11.
92 LVA PA-240.2.202, 1.
93 Стучка, П. За Советскую власть в Латвии 1918–1920. Сборник статей. Латвийское государственное издательство, Рига, 1964, 628–634.
94 Заседания ПБ, 25.5.1920. РГАСПИ 17.3.82, 3.
95 See Письмо в ЦК ЛИТБЕЛ (not dated). LYA 77.31.8, 8; Письмо в ЦБ Литсекции при ЦК РКП, 30.11.1920. LYA 77.31.4, 20; Протокол частного совещания коммунистов городе Вильно, 23.8.1920. LYA 77.31.8, 1; Peterson, P. Eesti Töörahva Kommuun. (Lühikene ülevaade). Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus, Leningrad, 1925, 96–97.

of the Commune leaders were roundly condemned. At the same time encouraging voices were heard and assertions that the revolution was far from destroyed.[96] Cited here is a letter received by the CC of the Latvian CP in February 1920: "Openly, as well as among comrades, we do not express our objections to such relinquishment. In fact, we would have preferred continuing the civil war in Latgale [...] the mask is more than loathsome [...]".[97] On 1 September, a meeting of Lithuanian Bolsheviks, unhappy with the work of Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Angarietis, took place in Minsk. There they asserted that since the activities of the party CC (Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Angarietis) in Soviet Russia were a danger to the Lithuanian revolutionary movement, the CC should be liquidated and its functions handed to a central bureau until a party congress could be convened.[98]

On 22 September of 1920 in a speech at the IX Conference of the RCP(b) Lenin pointed to the reaction of Baltic communists to the peace treaties: "They made fiery speeches against us and asked how we could make peace with the White Guard Latvian executioners".[99]

THE II WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

On 19 July 1920, the Comintern's Second Congress was convened in Petrograd. On 23 July, its participants moved to Moscow where their work continued until 7 August. It was here that the founding of the new transnational communist organisation took place.

On 17 January, a faction of Latvian Bolsheviks had held a meeting where the new governing body of the party was created – the Russian Bureau, which was renamed in the same month the Foreign Bureau. Its members included, among others, Stučka, Beika and Jānis Krūmiņš.[100] At the meeting it was decided that the Russian Bureau should become a member of the Comintern. On the same day a letter was sent to the ECCI

96 Klassivõitlus, 1919, 9, 23–24; VKP Eesti osakondade keskkomitee ning EKP Venemaa büroo vahekorra lahendamise komisjoni istungi protokoll, 15.11.1920. ERAF 6495.3.2, 22–23.

97 Входящая письмо от ЦК КП Латвии, 12.2.1920. LVA PA-240.2.7, 7.

98 Бюро Литовского Отдела при ЦБ Белоруссии председателю ЦК ЛИТБЕЛ Смилге (not dated). LYA 77.31.8, 24–25; Протокол частного совещания коммунистов городе Вильно, 23.8.1920. LYA 77.31.8, 1.

99 Девятая Конференции РКП/б/ Сентябрь 1920 г. Протоколы. Протоколы и стенографические отчеты съездов и конференций Коммунистической Партии Советского Союза. Издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1972, 61; Ленин, В. И. Неизвестные документы. 1891–1922. 2-е изд. РОССПЭН, Москва, 2017, 373–374.

100 LVA PA-240.2.202, 1.

stating that as Latvian Bolsheviks had been expelled from Latvian territory and as Soviet Russia had recognised bourgeois Latvia as an independent state, the question of who would lead the Latvian Bolsheviks had arisen, the RCP(b) or the Comintern. Thereafter the meeting concluded, however, that since the situation that had developed in Latvia would last for "some time", the Latvian proletariat had to carry on its class struggle within the framework of the national-capitalist state, as with the proletariat and communist parties of other capitalist countries.[101] On 2 February the ECCI adopted a resolution which acknowledged fictitiously the Latvian CP having left the RCP(b) and become an independent party and added Stučka as the leader of the Latvian Bolsheviks to the membership of the ECCI. On 28 February the Politburo gave special attention to the receipt of the notice. However, the following sentence shows that the Politburo did not understand what the decision of the CC of the Latvian CP actually meant: "It should be asked whether this statement means the actual withdrawal from the RCP(b) or whether the Latvian CP Central Committee, due to the political situation, wishes to withdraw officially while maintaining at the same time unofficially the existing party ties".[102]

The same question also concerned the Estonian Bolsheviks. During the second congress of the Comintern, i.e. at the 22 June meeting of the Politburo, the chedule included "question" or "notice" of the Russian Bureau formed by Anvelt, Pöögelmann, Rästas – in June of 1919 was discussed. It sounded as follows: is the party named the Estonian CP would leave the RCP(b) and become a member of the Comintern. The decision reached by the Politburo on this matter was solely that they acknowledged receipt of the notice.[103] Members of the Russian Bureau created by the Estonian Bolsheviks and the Foreign Bureau formed by the Latvian Bolsheviks did not request that the RCP(b) remove them from the party membership lists. Communist activity in Lithuania and in the Vilnius region, which had fallen to the Poles, was led before and during the II Congress of Comintern by the CC of the Lithuanian CP, which operated in Moscow under the RCP(b). It had been formed in April of 1920 and was led by Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Angarietis. The

101 ЦК КП Латвии Исполнительному Комитету III Интернационала, 17.1.1920. LVA PA-240.2.8, 12.

102 РКП КП Латвии в ИККИ, 31.1.1920; Протокол № 46 заседания Бюро ИККИ, 2.2.1920. РГАСПИ 495.1.6, 21–22; Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 39.

103 Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б). Повестки дня заседаний 1919–1952. Каталог. Т. I, 1919–1929. РОССПЭН, Москва, 2000, 70; Протокол ПБ, 22.6.1920. РГАСПИ 17.163.75, 18, 29v.

claim of Soviet historians[104] that the Politburo gave its agreement to the departure of Latvian and Estonian communist parties from the RCP(b) and considered them thereafter independent communist parties is not true. The announcements of the Latvian and Estonian Bolshevik leaders that they were leaving the membership of the RCP(b) were declarative because individuals who belonged to the party leaderships and functioned on Soviet Russian territory remained members of the RCP(b) and subject to it.

Participating in the Comintern's Second Congress were delegates from 37 countries representing communist parties, communist youth organisations and social democratic parties. Mandates for five RCP(b) members who represented the Latvian CP – the deputy Peoples' Commissar for Justice of Soviet Russia Stučka,[105] Krastiņš, Pauls Blank-Berziņš, Jānis Anderson-Berziņš and Beika – were issued in the name of the Latvian CP Foreign Bureau deputy chairman by the Pskov guberniya economic council chairman Beika.[106] Thus the issuer and receiver of the last mandate was the same person. Mandates for the RCP(b) members representing the LITBEL CP – Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Rafael Rasikas – had been issued in the name of its CC. The first mandate was signed by Knoriņš and Angarietis. Rasikas' mandate was signed by Mickevičius-Kapsukas.[107] The mandate for the RCP(b) member representing the Estonian CP, Pöögelmann, was issued on 7 June in Tallinn and bears the signatures of RCP(b) members who were also members of the CC of the Estonian CP – Kingissepp, Rästas and Martin Likemets.[108] The Estonian section of the RCP(b) also sent its representative to the congress.[109] It should be noted here that, in addition to the above-named, communists of Baltic descent in the persons of the Latvians Jānis Rudzutaks, Bērziņš-Ziemelis and Jansons also participated in the congress as members of the RCP(b) delegation.[110]

104 See Ziemelis, S. P. Stučka tegevus Kommunistlikus Internatsionaalis. – Tõid EKP ajaloo alalt V. Eesti Raamat, Tallinn, 1970, 56; Liebman, A. Eestimaa Kommunistlik partei Kommunistliku Internatsionaali koosseisus – ibid., 86.

105 See the collected archival information at https://leninism.su/biograficheskie-xroniki-lenina/106-tom-75/3864-iyun-1919-vtoraya-dekada.html (last accessed 4 February 2021).

106 See Мандат Бейку, Стучка и Крастину, 12.6.1920. РГАСПИ 489.1.30, 82–83, 77.

107 Мандат Мицкевич-Капсукасу, 10.6.1920; Мандат Расикаса, 21.6.1920. Ibid., 85–86.

108 Mandat der Vorzeiger Hans Pöögelmann, 17. 6.1920. Ibid., 154.

109 Мандат Лецману, 16.6.1920; ЦК РКР Эстонский отдел агитации и пропаганды в ИККИ (not dated). Ibid., 152–153.

110 Второй конгресс Коминтерна. Июль – Август 1920 г. Отв. ред. О. Пятницкий, Д. Мануйлский, В. Кнорин, Б. Кун, М. Зоркий. Партийное издательство, Москва, 1934, 622–623.

The congress was also attended by Social Democrat and Socialist party representatives of several countries.[111] Added to the congress protocols published in 1934 is a list of 70 speakers. Missing from the list are any Baltic communist names.[112] Among the congress materials in the archives only a six-page text of a speech written by Pöögelmann in German has been found. It is, however, impossible to say whether Pöögelmann was one of the speakers at the congress. In this text, the author explains the situation in Estonia focusing on communist activism and the "White Terror". The text declared that the Estonian proletariat would be one of the first, as soon as the bell of Western European revolution started to peal, to enter into a decisive battle against its bourgeoisie.[113]

The congress adopted Trotsky's manifest addressed to the female and male proletariat of the world.[114] It bore the signatures of representatives of 32 countries, among them those of Baltic communists. The manifest did not ignore the Baltic question. It declared that the new small bourgeois states were in reality only by-products of imperialism. Added to this was the statement that imperialism determined in advance these countries' unbearable economic and national difficulties, endless conflict and bloody confrontations. During the congress Stučka wrote a letter to Trotsky. He requested that the congress would, in the name of the Latvian communists, turn the attention of the world's proletariat to the Latvian "democratic" government's anti-communist unheard-of savage actions, shooting, torture, etc.[115] In relation to this the manifest declared that "democratic governments" in Finland, Georgia, Latvia and Estonia were struggling hard to raise the extent of communist repression to the same level as in Hungary.[116] The congress adopted the statute of the Comintern. The most important topic at the congress became the theses written by Lenin and Zinoviev concerning the conditions for acceptance into the Communist International, which later became known as the

111 Партийный состав 2-го конгресса 3-го Интернационала (not dated). РГАСПИ 489.1.29, 1–2. In the case of Estonia it might be interesting to take a look at the participation of the Estonian Independent Socialist Workers' Party. Письмо EISTP в ИККИ, 12.6.1920. РГАСПИ 489.1.30, 156; Второй конгресс Коминтерна, 625; Партийный состав 2-го конгресса 3-го Интернационала (not dated). РГАСПИ 489.1.29, 1.

112 See Второй конгресс Коминтерна, 719–725.

113 Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei Estlands an den zweiten Kongress der III Internationale. РГАСПИ 489.1.26, 95–100.

114 Троцкий, Л. Манифест второго конгресса коммунистического интернационала. Available at www.marxists.org/russkij/trotsky/works/trotl517.html (last accessed 4 February 2021).

115 Стучка Троцкому (not dated). РГАСПИ 489.1.24, 40.

116 Капиталистический мир и Коммунистический интернационал. Манифест II-го Конгресса Коммунистического (III-го) интернационала. Издательство Коммунистического Интернационала, Петроград, [1920], 32.

"Twenty-one Conditions".[117] Upon entry into the Comintern, each party had to signify its acceptance of the 21 conditions. Zinoviev described their objective a little later: "these, if I don't say it very ethically, are a powder against insects devouring the body of the working class".[118]

ESTONIAN, LATVIAN AND LITHUANIAN COMMUNISTS IN THE LEADING COMINTERN POSITIONS

In the resolution adopted at the IX Conference of the RKP(b) in September 1920 the primary objective of RKP(b) members who belong in the ECCI was set out: "The conference assumes that the mission of RKP(b) members belonging in the ECCI involves using all means available to the ECCI to intensify the proletarian revolution in Western Europe and to expand the territory on which the workers' power is triumphant."[119] At the 7 August meeting of the ECCI its new complement was ratified. This consisted of 13 RKP(b) representatives and 19 representatives of countries or territories. Zinoviev was elected its Chairman. The Latvian Bērziņš-Ziemelis joined the ECCI as a RKP(b) representative and the Latvian RKP(b) member Stučka continued his alternate member role with the ECCI as the representative of the Latvian CP.[120]

During the Comintern's II Congress the Latvian communists belonging to the Foreign Bureau agreed with all the conditions and regulations adopted by the congress, including a Latvian CP Comintern section being added to the ECCI. At the Estonian communist meeting in November 1920, which later became known as the I Congress of the Estonian CP, the decision to name the party the Estonian CP was adopted and approval was given to the Twenty-one Conditions.[121] Becoming a Comintern member was justified as follows: As the Estonian proletariat is vitally interested in the endurance of Soviet power in Soviet Russia and as Estonia's geographic location lends itself to counter-revolutionary activities against Petrograd, the Estonian CP wishes to belong in the Comintern and to fight alongside the RKP(b). After the II Congress,

117 Резолюция и устав коммунистического Интернационала. Принятые вторым конгрессом коммунистического интернационала (19-го июля – 7-го августа 1920 г.). Издательство Коммунистического интернационала, Петроград, 1920; Второй конгресс Коминтерна, 650–654.
118 Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 50.
119 Ibid., 66.
120 See Второй конгресс Коминтерна, 594–595.
121 Edasi, 23.11.1923.

the Estonian and Latvian sections of the Comintern did indeed begin their work. On 1 February 1921 36 individuals were connected with the Russian Bureau or the Estonian section of the Comintern, of whom 28 were members of the RKP(b).[122] In the report of the Russian Bureau the date of 23 January 1921 is given as the start of the collective. According to a report prepared in April of 1923, 59 people worked in the Latvian section of the Comintern.[123] The constitutions of both parties ordained that they were integral parts of the Comintern and would participate in its congresses, the decisions of which would be compulsory for them.[124]

Before and during the II Congress the Lithuanian CP still did not belong to the Comintern sections. During the congress, on 1 August, four communist organisations, among them the LITBEL CP, issued a declaration proclaiming the Belarus Soviet Republic. Among the signers of the declaration were members of the EC of the LITBEL CP, the Latvians Smilga and Knoriņš.[125] This ended LITBEL's existence. In September 1920 the RKP(b)-subordinate CC of the Lithuanian-Belarusian CP was replaced by two separate CCs. The LITBEL communist organisation in Lithuania began to call itself the Lithuanian CP. The Central Bureau, established in April of 1920 and headed by Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Angarietis, began to direct communist activities in Lithuania and, initially, also in the Vilnius region, which had fallen under Polish control. In addition, the Foreign Bureau of the Lithuanian CP was established in Smolensk. Soon afterwards the reorganisation of the activities of the bureaus began. The Foreign Bureau was moved from Smolensk to Moscow where it began to function as a replacement for the Central Bureau. The name of Central Bureau was given to the illegal centre in Kaunas.[126] The above-named Foreign Bureau became a Comintern section only on 16 July 1921.

The Lithuanian CP's stance on the Vilnius issue corresponded to that of the Lithuanian government and the views of society at large: the Vilnius region was an illegally occupied territory and Poland must return it to Lithuania.[127] In 1922, when it had become clear that the Vilnius region would remain part of Poland, an agreement was reached

122 Сведения о состоянии коллектива Российского бюро ЦК КП Эстляндии, 1.2.1921. RA, ERAF 24.1.174, 1.
123 Отчет о деятельности коллектива Представительства Секретариата Латсекции Коминтерна и ячеек с 1-го января по 1-ое апреля 1923 года. LVA PA-240.3.33, 2.
124 Устав КП Латвии 1920 г. LVA PA-240.2.27, 1; Протокол собрания сотрудников Представительства Латсекции, 18.1.1922. LVA PA-240.3.35, 3–4.
125 Документы внешней политики СССР, т. III. 1 июля 1920 г. – 18 марта 1921 г. Государственное издательство политической литературы, Москва, 1959, 73–75.
126 Отчет. Коммунистическое движение в Литве в цифрах. (Октябрь 1920). LYA 77.31.4, 1.
127 Письмо Куусинену, 15.11.1937. LYA 77.20.5, 19a–19b, 21–22.

between the Comintern sections of the Polish and Lithuanian CPs to the effect that the illegal party activities in the Vilnius region would be carried out by the Polish section with the condition that the Polish communists would respect the uniqueness of the Vilnius region. In spite of this promise the Polish communists paid almost no attention to the Lithuanians living in the Vilnius region. In October of 1923, at an illegal conference held in Vilnius with the blessing of the Polish CP, the autonomous Communist Party of Western Belorussia (CPWB) was established. CPWB took the position that after the success of the revolution the Vilnius region should be united with Soviet Belarus. This led in turn to conflicts between the Lithuanian communists and the Poles as well as the CPWB. The conflict resulted in letters of protest to both the Polish and Western Belorussia Communist Parties and to the Comintern leadership. Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis and their supporters announced that the only rightful solution was to start from the right of peoples to self-determination, which would give the Vilnius region the opportunity to become independent. The question of where the region would belong after the proletarian revolution would be easily resolved in their view two days after the victory of the revolution.[128]

A separate issue is the communists' activities in Memel (Lit. Klaipėda). In 1923, that is after Lithuania had incorporated the Memel Region, the Lithuanian section of the Comintern began, on the recommendation of the ECCI, to form a communist organisation there, although only after the German CP had agreed to it.[129] The organisation operating in the Memel Region was considered part of the Lithuanian CP. Memel's seizure was termed occupation, its incorporation called an annexation and its local self-governing organisation a directorate of lackeys. There was readiness to recognise the region's right to self-determination on the basis of the right of all peoples to self-determination until the separation from Lithuania.[130] The communist movement in the Memel Region did not prove successful due to several "failures". In

128 Ibid.; Заявление Ангаретиса и Капсукаса на конференции КП Польши о Виленщине и черновые резолюции о Западной Белоруссии и Восточной Литве, 23.12.1925. LYA 77-8-5, 1. See also Kasprzak, M. Nationalism and Internationalism: Theory and Practice of Marxist Nationality Policy from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Communist Workers' Party of Poland. Department of History, University of Toronto, 2012, 259–260.

129 Доклад о деятельности КП Литвы. За время с IV по V конгресса Коминтерна. LYA 77.7.14, 22k; IV Конференция КП Литвы. Речь Ангаретиса, 11.11.1923. LYA 77.10.2, 64; Minutes № 22 Meeting of the Orgbureau, 9.6.1923. РГАСПИ 495.26.6, 73.

130 Устав КП Литвы. LYA 77.21.1, 15; Воззвание ко всем трудящимся Мемельской области (июль 1924 г.). LYA 77.17.3, 142–149; LKP CK 1934 m. plenumo rezoliucija apie Klaipėdos krašte. LYA 77.17.1, 107–110.

1937 the Comintern section of the Lithuanian CP found the influence of communists in Klaipeda to be almost non-existent.[131]

On 8 August 1920 the previously operating ECCI Liaison Special Commission was replaced by the Secret section. In November this was renamed the Conspiracy section. Its leadership and formation was given to the deputy chairman of the Foreign Bureau of the Latvian CP, Beika. His deputy designate was the former Peoples' Commissar for education, health and social programs of the Latvian Soviet Republic, Sīmanis Berģis, who had previously lived in Germany and the United States. In May 1921, however, the leadership of the section was given to Osip Piatnitsky, who was of Jewish descent and originally from the Kaunas guberniya. At the beginning of the twentieth century he had been the organiser of the revolutionary movement in the Kaunas and Vilnius guberniya.[132] The section was soon renamed the International Liaison Department (ILD).[133] The position of head of the ILD during the 1920s and early 1930s made Piatnitsky one of the leading public faces of the international Communist movement. The secret department, an espionage operation in nature, was engaged in conspiratorial liaison between the ECCI and communist parties, the forwarding of literature, information and instructions, among them the encryption of messages, collection and analysis of information and the movement of communists and money across borders.[134] The ILD created footholds for itself in several European and Asian cities, among them Riga and Tallinn. It functioned hand in hand with Soviet special services, among them military intelligence. In 1923 the ILD reached an agreement with the GPU[135] to use the latter's communication services. In October 1926 the Estonian Comintern section, in the person of Johannes Käspert, also reached an agreement with the GPU successor the OGPU[136] on the use of communication services. This involved secret transfers, including the forwarding of moneys, ciphers and the passage of communists at border crossings.[137] In addition, the OGPU began receiving information concerning political emigrants residing on Soviet Union territory.

131 Отчет о Клайпеде, 27.6.1937. LYA 77.20.3, 17–18.
132 Born as Iosif Tarshis. As a member of the illegal movement, Tarshis adopted the pseudonym Piatnitsa (Friday). See Piatnitsky, O. Memoirs of a Bolshevik. International Publishers, New York, 1935, 15–34; Пятницкий, В. Заговор против Сталина. Современник, Москва, 1998, 12–13.
133 Отдел международной связи ОМС.
134 Адибеков, Г. М., Шахназарова, Э. Н., Шириня, К. К. Организационная структура, 25.
135 Main Political Administration (state security).
136 Unified Main Political Administration.
137 Договор № 110, 16.10.1926. RA, ERAF 24.1.440, 22–23v.

Due to the fact that several communist parties functioned or could begin to function illegally, the Comintern *Orgburo* created the Illegal Commission. It was composed of Piatnitsky, the German communist Eberlein, the Polish communist Edward Prochniak, Mickevičius-Kapsukas and the leader of the Foreign section of the OGPU Meir Trilisser.[138] The latter had participated in the 1905–1907 revolutionary activity in Finland and worked from 1921 to 1929 in various positions in GPU/OGPU, among them leader of the foreign sector involved in foreign espionage and as deputy to the chief of OGPU.[139] He gained international fame as a result of the publication in several languages of a "book of revelations" written by the Chekist Grigori Agabekov, who had defected to France in 1930.[140]

After the second congress the Comintern Management Department continued its operations with the internal correspondence of the Comintern going through it. It's leaders were the former member of the council of the Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities, the Volga German Klinger, the Latvian Jānis Masters under the name of Jānis Straujāns[141] and Beika.

During the III Congress of the Comintern in June and July 1921, the International Control Commission (ICC) was formed with its members selected by the congress. The assignments of the commission included dealing with various disagreements, evaluating the activities of opposing elements, investigating the backgrounds of communists and controlling financial matters.[142] The ICC began its work in reality only in 1924, after the V Congress of the Comintern. Before that the solving of different conflicts fell to the ECCI or a commission formed by it to handle them. An example of this is what occurred on 31 August 1920 in the O. W. Kuusinen club, in fact the staff location of the Finnish CP in Petrograd, where Finnish communists' intra-party conflict led to a bloody settlement of differences, or a terrorist act. This resulted in the deaths of eight and the wounding of eleven Finnish communist

138 Protokol Nr. 2. der Sitzung des Organisationsbüros der Komintern, 19.12.1922. РГАСПИ 495.18.83, 28; Протокол № 8 Заседания Оргбюро ИККИ, 3.2. 1923. РГАСПИ 495.26.6, 13; see Дамаскин, И. А. Сталин и разведка. Вече, Москва, 2004, 192.

139 Колпакиди, А., Прохоров, Д. Внешняя разведка России. Олма-Пресс, Москва, 2001, 12–14.

140 See Агабеков, Г. С. ГПУ Записки чекиста. Стрела, Berlin, 1930, 10, 12, 15, 24–25, 97; Agabekov, G. OGPU. The Russian Secret Terror. Brentano's, New York, 1931. See also Дамаскин, И. А. Сталин и разведка, 70.

141 Jānis Masters (Ян Мастере), Pseudonyms Андрей Манецкий, Вернер, Денис Оке, Едуард Мастер, Казимир Куршинскис. See http://literatura.lv/lv/person/Janis-Straujans/872479 (last accessed 4 February 2021). See Колпакиди, А., Прохоров, Д. Империя ГРУ. Очерки истории российской военной разведки. Книга первая. ОЛМА-ПРЕСС, Москва, 2000, 160.

142 Протокол № 1. Заседания Организационного Бюро, 11.12.1922. РГАСПИ 495.18.83, 4.

leaders.[143] At the request of the Finnish CP the ECCI formed a special commission to define and solve the sharp disagreements that had arisen in the Finnish CP. The commission was headed by Hungarian communist Bela Kun. Members of the commission were the Estonian Anvelt and two ECCI members, the Frenchman Alfred Rossmer and the Bulgarian Nikola Shablin. The real leader was in fact Zinoviev's favourite, Anvelt. In the report prepared in November and signed by Anvelt, Shablin and Rossmer, the accusations by the opposition EC members of the Finnish CP were declared to be groundless. The writers of the report believed that the conflict between Finnish communists would be surmountable when there was an advance in the revolutionary movement and Finnish workers conquered their bourgeoisie.[144] Later, at the VI Congress of the Comintern in 1928, when summarising the work of the ICC, Stučka referred to the event with the observation that emigration is a serious illness.[145]

Among the 16 members of the ICC elected by the Comintern's V Congress in 1924 we can find the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian section leaders Pöögelmann, Stučka and Angarietis.[146] At the VI Congress in 1928 a 22-member control commission was elected. Its membership included Anvelt, Angarietis and Stučka, the last becoming Chairman of the commission.[147]

In the years after the period of 1918–1921 when some Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Bolsheviks declared that they had formed independent communist parties that were national Comintern sections, there continued to be competitors alongside the CC of the RKP(b) – the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian detached national sections or Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian propaganda and agitation units. But how large was the number of members belonging to the RKP(b) Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian sections and who did they represent? According to the results of the 1926 All-Union census, 154,600 Estonians, 141,400 Latvians

143 O. W. Kuusisen kirje Keskuskomitean jäseneille (Liite 10R). РГАСПИ 516.2.439, 21; Измозик, В. С. Дело «Красных финнов». – Гуманитарные исследования в Восточной Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке, 2014, 4, 69–81; Saarela, T. Suomalaisen kommunismin synty 1918–1923. Kansan Sivistystyön Liitto, Tampere, 1996, 97–100.

144 Коминтерн и Финляндия. 1919–1943. Документы. Отв. ред. Н. С. Лебедева. Наука, Москва, 2003, 84–86.

145 VI Конгресс Коминтерна. Стенографический отчет. Вып. 5. Международное положение и задачи Коминтерна. Государственное издательство, Москва-Ленинград, 1929, 97.

146 See Пятый всемирный конгресс Коммунистического интернационала 17.06.–08.07.1924 г. Стенографический отчет. Ч. 2. Приложения. Государственное издательство. Москва-Ленинград, 1925, 238.

147 VI Конгресс Коминтерна. Стенографический отчет. Вып. 6. Тезисы, резолюции постановления воззвания. Государственное издательство, Москва-Ленинград, 1929, 199.

and 51,000 Lithuanians[148] resided in the Soviet Union.[149] In 1922 there were among the members of the RKP(b) 9,512 Latvians (2.53% of the total), 1,964 Estonians (0.52% of the total) and 1,472 Lithuanians (0.39% of the total).[150] To preclude the emergence of competitors, the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Comintern sections declared that they had the sole right to represent the communists of the three countries outside the territory of the Baltic states.[151] It is clear that the competitors wished to lead the national communist movements and obtain for themselves the money intended to finance communist activity. They viewed the group aligned with the Comintern as self-appointed and criticised their activities.[152]

How large was the number of illegally functioning party members in the three Baltic states during the years 1919–1940 whom the Comintern Baltic sections claimed to represent? Here different sources offer the following: in Estonia in 1920 approximately 690[153], in 1921 1,044[154], in 1936 255[155] , in 1940 133[156]; in Latvia in 1921 660[157], in 1928 700[158], in 1934 1,160, in 1937 1,200[159], in June 1940 approximately 1,000[160]; in Lithuania in 1920 more than 1,000[161], in 1935 1,300[162] (according to other sources, however, at the end of the same year 1,800–1,900[163]), in 1940 1,500.[164]

148 Here is indicated: Lithuanians, Latgalians, Samogitians.
149 Всесоюзная перепись населения 17 декабря 1926 г. Краткие сводки. Вып. IV. Народность и родной язык население СССР. Издание ЦСУ СССР, Москва, 1928, XXV–XXVII.
150 Всероссийская перепись членов РКП 1922 года. Национальный состав членов партии. Вып. 5. Красная Новь-Главполитпросвет, Москва, 1924, 26.
151 See for example Стучка в ИККИ (not dated). LVA PA-240.2.26, 1.
152 See Мицкявичюс-Капсукас: расхождения с тов. Ангаретисом и ЦК КП Литвы 17.12.1926. LYA 77.9.12, 40–42; Sissejuhatus VKP Eesti osakondade Keskkomitee ja EKP Venemaa büroo vahekorra lahendamise komisjoni protokollile (not dated); VKP Eesti osakondade Keskkomitee VKP Keskkomiteele ning VKP Eesti osakondade ja EKP Venemaa büroo vahekorra uurimise komisjonile (not dated). RA, ERAF 6495.3.2, 1–7, 8–19.
153 Kiri nr 20 saadud 8.12.1920. RA, ERAF 25.1.110, 21v.
154 Протокол частного совещания членов Литовской, Латвийской и Эстонской делегаций, 19.6.1921. LVA PA-240.2.72, 63.
155 Лоринг Мануильскому (Борьба за осуществление решении VII конгресса Коминтерна в Эстонии) 5.10. 1937. РГАСПИ 495. 20. 637,18.
156 Коммунистическая партия Эстонии в цифрах 1920–1980 гг. Сборник статистических данных. Эести Раамат, Таллин, 1983, 37–38.
157 Коммунистическая партия Латвии в цифрах 1904–1983 гг. Второе изд., перераб. и допол. Авотс, Рига, 1984, 41.
158 Секретарь Латсекции в ОРГ. Отдел ИККИ (Организационная положение КП Латвии) 15.6. 1928. LVA PA-240-2-278, 1–2.
159 Справка о численности членов КП Латвии, 17.3.1937. LVA PA-240.2.1046, 1.
160 Коммунистическая партия Латвии в цифрах 1904–1983 гг., 41.
161 Отчет (коммунистическое движение в Литве в цифрах. Октябрь 1920). LYA 77.31.4, 1.
162 Отчет деятельности КП Литвы, 10.1.1935. LYA 77.18.8, 41.
163 Число ленов КП Литвы на ноябрь 1935 г. LYA 77.18.9, 2a; Число ленов КП Литвы к декабря 1935 г. LYA 77.18.9, 2.
164 Отчет ЦК КП Литвы, 22.6.1937. LYA. 77.26.2, 1. See also Коммунистическая партия Литвы в цифрах 1920–1980 гг. Сборник статистических данных. Минтис, Вильниюс, 1977, 26–49.

The sources consulted for this information are not always clear as to whether the cited party member numbers encompass communists in prison. It is also not clear whether the totals also reflect RKP(b)/All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (AUCP(b)) members. According to a statement compiled in 1952 by the Foreign Affairs Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there were 60 members in the Estoni an CP, 300 in the Latvian CP and 1,800 in the Lithuanian CP in 1938.[165]

During the IV Congress of the Comintern in November and December 1922, the ECCI *Orgburo*, in the presence of Finnish, Latvian and Lithuanian communists, decided to forbid the Comintern-allied sections of the "buffer states" Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland to involve themselves in any way in the activities of the national sections operating under the RKP(b). Contact with the national sections functioning under the RKP(b) could, according to this decision, take place only through the CC of the RKP(b), or else through the central organs of the respective parties. A commission was also created to find a permanent solution to the conflict.[166]

We should remember here other competitors. Some so-called independent socialist parties also sought to join the Comintern. An example is the German Independent Social Democratic Party, which was ready to follow the guidelines of the Comintern.[167] In Estonia's case, it was the Estonian Independent Socialist Workers' Party (*Eesti Iseseisev Sotsialistlik Tööliste Partei*, EISTP) and its representatives who participated in the Comintern's II and III Congresses. The desire of this party to join the Comintern provoked strong resistance and criticism from the Estonian section of the Comintern.[168]

As a result of the III Congress of the Comintern, Stučka, Anarietis and Pöögelmann became members of the ECCI, the latter two as alternate members. Starting in August 1922, the name of the Latvian Kārlis Kraštiņš appears among the members of the ECCI. In the same year in the Comintern a grouping of the communist parties of different

165 Председатель внешнеполитической Комиссии ЦК ВКП(б) Григорян – Молотову, 9.9.1952. Справка о численном составе коммунистических и рабочих партий зарубежных сран перед второй мировой войной и послевоенный период. РГАСПИ 82.2.160, 16–17. Concerning the small number of Estonian CP members, it should be noted that the failed communist putsch of 1 December 1924 resulted in the government's harsh repression of both communists and trade unions.

166 Sitzung des Organisationsbüros des Exekutivkomitees der Komintern, 27.12.1922. РГАСПИ 495.18.83, 35–36.

167 See for example Morgan, D. The Socialist Left and the German Revolution. A History of the German Independent Social Democratic Party, 1917–1922. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1975, 306–311.

168 Edasi, 29.7.1920, 23.11.1921; Klassivõitlus, 1934, 3 (162), 6.

countries began, initially based on linguistic, and later also on geographic, proximity.[169] The start of the Baltic communists' cooperation within the framework of the Comintern can be placed in June 1921 when before the start of the III Congress of the Comintern the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communists held a meeting which was attended by Stučka, Beika, Jānis Krūmiņš, Angarietis, Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Anvelt and Pöögelmann.[170] The next meeting of Baltic communists took place in March of 1922. There it was decided to begin collecting information about the "activities of the ruling regimes" in the Baltic states for the Comintern Congress. It appears from the meeting protocols that the Comintern had started to sideline representatives of the smaller states. This is indicated by the conclusion that, should the up-coming conference [congress] take action to limit the representation of the small states, then an attempt should be made to send to the conference one representative for all three Baltic parties.[171]

As a result of the IV Congress of the Comintern in November and December 1922, the renewed ECCI's 19 members and 11 alternate members did not include any Baltic communists. The IV Congress decided that to lead the activities of each "essential country" a member of the ECCI or Presidium would be designated as the responsible head of division (*референт*). After the congress the Comintern's *Orgburo* decided that regardless of the fact that the communist parties of the buffer states – Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – no longer had representatives at the ECCI, they would continue to function simply as Comintern sections and this on the same bases as the other sections.[172] Subsequently ten heads of division began their operations, among them the Polish-Lithuanian-Latvian-Estonian-Finnish head of division, who was the former Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee member Edward Próchniak.[173] In November of 1923 the *Orgburo* approved the names of the new heads of division and their deputies. The applicable protocol stated that the deputy to the "Polish comrade" would be Mickevičius-Kapsukas or one of the "Estonian comrades".[174] In February

169 See An die Anglo-Americanische Sprachgruppe z. Hd. des Gen. Wallenius, 12.6.1922. РГАСПИ 495.18.113, 35.

170 Протокол частного совещания Литовсой, Латвийской и Эстонской делегаций на 3 конгрессе 19.6.1921 LVA PA-240-2-72, 56–65.

171 Протокол совещания представителей КП Эстоний, Латвиии и Литвы (заседания первая), 3.3.1922. Ibid., 73, 74.

172 Sitzung des Organisationsbüros des Exekutivkomitees der Komintern, 27.12.1922. РГАСПИ 495.18.83, 35–36; Protokoll Nr. 31 der Sitzung des Org.-Büros des EKKI, 10.11.1923. РГАСПИ 495.26.6, 138–139.

173 *Tymczasowy Komitet Rewolucyjny Polski*.

174 Protokoll Nr. 31, 138–139.

1924 Mickevičius-Kapsukas was transferred to the position of alternate member of the ECCI Secretariat, which had been created by the IV Congress.

On 7 July 1924, or ten days before the start of the V Congress, a regularly recurring meeting took place with the participation of the Comintern section members of the Baltic and Finnish CPs: Stučka, Krastiņš, Angarietis, the remarkable figures of the Jewish Bund, the British CP and US CP, David Petrovsky (pseudonyms Max Goldfarb, David Bennett), Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Vakmann, Rästas and the former Finnish Soviet Republic's peoples' commissar for foreign affairs Yrjö Sirola. The delegates at the meeting decided to form alongside the ECCI a secretariat uniting all four parties and to begin the publication of a joint information bulletin. Rästas was chosen to lead the secretariat.[175] Preserved in the archives is an undated document reflecting the meeting of the Baltic and Finnish communists. It's content tracks largely with that of the above referenced meeting but it includes discussion of a proposal to the ECCI to form a federation of Baltic CPs. While the ECCI considered this proposal, the secretariat would be called the Secretariat of the Baltic Communist Parties. Its activities were to consist of collecting material relating to the labour movement, composing economic and political overviews and a discussion of questions of common interest.[176] Starting in August of 1924 the Baltic CPs information bulletin began to be published.[177]

At the V Congress of the Comintern the ECCI was elected, composed of 44 membership candidates and 28 alternate members. The Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian sections were represented by Otto Wille Kuusinen, and as alternate member Mickevičius-Kapsukas.[178] The next meeting of the Secretariat of the Baltic CPs took place on 19 February 1925, with the participation of one of the leaders of the Finnish CP, Kullervo Manner, who had been the chairman of the Finnish Parliament (*Eduskunta*) in 1917.[179] The following meeting occurred on 26 April with a wider circle of participants. The Lithuanian CP was represented here by Angarietis, Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Petrovsky; the Latvian CP by Krastiņš; the Finnish CP by Manner; the Estonian CP by Rästas, Saar and Artur Meering. Angarietis and Krastiņš stated here that

175 Совещание представителей партий КП Латвии, Литвы, Финляндии и Эстонии 7.7.1924. RA, ERAF 24.1.324, 1.
176 Протокол № 1. Заседания Секретариата Коммунистических Партии Прибалтики (not dated). LYA 77.8.4, 1.
177 Бюллетень № 1. Коммунистических партий Прибалтики по 31-е август 1924. RA, ERAF 24.1.324, 3.
178 See Пятый всемирный конгресс, 237.
179 Протокол секретариата компартий Прибалтики, 19.2.1925 г. LYA 77.8.4, 2–3.

the formation of a federation was premature. They proposed limiting reciprocal dealings to the existing secretariat. The decision reached at the meeting was not to create a federation but to intensify the activities of the existing secretariat.[180] The failure of the Estonian communist coup on 1 December 1924 played a role in this decision.

As a result of the VI plenum of the ECCI in February and March 1926 a reorganisation of the Comintern governing structure took place. The plenum decided that the ECCI should elect a new presidium, *Orgburo* and secretariat, which should in turn reorganise the work of the ECCI. The reorganisation of the Comintern governing structure was due, on the one hand, to a deepening of the Comintern's internal conflict due to "ultra-left wing tendencies", the desire of the AUCP(b) as the leading body of the Comintern to lessen the influence of Zinoviev and the ECCI and to remove from the leadership of the Comintern an "undesirable" element.[181] Set against this was the failure of Comintern activities in many countries. Therefore it was felt important to align the activities of national communists at a regional level. German communist and member of the Reichstag Clara Zetkin stated at the plenum that the Comintern had had to survive the German CPs catastrophic bankruptcy and failures in Estonia and Bulgaria. Zinoviev could only reply that Zetkin's words were unusual and that in Estonia comrades who lost the battle had previously won many larger battles. He presented the challenge of individually studying the reasons for each failure.[182]

On 17 March 1926 the ECCI did indeed elect a 24-member[183] Comintern Presidium. This included Zinoviev, Bukharin, Stalin and Kuusinen, the representative of Finnish and Baltic communists (*Финляндия и окраинные государства*). Subsequently, to insure a stronger connection with communist parties, 11 groupings or secretariats were created to deal with different countries. These were expected to deal with the systematic analysis of the domestic and foreign policies and the economic situation of the respective countries and prepare recommendations to the parties and the Comintern leadership, but not to reach independent decisions.[184] The secretariat dealing with Polish, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian questions was named the

180 Ibid., 4–5.
181 See Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 354.
182 Шестой расширенный пленум Исполкома Коминтерна (17 февраля – 15 марта 1926 г.) Стенографический отчет. Государственное издательство, Москва-Ленинград, 1927, 227, 464.
183 20 members and 4 members candidates.
184 Bericht der Genossen Piatnitzki ueber die bisherigen Ergebnisse der Reorganisation des Apparates der Komintern in der außerordentlichen Sitzung des Sekretariats wom 13. August 1926. РГАСПИ 495.18.434, 3–12, 53.

Border States Secretariat.[185] Its first secretary was the Bulgarian communist Georgi Dimitrov, and it included member of the ECCI Presidium Manulski, *Orgburo* member Piatnitsky, Polish CP representative Wacław Bogucki and Finnish CP representative Manner. On 15 April, Manuilski, Piatnitsky, the Polish CP representatives Bogucki and Julian Leński and Western Ukraine CP representative Roman Turiansky and others gathered for the premier meeting of the Polish-Baltic Secretariat. Here it was decided that Anvelt, Stučka and Angarietis would join the secretariat. In April Krastiņš was brought into the secretariat as aide to Stučka and in August and September of the same year two Finnish communists were added to the staff.[186]

At the XVI Congress of the AUCP(b) in December 1925 a conflict developed between ECCI chairman Zinoviev and his supporters and the group led by Stalin: the leading figure of the Comintern became the opposition leader in the AUCP(b). The Zinoviev-initiated formation of the organisation for cooperation of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and England, the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, intended to weaken the Amsterdam International, and the general strike in England in May of 1926 resulted in sharp mutual accusations between Zinoviev, Trotsky and members of the Politburo. At issue was the question of what the Comintern and the Soviet government's approach should be toward the strike and the British labour movement.[187] This led to the removal of Zinoviev from the leadership of the Comintern in November 1926. In December the Comintern Politsecretariat was formed, whose members included, among others, Bukharin, Manuilski, Piatnitsky and Kuusinen. This was the beginning of the Bukharin period of the Comintern, which was accompanied by organisational changes.

In January 1926 the Politsecretariat confirmed the composition of nine secretariats. The Border States secretariat[188] was composed of the following individuals: the secretary in charge Manuilski, secretaries Dobrosel'skaia and Mickevičius-Kapsukas, the representatives of the Polish, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and German KP: Bogucki, Manner, Anvelt, Krastiņš, Angarietis and a member of the Prussian Landtag Ottomar Gechke.[189] In July 1927 the Politsecretariat adopted a deci-

185 Секретариат окраинных (приграничных) государств.
186 Протокол № 1 заседания Секретариата Прибалтики, 15.4.1926. РГАСПИ 495.61.1, 1; Письмо Димитрова Стучку, Ангаретису и Анвельту, 20.4.1926. LVA PA-240.2.195, 121.
187 See Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 373–391; Ватлин, А. Ю. Коминтерн: первые десять лет. Исторические очерки. Россия Молодая, Москва, 1993, 56–57.
188 Секретарит окраинных государств, *Randstaaten Ländersekretariat*.
189 Список состава секретариатов и профсоюзной комиссии, 12.1.1927. РГАСПИ 495.18.596, 1; Мицкевич-Капсукас Крастынь 2.2. 1927.LVA PA-240-2-239, 19.

sion that reduced the number of secretariats to six and also changed their composition. One of the founders of the Czechoslovakian CP, Bohumír Šmeral,[190] became the head of the border states' secretariat, and members included the presidium member of the Soviet Central EC Viacheslav Molotov, assistant of Kuusinen Piotr Vilensky (Shubin), the future envoy of the Soviet Union in Tallinn Fedor Raskol'nikov (under the alias Feodor Petrov), and Manner, Anvelt, Angarietis, Krastiņš and a Polish representative.[191] There was a limiting of the independence of the sections, as adopted decisions had to be approved by the ECCI.[192]

The VI Congress of the Comintern, which took place from 17 July to 1 September 1928, worked out the Comintern new Statute – the plan to install the dictatorship of the proletariat. The commission to develop this included, in addition to Bukharin, Stalin, Molotov and others such as Anvelt, Stučka and Angarietis.[193] The Statute gave to communists throughout the world a common basic document. According to Article 13 of the Statute, the decisions of the ECCI were obligatory for all sections of the Comintern. The Congress declared that as a result of communist activities, a confrontation between two political forces, fascism and social democracy, had developed in the capitalist world.[194] Regardless of the developments in Italy and Germany, cooperation between communists and social democrats was ruled out, both in regard to joint political action and in elections. Special emphasis was placed on social democrats as the so-called "representatives of the proletariat", a dangerous element and conscious agent of capitalism.[195]

The VI Congress elected a 58-member ECCI. The Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian CP representative was Mickevičius-Kapsukas. The Latvian Knoriņš became ECCI alternate member as representative of the Polish CP under the pseudonym of Sokolik.[196] The list of positions held by Knoriņš, whose activities in LITBEL and Belarus have already been discussed, is notable. In 1927 he was elected a member of the CC of the AUCP(b) and became a first secretary of the Belorussian CP. In the autumn of 1928 as representative of Polish CP in ECCI he became

190 At the same time a member of the Balkan Secretariat.
191 Zusammensetzung der Laender-Sekretariats für das Polisekretariat; Предложение о составе групповых секретариатов, 9.8.1927. РГАСПИ 495.18.596, 5–6, 46–48.
192 See Проект постановлении пленума ИККИ об учреждении Западно-Европейского Секретариата Коминтерна (not dated). РГАСПИ 495.18.596, 60.
193 VI Конгресс Коминтерна. Стенографический отчет. Выпуск первый. Международное положение и задачи Коминтерна. Государственное издательство, Москва-Ленинград, 1929, 100; VI Конгресс Коминтерна. Стенографический отчет. Вып. 6, 7–55.
194 Ibid., 62–65.
195 Ibid., 63, 195.
196 Ibid., 198–199.

de facto head of Polish CP. He went to Berlin where the Politburo of the Polish CP resided. Knoriņš directed the West European Bureau of the ECCI in Berlin under the pseudonym of Tischler until April 1929. In April 1931 Knoriņš became a member of the ECCI presidium, but now under his own name. He was a chief of the Central European Secretariat of the Comintern until 29 April 1934 and director of the Institute of Red Professors of the AUCP(b) (1932–1935).[197] Moreover, he was one of the authors of the "Short Course" of the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).[198] The visitors' book in which are recorded individuals who visited Stalin shows Knoriņš' frequent meetings with Stalin from 1930 to 1933.[199] From 1930 to 1937 he also participated in Politburo meetings as a member of the CC of the AUCP(b).[200] The greatest participation intensity falls in the first months of 1933, i.e. the first months of Hitler's rule. As chief of the Central European Secretariat of Comintern, Knoriņš was one of the leaders of Comintern who had an important role in the Comintern's uncompromising opposition to social democrats as well as the retention of such policies by the German CP.

At the XIII Plenum of the Comintern in December 1933 Knoriņš rebuked German Social Democrats for Hitler's rise to power and announced that the Comintern's current policy of not cooperating with social democrats was the correct one.[201] One might remember the expulsion of the Bolsheviks from Latvia in 1919, which occurred while Weimar Germany was under the government of social democrat Philipp Scheidemann.[202] In the eyes of the Latvian communist, the five-month old Latvian Soviet Republic had been liquidated by the forces of General von der Goltz and the relicts of feudalism, the Baltic German barons, who acted under the Scheidemann's government and his social democrat "in Bismarck's riding boots" defence minister Gustav Noske. In this

197 See Kahan V. The Personnel of the Highest Comintern Bodies. – International Review of Social History, 1976, 21, 2, 173; Deutschland, Russland, Komintern. II. Dokumente (1918–1943). Teil 2: 1924–1929 Proklamierung des „Sozialismus in einem Lande", Machtkämpfe in der KPD und Stalinisierung, 651; Teil 3: 1929–1933 „Sozialfaschismus"-Politik, letzte KPDFraktionskämpfe, Machtantritt Hitlers und Reichstagsbrand, 817–823; Козлова Л. А. Институт красной профессуры (1921–1938 годы): Историографический очерк. – Социологический журнал, 1994, 1, 96–112.

198 See Lazitch, B., Drachkovitch, M. M. Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern. New, Revised, and Expanded Edition. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1986, 217–218; Справочник по истории Коммунистической партии и Советского Союза 1898–1991, available at http://www.knowbysight.info (last accessed 4 February 2021).; «Краткий курс истории ВКП(б)». Текст и его история. Часть I. История текста «Краткого курса истории ВКП(б)». Сост. М. В. Зеленов, Д. Бранденбергер. РОССПЭН, Москва, 2014.

199 Сведения о лицах, записавшихся на прием к Сталину. РГАСПИ 558.11.409.

200 See Сталинское Политбюро в 30-годы. Сборник документов. Сост. О. В. Хлевнюк, А. В. Квашонкин, Л. П. Кошелева, Л. А. Роговая. АЙРО-XX, Москва, 1995, 189, 191–192, 207, 214–219, 221–226, 228, 230, 234, 236, 242, 244, 247–248.

201 XIII пленум ИККИ. Стенографический отчет. Партиздат, Москва, 1934, 327–341.

202 Chancellor of Germany from 13 February 1919 to 20 June 1919.

version, this was one of the many crimes of German social democrats against the proletariat, if not the most horrific.[203] Historian Jonathan Haslam associates the strategy of the Comintern concerning the Social Democrats primarily with Knoriņš.[204]

At the end of September 1928 the Politsecretariat reached a new decision concerning the names and personnel composition of the secretariats. The secretariats came to be called Regional Secretariats (*Ländersekretariat*) and there were a total of eight of them. The leader of the Polish-Baltic Regional Secretariat was Mickevičius-Kapsukas. To its membership belonged Anvelt, Angarietis, the Finnish communist Manner, the Polish communist Leon Purman and Latvian Krastiņš.[205]

The August 1935 meeting of the Politburo decided to liquidate the Comintern Politsecretariat and establish the position of First Secretary. Approval was given to the list of names of individuals who would belong to the ECCI Secretariat and the Presidium.[206] The Bulgarian communist Dimitrov, who had participated in the work of the Baltic secretariat, became the First Secretary of the Comintern. In early July 1934 Dimitrov sent Stalin a letter with a whole list of questions. Among others, he asked if it was correct to count Social Democrats everywhere and on all conditions as the main social support of the bourgeois. He proposed changing the present Popular Front tactics so that Social Democrats could become co-fighters against Fascism.[207] The Comintern attitude towards the Social Democrats changed in May 1934.

As a result of decisions of the Politburo and the VII Congress, which was held in July and August 1935, a ten member ECCI was created, but neither it nor its presidium and secretariat had any Estonian or Lithuanian members. Knoriņš was forced to leave the position of chief of the Central European secretariat and Piatnitsky that of secretary of the ECCI. The Congress called on the ECCI to avoid, as a rule, direct intervention in internal organisational matters of the CPs. This signalled a decisive change in the Comintern's approach toward social democracy and the beginning of its Popular Front politics, which consisted of a readiness to act jointly with social democrats. Members of the

203 Коммунистический интернационал, 1919, 3, 327–334; Стучка, П. За советскую власть в Латвии, 206–208, 314–319, 400–407; see also Речь товарища Кнорина. (Заседание 2 февраля 1934 г., вечернее), available at http://www.pseudology.org/Bolsheviki_lenintsy/XVII/14_8.htm (last accessed 4 February 2021).

204 Haslam, J. The Comintern and the Origins of the Popular Front 1934–1935. – The Historical Journal, 1979, 22, 3, 673–691.

205 Politsekretariat an alle Abteilungen des EKKI, 28.9.1928. RGASPI 495.20.762, 1.

206 Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 722–723.

207 Коминтерн против фашизма. Документы. Наука, Москва, 1999, 326–328.

Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Comintern Sections Albert Sakkart[208], Angarietis and Jānis Krumiņš gave long speeches in which they analysed the foreign and defence political situation in the Baltic states and the activities of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian CP.[209] In the list of alternate members to the ECCI appears the name of the Latvian Krumiņš. The Lithuanian Angarietis and the Estonian Meering were representatives of their communist parties at the ECCI. The members of the ICC elected at the Congress included the Lithuanian Angarietis and the Estonian Anvelt.[210] We can remember here that Stučka died in January 1932 and Mickevičius-Kapsukas in February 1935. In December 1935 the Politburo approved the ECCI proposal to add Anvelt to the ICC, elected at the VII congress.[211]

After the VII Congress the governing structure of the Comintern was reformed. The Regional Secretariats were ended. The groups of different countries became subject to the ECCI secretaries. Ten secretariats were created, referred to by the name of the leader who handled each country in geographical proximity to each other.[212] The activities of the Polish, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian CPs were overseen by Meer Moskvin's (Trilisser) secretariat. His tasks in the Comintern appear to have been those of a policeman rather than a communist agitator, including the recruitment of NKVD agents overseas. We can remember here that Moskvin was also responsible for the financial matters of the Comintern and for the activities of the International relations section, being at the same time a member of the ECCI secretariat's commission that handled the transfer of members of foreign communist parties to the AUCP(b).[213]

CONCLUSIONS

During the first independence of the Baltic states the Baltic anti-capitalist diaspora that was inspired by Bolshevik ideology and found refuge in

208 Pseudonym Peeter Kruus.

209 Pabaltės Šalių Liaudis Plačiu Frontu į Kovą prieš karą. Pabaltės Šalių Kompartijų Atstovo d. Krumino kalba, Pasakyta Kominterno VII Pasauliniam Kongrese; Bendru frontu prieš fašizmą. Drg. Angariečio kalba, pasakita Kominterno VII kongrese. LYA 77.18.1, 21, 59–62.

210 See Адибеков, Г. М., Шахназарова, Э. Н., Шириня, К. К. Организационная структура, 182–185.

211 Политбюро ЦК РКП(б)-ВКП(б) и Коминтерн, 726.

212 Резолюция секретариата ИККИ, 2.11.1935. РГАСПИ 5.1.204, 55–65; see also Адибеков, Г. М., Шахназарова, Э. Н., Шириня, К. К. Организационная структура, 186–189.

213 Залесский, К. А. Империя Сталина. Биографический энциклопедический словарь. Вече, Москва, 2000, 445.

Soviet Russia/the Soviet Union influenced political life in independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the same way the Baltic anti-totalitarian and anti-communist diaspora, which found refuge in Western countries, influenced political life in the Soviet Baltic republics (1944–1991). Both diasporas represented an ideological and moral antithesis, i.e. opposition to the existing political situation in the homeland.

Estonian and Latvian Communism grew out of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Lithuanian Communism additionally out of Polish Social Democracy. At the time of the I Congress of the Comintern, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Bolsheviks had congregated in the national sections subject to the RKP(b). The project of creating a Soviet *Baltikum* and the founding of the Comintern were reasons for some Baltic Bolsheviks to belong to the national sections of the RKP(b) and declare that they had formed independent communist parties. The annulment of the Brest Peace Treaty in November 1918 and the subsequent emergence of the Estonian Workers' Commune, Soviet Latvia and Soviet LITBEL, or in other words, the Soviet project's duration in the former Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, proved to be short-lived.

The peace treaties between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states signed in 1920 provoked sharp disagreement and demoralisation in the ranks of the Baltic Bolsheviks. Some of them saw Soviet Russia's agreement to the peace treaty as treason, while others justified the act comparing it to the Brest Peace Treaty: Considering the existing power relationships and the Comintern-led international revolutionary movement, the peace agreements reached by the Soviet government was temporary and would encounter the same fate as the Brest Peace Treaty. The Stalin-led *Narkomnats* played a decisive role in making it possible that Bolsheviks of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian origin were among the founders and occupied afterwards positions in the leadership of the Comintern as a transnational organisation. A similar role was played by the Zinoviev-led Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities of the UCNR. In the former were Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Angarietis, Gailis and Pöögelmamm, in the latter Anvelt and Giedrys. The Latvian communist Stučka was part of Lenin's retinue, while his countryman, one of the most transnational Balts in the Comintern and at the top level of the AUCP(b), Knoriņš, was allied with Stalin.

Becoming members of the Comintern, the Baltic communists declared that the leadership of the revolutionary movement in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would belong wholly to the Estonian, Latvian and

Lithuanian communist parties. Ties to the Comintern were justified as follows: The communist party as an independent organisation formed a direct tie with the Comintern; having gained the recognition of the Comintern, the communist party joined the transnational union of communist parties as an independent member; only the internationalism of the working class allowed the globalisation of the results of the October Revolution, together with Soviet Russia, soon the Soviet Union. In official parlance, the relations of the Baltic communists with the RKP(b) were described as guaranteeing that the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian proletariat could proudly point to the traditions and cooperation that had previously connected them to the Russian proletariat.

Having joined the Comintern and directed the illegal communist activity in their homelands from the Soviet heartland, the Baltic communist leaders remained members of the RCP(b), then the AUCP(b), and were in their actions subject to the directions of both, the central party and the Comintern. They declared that they did not recognise bourgeois Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and would greet the day when the bourgeois order was ended in these countries, after which a union with the USSR would be created. The rhetoric about the internationalism of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat also played a role here. The latter was to be achieved by taking part in the Comintern's transnational campaigns.

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EESTI, LÄTI JA LEEDU KOMMUNISTID KOMINTERNI RAHVUSÜLESES MAAILMAS ENNE "SUURE PUHASTUSE" ALGUST

Magnus Ilmjärv

Artiklis on vaatluse all järgmised küsimused: Balti kommunismi sünd, balti bolševike osalemine Kominterni loomisel ja Kominterni II kongressil ning Eesti, Läti ja Leedu päritolu bolševikud/kommunistid Kominterni juhtorganites aastatel 1919–1935, s.o. kuni "suure puhastuse" alguseni. Perestroika ajastu Nõukogude Liidus avas uurijatele Nõukogude Liidu Kommunistliku partei Keskarhiivi (täna Venemaa Riiklik Sotsiaal-Poliitika Ajaloo Arhiiv) Kominterni tegevust puudutavad fondid. Euroopa, Aasia ja Ameerika maade ajaloolased on viimase kümne aasta jooksul aktiivselt uurinud Vene arhiivides Kominterni tegevust ja ühe või teise maa suhteid nimetatud organisatsiooniga. Taasiseseisvunud Balti riikides on Kominterni tegevuse uurimine seni olnud vähene.

Komintern, kui eri maade kommuniste koondav organisatsioon, kujutas endast sõdade vahelise maailma rahvusvahelistes suhetes rahvusülest, s.t ühe riigi piire ületavat globaalset jõudu. Tegemist oli poliitilis-programmiliste ambitsioonidega organisatsiooniga, mis mõjutas miljonite inimeste vaateid ja tegevust. Kominterni ja sellega seotud kommunistlike parteide ja organisatsioonide ajalugu on poliitiline ajalugu, mille keskmes on rahvusülesed ideed ja isikud. Ideoloogilisel ja sümboolsel tasandil iseloomustab Kominterni tegevust kolm põhiaspekti: proletariaadi internatsionalism, soov viia maailma Oktoobrirevolutsiooni tulemus ja nägemus Nõukogude Liidust kui jõust, millele toetudes saab võimalikuks maailmarevolutsioon.

Eesti ja Läti kommunism tulenes Venemaa Sotsiaaldemokraatlikust Tööliste parteist, Leedu kommunism Poola sotsiaaldemokraatiast ja Venemaa Sotsiaaldemokraatlikust Tööliste Parteist. Kominterni I kongressi toimumise hetkeks olid eesti, läti ja leedu bolševikud koondunud Venemaa Kommunistliku Partei (bolševike) VKP(b) alluvuses tegutsevatesse rahvuslikesse sektsioonidesse. Nõukogude Baltikumi projekti teke Bresti rahulepingu tühistamise järel, s.t Eesti Töörahva Kommuuni, Nõukogude Läti ja Nõukogude Leedu-Valgevene Vabariigi välja kuulutamine ning Kominterni loomine olid põhjuseks, miks üks osa VKP(b) rahvuslikesse sektsioonidesse kuuluvatest Balti bolševikest deklareeris, et nad on loonud iseseisvad kommunistlikud parteid.

Nõukogude projekti eluiga endistes Vene impeeriumi Balti provintsides osutus aga lühiajaliseks. Nõukogude Venemaa ja Eesti, Leedu ning Läti vahel 1920. aastal sõlmitud rahulepingud said aluseks kolme iseseisva riigi tekkimisele. Üks osa Balti kommunistide juhtidest pidas Nõukogude Venemaa poolset rahulepet reetmiseks. Teine osa aga õigustas toimunut Bresti rahulepinguga ja väitis, et hetkel valitsevat rahvusvahelist olukorda ja Kominterni juhitud rahvusvahelist revolutsioonilist liikumist arvestades on Nõukogude valitsuse sõlmitud rahulepingud ajutised. Et nendega juhtub kindlasti seesama, mis juhtus Bresti rahulepinguga.

Eesti, Läti ja Leedu päritolu bolševike sattumisel Kominterni kui rahvusülese organisatsiooni loojate hulka ja seejärel ka selle juhtkonda, oli määrav roll Stalini juhitud Rahvusasjade Rahvakomissariaadil. Samuti ka 1918–1919 eksisteerinud ja Grigori Zinovjevi juhitud Põhja Ringkonna Kommuunil ja selle Rahvusasjade rahvakomissariaadil. Neist esimeses töötasid leedulastest bolševikud Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Zigmas Aleksa-Angarietis, lätlasest ja eestlasest bolševik Kārlis Gailis ja Hans Pöögelmann, teises aga eestlane Jaan Anvelt ja leedulane Kazys Giedrys. Läti bolševik Pēteris Stučka oli Lenini lähikondlane, tema kaasmaalane, üks kõige rahvusülesema haardega baltlane Kominternis ja Üleliidulise Kommistliku Partei (bolševike) (ÜKP(b) ladvikus, Vilhelms (Vilis) Knoriņš, aga Stalini lähikondlane.

Kominterni liikmeks saades deklareerisid Balti kommunistlike parteide juhid, et revolutsioonilise liikumise juhtimine Eestis, Lätis ja Leedus läheb täielikult Eesti, Läti ja Leedu kommunistlikele parteidele. Kuid see ei tähendanud Balti juhtkommunistide loobumist VKP(b)/ÜKP(b) liikmelisusest. Kominterniga liitunud ja Nõukogude Venemaalt/Nõukogude Liidust oma kodumaal tegutsevate kommunistide illegaalset tegevust juhtivad Balti kommunistlike parteide juhid jäid edasi VKP(b)/ÜKP(b) liikmeteks. Nad allusid oma tegevuses nii viimase kui Kominterni juhtimisele ja tegutsesid Nõukogude Venemaa/Nõukogude Liidu rahastamisel. Nõukogude ajaloolaste esitatud väide, väide, et Poliitbüroo andis nõusoleku Balti kommunistlike parteide VKP(b) koosseisust lahkumisele ja luges need seejärel iseseisvateks kommunistlikeks parteideks, ei vasta tõele.

Nii nagu üks osa mitme teise riigi kommunistidest, oli ka üks osa Kominterniga seotud Balti kommunistidest seotud Nõukogude eriteenistustega. Suhet Kominterniga põhjendasid Balti kommunistide juhid järgmiselt: kommunistlik partei kui iseseisev organisatsioon loob vahetu sideme Kominterniga, kommunistlik partei olles saanud Kominternilt tunnustuse astub kui iseseisev liige rahvusülesesse kommunistlike

parteide liitu ja lähtub töölisklassi internatsionalismist, mis võimaldab koos Nõukogude Venemaaga viia laiemasse maailma Oktoobrirevolutsiooni tulemused. Küsimusele missugused on Balti kommunistide suhted RKP(b)-le anti seejuures deklaratiivne vastus: Eesti, Läti ja Leedu proletariaat võib uhkusega viidata traditsioonidele ja koostööle, mis on sidunud teda Venemaa proletariaadiga. Peab aga tunnistama, et Balti kommunistidel oli oluline roll Kominterni sotsiaaldemokraatide vastases poliitikas. Selle muutmine 1935. aastal sai aga võimalikuks alles pärast Knoriņši ja Ossip Piatnitski Kominterni juhtkonnast kõrvaldamist.

Mineviku kogemused, rahvusülesed võrgustikud ja eri maade kommunistide vastastikune läbikäimine olid need, mis mõjutasid Balti juhtkommunistide veendumusi ja arusaamu maailmast. Balti provintside s.t tänapäeva Eesti, Läti ja Leedu kuulumine Vene impeeriumi koosseisu ja ülemaailmse proletaarse revolutsiooni ootus ning proletariaadi diktatuuri kehtestamise lootus määras nende nägemuse oma kodumaa tulevikust. Nad deklareerisid, et nn rahvuslikud huvid tuleb allutada maailmarevolutsiooni ideele, et nad ei tunnista kodanlikku Eestit, Lätit ja Leedut ja tervitavad seda päeva kui nendes riikides likvideeritakse kodanlik kord ning leiab aset proletariaadi diktatuuri kehtestamine ja liitumine Nõukogude Liiduga. See kõik pidi olema saavutatava Kominterni rahvusülestes aktsioonides osalemise kaudu. Sellisteks aktsioonideks olid rahuliikumine, võitlus sotsiaaldemokraatia vastu ja koos nendega ehk siis nn ühis- ja rahvarinnete loomine. Balti bolševike ideedele ja mitmesugustele soovunelmatele tegid aga lõpu 1936. aastal Nõukogude Liidus alanud repressioonid.