

COMMUNICATIONS

THE ZINOVIEV LETTER

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I have read with great interest the remarks about the 'Zinoviev letter' of 1924 in Dr Andrew's article in *The Historical Journal*, xx (1977), no. 3.¹ It is a pity that the study of the letter by another scholar who has also worked in the archives, Gabriel Gorodetsky's *The precarious truce* (Cambridge, 1977), appeared too late to be used by Dr Andrew. But as I knew something of this episode at the time, and have since studied the affairs of Comintern in detail, I should like to add a few comments.

(1) Of course, Dr Andrew is right in saying that there were other 'Zinoviev letters', i.e. letters of instruction and exhortation to foreign communist parties: numbers of them were published in the press of Comintern and of the parties. The principal speeches at congresses and other sessions of Comintern were regularly published in several languages. The myth that Comintern propaganda was secret dies hard. The statement that the resolutions of the fifth congress in June 1924 were not known at the time of the Zinoviev letter is unfounded. They were published in the press immediately after the congress. This is slippery ground for anyone unfamiliar with Comintern procedures.

(2) The only issue is whether the particular 'Zinoviev letter' produced with such devastating effect in October 1924 was genuine. Its contents were no novelty. The obligation for parties to conduct propaganda in the armed forces of their respective countries had been publicly proclaimed in 1920 and was repeated from time to time, though with diminishing frequency. In 1926 the British party did make some feeble attempts to agitate against the despatch of British troops to Shanghai. But in 1924 nothing of the kind was on foot. The only relevance of the reminder at that time was that, following the Campbell case, it was especially likely to excite British animosity against the Bolsheviks. This would have given an anti-Soviet forger a strong incentive to draw attention to it. For a Comintern official to do so would have been quite pointless. On the crude test of *cui bono?* the probability of a forgery is high.

(3) Dr Andrew raises the question of the original language of the letter. I worked in the Foreign Office at the time and knew well the members of the Northern Department which handled the letter. To the best of my knowledge, none of them imagined for a moment that the document under discussion was merely a translation, not an original text. Comintern in the 1920s was always eager to preserve its international image, and to dispel the idea that it was a Russian institution. Down to 1928 German was the predominant language of its congresses; Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin all addressed them in German. Comintern had a large international staff; and it is very unlikely that it would have written to the British party at that time in any language but

¹ Christopher Andrew, 'The British secret service and Anglo-Soviet relations in the 1920s. Part I: from the trade negotiations to the Zinoviev letter.'

Zinoviev Letter

**Lewis Chester, Stephen Fay, Hugo
Young**



Zinoviev Letter:

The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1919-1926 Ephraim Maisel, 2013-11-01 Tells of the administrative changes of the post war period and of the senior permanent officials their personalities and cast of mind who advised the foreign secretary and carried out his policies

Churchill's Man of Mystery Gill Bennett, 2006-10-05 Based on full access to official records this text exposes the mysterious life and career of Desmond Morton intelligence officer and personal adviser to Winston Churchill during the Second World War

The Zinoviev Letter Gill Bennett, 2018-08-12 This is the story of one of the most enduring conspiracy theories in British politics an intrigue that still has resonance almost a century later the Zinoviev Letter of 1924 Almost certainly a forgery no original has ever been traced and even if genuine it was probably Soviet fake news Despite this the Letter still haunts British politics nearly a century after it was written it was the subject of major Whitehall investigations in the 1960s and 1990s and cropped up in the media as recently as during the Referendum campaign and the 2017 general election The Letter encouraging the British proletariat to greater revolutionary fervour was apparently sent by Grigori Zinoviev head of the Bolshevik propaganda organization to the British Communist Party in September 1924 Sent to London through British Secret Intelligence Service channels it arrived during the general election campaign and was leaked to the press The Letter's publication by the Daily Mail on 25 October 1924 just before the General Election humiliated the first ever British Labour government headed by Ramsay MacDonald when its political opponents used it to create a Red Scare in the media Labour blamed the Letter for its defeat insisting there had been a right wing Establishment conspiracy and many in the Labour Party have never forgotten it The Zinoviev Letter has long been a symbol of political dirty tricks and what we would now call fake news But it is also a gripping historical detective story of spies and secrets fraud and forgery international subversion and the nascent global conflict between communism and capitalism

The Zinoviev Controversy Resolved John Symons, 2019 On the basis of compelling evidence this book overturns the generally accepted view about the authenticity of the Zinoviev letter proving it was genuine The minority Labour government under Ramsay MacDonald had called an election for November In the last days of the election campaign the press broke the news of a letter purporting to have been sent from Moscow by Grigory Zinoviev Chairman of the Soviet controlled Communist International to the Communist Party of Great Britain The letter urged members of the Party to increase their efforts to gain power by manipulating the Labour Party which was hostile to Communist aims so as to move the Labour Party to a revolutionary position and by recruiting disenchanted military personnel to form the basis of a British Red Army The Zinoviev letter had reached the Foreign Office via the Secret Service It caused a storm with accusations that it was a fabrication by White Russians or by British elements hostile to Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government and possibly lost Labour the election It has never been established whether it was leaked to the Daily Mail by British officials or by someone from the British Communist Party The author reveals that Zinoviev's letter sent to British Communists by the Comintern was not a fabrication

as has been widely believed for almost a hundred years **History of the Zinoviev Letter** Communist Party of Great Britain,1925 **Dictionary of Labour Biography** Joyce M. Bellamy,David E. Martin,John Saville,1993-01-15 Includes radicals of the Chartist and earlier periods trade unionists and other radicals after 1850 The book is especially concerned with 20th century activists and intellectuals notably those whose formative years or main political life was spent during the period between the two World Wars *A Most Extraordinary and Mysterious Business* Gill Bennett,1999 Russian Information and Review ,1924 **The Birth of the Soviet Secret Police** Boris Volodarsky,2023-05-31 This book is new in every aspect and not only because neither the official history nor an unofficial history of the KGB and its many predecessors and successors exists in any language In this volume the author deals with the origins of the KGB from the Tsarist Okhrana the first Russians secret political police to the OGPU Joint State Political Directorate one of the KGB predecessors between 1923 and 1934 Based on documents from the Russian archives the author clearly demonstrates that the Cheka and GPU OGPU were initially created to defend the revolution and not for espionage The Okhrana operated in both the Russian Empire and abroad against the revolutionaries and most of its operations presented in this book are little known The same is the case with regards to the period after the Cheka was established in December 1917 until ten years later when Trotsky was expelled from the Communist Party and exiled and Stalin rose to power For the long period after the Revolution and up to the Second World War and indeed beyond until the death of Stalin the Cheka s main weapon was terror to create a general climate of fear in a population In the book the work of the Cheka and its successors against the enemies of the revolution is paralleled with British and American operations against the Soviets inside and outside of Russia For the first time the creation of the Communist International Comintern is shown as an alternative Soviet espionage organization for wide scale foreign propaganda and subversion operations based on the new revelations from the Soviet archives Here the early Soviet intelligence operations in several countries are presented and analyzed for the first time as are raids on the Soviet missions abroad The Bolshevik smuggling of the Russian imperial treasures is shown based on the latest available archival sources with misinterpretations and sometimes false interpretations in existing literature revised After the Bolshevik revolution Mansfield Smith Cumming the first chief of SIS undertook to set up an entirely new Secret Service organization in Russia During those first ten years events would develop as a non stop struggle between British intelligence within Russia and abroad and the Cheka later GPU OGPU Before several show spy trials in 1927 British intelligence networks successfully operated in Russia later moving to the Baltic capitals Finland and Sweden while young Soviet intelligence officers moved to London Paris Berlin and Constantinople Many of those operations from both sides are presented in the book for the first time in this ground breaking study of the dark world of the KGB The Zinoviev Letter Lewis Chester,Stephen Fay,Hugo Young,1968 *The Nation and Athenæum* ,1924 Monthly Journal Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers,1929 **Woodworkers, Painters & Buildingworkers Journal** ,1926 *Report on Labour Organization in Canada* ,1928

The Nineteenth Century and After ,1928 **The Labour Magazine** ,1924 **Soviet Union Review** ,1924 *Time*
Briton Hadden, Henry R. Luce, 1930 **American Federationist** ,1925 The American Federationist ,1925 Includes
separately paged Junior union section

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Zinoviev Letter Introduction

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