

Address to the French Socialist Party by the Communist International.

The Presidium of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International to all members of the French Socialist Party and to all class-conscious proletarians of France.

The latest party convention of the Fr. Soc. Party has decided by a great majority to leave the 2nd International which is now recognized by all class-conscious workers of the world as a traitorous organization. But the same party convention by a two thirds vote has declined prompt entrance to the 3rd International, with the equivocal resolve to enter into certain relations with the 3rd International and to call into life an organization which stands between the 2nd and the 3rd Internationals.

Two delegates of the party-convention majority, Cachin and Frossard have come to Russia to enter into dealings with us agent, the decisions of the party-conference. The Executive Committee of the Comm. International has in its extended conference (with the help of the delegates from Italy, England, America, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria and those of other countries) devoted a special session to the clarification of the question which was called forth by the presence of Cachin and Frossard. Besides, the Executive Comm. held a number of more private conferences with both of the above named delegates of the Fr. Soc. Party. We have received from them three written reports which have been published in the official press of the Comm. International in all languages. We have allowed Cachin and Frossard a deliberative voice in the 2nd World Congress of the Comm. International. In the congress-commission we have listened to the speeches of Cachin and Frossard. The Exec. Comm. of the Communist International considers it to be its self-evident duty to grant the greatest attention to each delegation of a Party or Group which has in view leaving the 2nd International and coming into the Communist International.

We are thankful to the Fr. Soc. Party, in that through the sending of their delegation they have afforded us the opportunity for a candid understanding with them, as befits revolutionists. From the following lines you will learn how we appreciate the state of affairs in France. Our reply—of that we are assured—will at once be published in France, and will be made the basis of discussion for all class-conscious French workmen.

The appreciation of the condition of the workers' party of France two points of view arise. 1. The international role which the French bourgeoisie are playing at present, 2. The condition within the French Socialist Party.

The French bourgeoisie for a whole series of reasons play at this time the most reactionary role in the world. Bourgeois France has become a prop to world reaction. French imperialist capital has, before the eyes of the whole world, taken on the role of international gendarme. The French bourgeoisie has contributed more than the others to the throttling of the proletarian Soviet Republic in Hungary. To the French bourgeoisie belonged and belongs the leading role in the organization of the brigand campaign against Soviet Russia. In the Balkan countries, the French bourgeoisie plays the role of the bloodiest executioner. And finally, it is the French bourgeoisie which has taken upon itself the chief work in throttling the developing proletarian revolution in Germany. It has taken the leading part in the elaboration of the robber-Versailles peace-terms. It sent black troops to occupy German factories. It has entered into a league with the German bourgeoisie to subdue the German working class. There is no crime so monstrous that the rule of the French bourgeoisie had not carried out. World-revolution has no worse enemy than the government of the French imperialist.

This places upon the French workers and their party an especially mighty, international duty. History purposes that you, French workmen, a heavier, more responsible, but more compensating task will be apportioned to withstand the onslaught of the most rabidly reactionary section of the international bourgeoisie.

But the Executive Committee of the Communist International is regretfully forced to stand firm—and here we come to the second of the above-mentioned main topics—that the conditions existing in the French Socialist Party be altered to the end that you be given the opportunity to fulfill the historic mission which the march of events has entrusted to you. The advanced proletarians of France will unconditionally agree with us when we say that in the course of the four years of the imperialist war, nowhere, with the exception of Germany, has such an abject betrayal of Socialism been practiced. The conduct of the leaders of your former majority, Renaudel, Thomas and Sembat and others after August 4, 1914 was absolutely no better than the base betrayal by Scheidemann and Noske in Germany. The leaders of your party have not only voted for war credits; they have, besides, placed the whole party press, the whole party machinery, at the service of the robber, imperialist, bourgeoisie. These leaders of the French So-

cialist Party have poisoned the minds of the soldiers and workmen. They have helped the imperialist bourgeoisie to flood the whole country with the turbid waters of chauvinism, as never before. They have helped the bourgeoisie to introduce a slave rule in the industries and factories; even to setting aside moderate laws designed for the protection of the workers. They have involved themselves in the full responsibility for the imperialist slaughter. They participated in the government of the French bourgeoisie. They have carried out the dirtiest orders of the Entente. When, in 1917, the February revolution broke out in Russia, Albert Thomas, in the name of the party, and in the service of French imperialism, journeyed to Russia to convince the Russian workers and soldiers, of the necessity of the imperialist war. In this manner have the French social-patriots aided the French capitalists to organize the expedition of the Russian White Guards who have declared war against the working class and peasantry of Russia.

As to what concerns the former minority in your party, they have never led a principled, powerful, clearly expressed campaign against the majority, although this campaign was clearly their sacred duty. Now, when they have become a majority, even to this day they carry on an ambiguous policy; they do not display the necessary energy.

Albert Thomas, Renaudel, Johaux, and others, even to this day, play the reactionary role of lackeys to the bourgeoisie. Not alone the frankly social patriots in your party, but also many well-known "Centrist" representatives, (Longuet and Co.) still champion the view that the robber, imperialist war of 1914-1918 was for France a war for national defence (Defense Nationale). Your party, your centrist majority, has not up to now clearly told the workers of France that the last world war was a robber imperialist war, on the part of the French bourgeoisie as well as on the side of the Germans. The speeches of Longuet, Grossman, and other leaders of the "Defense Nationale" delivered at the Strassburg party convention, came very close to social patriotism.

We must tell you frankly, comrades, that the situation in the French Socialist Party, is even worse than the internal situation of the German Independent Socialist Party. You have, even in comparison with the rate of German development, remained behind. You have not yet so much as separated yourselves from your public traitors, the social-patriots. You have not yet done that which the German independents did as far back as 1916. In your party there are yet such traitors as Albert Thomas, who holds a responsible position in the robber peoples league (Volkerbund). In your party there are yet such persons as Pierre Renaudel, a most zealous servant of the French bourgeoisie. You are tolerant to such traitors to the workers' cause as Johaux and his comrades of like mind, who now want to resurrect the yellow trade union International. In your ranks you permit people, who at the request of the capitalist of the Entente, staged the comedy of the organization of an International Labor Bureau. Your party even now, permits the deputies to remain in the party who had the shamelessness to exercise the vote in the French Chamber of Deputies when the question of the disgraceful, bloody, robber Versailles Peace Treaty came up for discussion. Comrades, you must grant that such a condition within the party cannot be tolerated, if you are to fulfill the mission which history has set for you.

It is no wonder that with such a state of affairs, the official majority of the French Socialist Party which still believes and calls itself internationalist and revolutionary, in reality, pursues a wavering, ambiguous, vacillating, centrist policy.

Let us consider successively the most important departments of your daily work: 1) Your parliamentary activities; 2) Your press; 3) Your propaganda; 4) Your relations to the trade unions; 5) Your stand upon the most recent acts of violence of the French Government; 6) your conduct toward the left (Communist) wing in your own party and 7) your relation to the Third (Communist) International.

1) Parliamentary activities. Your socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies is just as little revolutionary, proletarian, or socialist as before. Each socialist deputy conducts himself as it pleases him. Your parliamentary group as a whole is not subordinated to the Party. It carries out only those decisions of the party majority which it likes. It is not the mouth-piece of the French proletarian masses who are filled with indignation over the baseness of the bourgeoisie. It does not feel itself bound to any responsibilities whatsoever to the working masses. It develops no sort of revolutionary propaganda among the millions of masses who took part in the war. It does not unmask the infamy of the French Government. It has not taken upon itself to reveal clearly to the working masses of France the criminal character of the imperialist war even up to its close. It does not summon the workers to arm themselves. In a word it

not only does not prepare for a proletarian revolution but sabotages it with all its power. By reason of their conduct, many of your deputies have instilled in the working masses of France an antipathy to any parliamentary activities and inconsequence furnish material for the propaganda of the anarchists. Because of their opportunism, your parliamentary group nourishes and strengthens the mistakes and prejudices of syndicalism. As a result of the conduct of your deputies there has been strengthen in the proletarian masses, only a contempt for parliamentary intrigues, and for the people who call themselves socialist, but in reality fraternize with the most rabid enemies of the working-class.

2) Your daily press. Firstly, the papers, L'Humanite and Le Populaire are not revolutionary, proletarian papers. We miss in these organs the daily, systematic, propaganda and agitation for the idea of the proletarian revolution. At the best there are in these organs only dry, spiritless words about the dictatorship of the proletariat. But these words have not become the flesh and blood of your daily agitation. Your papers are as similar to those of the French bourgeoisie as one drop of water is to another. Even as the others you devote the chief place to parliamentary trifles and to the petty occurrences in bourgeois circles. Your newspapers have not the will, nor do they understand how to express the revolutionary wrath of the proletarian masses. Your newspapers do not speak of the distress of the working masses into which they were plunged by the war. Your organs confine themselves to dry, formal, platonic, and pedantic protests. You have delivered your organs into the hands of the social-patriot, Comper-Morel, for propaganda among the peasants.

It is necessary that you renounce the absolutely inadmissible methods of proportional representation through which fissure your party press was opened to poisoned scribbles of Renaudel and Co.

3) The same may be said of your agitation in the country and in the army. This agitation is either actually non-existent, or else it bears a decidedly reformist character. Where and when has your party explained to the French soldiers their revolutionary, proletarian duty? As far as we know, never. If the balance of power, at present is such that the socialist in France cannot carry on their work and agitation legally, THEN IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY HONEST PROLETARIAN TO SUPPLEMENT THE LEGAL BY ILLEGAL WORK and so fulfil his duty to the working class of his own country and to the proletariat of the world.

4) Your relation to the trade unions (Syndicalist) is full of ambiguity. Not only do you not carry on a systematic, struggle against the social-patriotic leaders of the Confederation General du Travail, but conceal it. When Johaux and Co. helped the bourgeoisie to rebuild the yellow International of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, when this same Johaux and Co. together with Albert Thomas attended the International Conference called by the imperialists, when the members of the General Labor Conference by traitorous methods sabotages the strike of June 21, 1919, you did not declare war against them; you did not put them in the pillory of infamy; you did not unmask them as the most abject traitors to the working class! No, you continued your co-operation with them. You did not make it your business to tear the French unions away from the disintegrating and corrupting influence of these agents of capitalism.

During the last great May Day strike when the government put you into prison, one of your comrades, Paul Boncourt, made the remonstrance in parliament that the government had forgotten the patriotism Johaux displayed on Aug. 2d, 1914 and his great service during the war and after.

The French bourgeoisie has lately practiced unheard of brutalities, particularly against the left wing of the French working class movement Lorient, Monale, Souvarine and a number of other comrades have been thrown into prison. What have you done to repeal the onslaught of the French capitalists? Why did you not sound the alarm? Why did you not organize a campaign throughout the whole country? Why did you confine yourselves to an almost philanthropic agitation?

5) Your attitude toward the left Communist wing within your own party leaves much to be desired. You do not seek an approach to the French Communists. On the contrary you have organized a struggle against them. You place the question of admission to the Third Communist International on the first order of business, but do nothing or almost nothing looking towards a sincere comradely approach to the Communists of your own country.

6) And finally with regard to your relations with the Communist International. You have left the ranks of the traitorous, yellow, Second International when the German Independents went out of it and when the French workers forced the present leaders to break with the Yellow International. You sent your delegates to the notorious Berne Conference. Many of you have there, to be sure, defended the Russian Revolution, but you also made attempts there to save the death agony of the Second International. You have attempted to make a new alignment the so-called "reconstruction" or new Third International. You

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