

Address to the French Socialist Party by the Communist International.

(Continued from page 3)

could not publicly declare your departure from the Second International but at the same time demonstrate your solidarity with the Belgian "Socialists" i. e. with the social-patriots and traitors, Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International. You have applied for admission to the Communist International, but at the same time your official representative, Mistral together with the Bureau of the Second International, during the Kapp "putsch" signed a declaration which summoned the German proletariat to defend the German Republic of Noske and Scheidemann. Either you suppress the orders of the Third International or you carry on a half-concealed propaganda against it. Your representative, Frossard, announced in his report which he submitted to us in Moscow, your refusal to enter the Communist International because the great West European parties have not yet formally come into our party. But if you mean by the great West European parties, such parties as are still tainted with social-patriotic leadership, we will state that we do not desire the affiliation of these parties, and will never accept them into the ranks of the Communist International. All really revolutionary parties of Europe and America find themselves prepared for us. The Communist International has become so powerful that it has become the fashion for many Socialists. Many rank Centrists are beginning to call themselves Communists and are of the opinion that they can adhere to the Third International while still pursuing their half-reformist policies. This the Communist International will not and cannot permit. It will not allow our organization to be diluted. We must remain an International of struggle, the union of active communist workers.

We shall now inquire directly into the question which your representative, Frossard, put to us in his first written report. The question was, "How shall we conduct ourselves toward the French Trade Unions (Syndicalist)?" This is an especially important question and it is necessary to dwell upon it at length.

From our theses and other official documents you know that we have come out in the most determined manner against some "left" Communists who prefer to leave the ranks of the revolutionary trade unions and to organize brand-new, shapeless, "general labor unions". Our statements refer not only to the frankly yellow, social-democratic, trade unions of Legien and Co. We are absolutely opposed to communists and revolutionists deserting the trade unions even though these unions have the misfortune of being the followers of Jobaux and Co. Communists must above all other considerations be where the working masses are. The Russian Communists were also for a long time in the minority, but they have learned how the struggle for their principles within the structure of the most backward and reactionary workers organizations.

We demand of our comrades in France, that under no circumstances should they leave the syndicates, and on the contrary, in performance of their full duty towards the Communist International, should intensify their work within the syndicates. The last places of refuge of the social-patriots, to-day, are in the trade unions. The yellow Second International, as a political organization, fell apart like a house of cards; the new Amsterdam yellow trade union International builds yet another house for the activities of these social-patriots and traitors. The Amsterdam yellow International is worse than and more dangerous to the world revolution than the Peoples League (Volkerbund). Through Legien, Gompers and Jobaux, the bourgeoisie seek to make of the Amsterdam trade union International just such a tool for their robber purposes as the social-democratic parties of the whole world were during the imperialistic war.

This places upon us, the communists, the duty of increasing ten-fold our attention to the trade union movement. At any cost we must tear these trade-unions away from the hands of the traitorous, social-patriotic, imperialist leaders. To this end we must work within the trade unions and there devote our utmost energies.

Our adherents, the communists, must remain in the unions but they must not work there separately and scattered. WE ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO ORGANIZE IN EVERY TRADE UNION, AND IN EACH UNION DIVISION, A COMMUNIST GROUP, A COMMUNIST NUCLEI. We are in duty bound within the union, and on the basis of the daily struggle, to unmask the big and little Jobaux, and expose their machinations. We must drive the social-patriotic and traitorous leaders out of the unions. We must through a systematic and persistent struggle, tear away one union after another from the influence of the social traitors, and yellow syndicalists such as Jobaux and others. The Russian Communists through many years of experience have learned how to accomplish this task, even though until the October Revolution the Russian Communists were in the minority. When after the conquest of political power, new mediums of propaganda were opened for the class consci-

ous workers, the Bolsheviks succeeded in a very short time after the Revolution in winning over the vast majority in the trade union movement. The Communists of the whole world must travel the same road.

When Frossard, in his written report to Moscow, declares, "The Confederation General du Travail will not make a revolution without us (the party), and will not make a revolution without them (the syndicalists), he makes a statement, which is to say the least not clear enough. One cannot make a revolution with people who do not want to make one. You will not make the proletarian revolution with Jobaux and Co. for all of their thoughts, all of their energies, are devoted to sabotaging the proletarian revolution. You will make the proletarian revolution only in spite of and in opposition to Jobaux, and the Albert Thomas, Renaudis, and Co. When you have cleansed your party of opportunism, when your parliamentary representative will pursue communist propaganda, when you will have driven out the yellows from the ranks of your own party, in a word, when you shall have become communists, then will the workmen and the members of the trade unions fight shoulder to shoulder with you and against Jobaux. The sooner you get through with opportunism, the sooner will you overcome the prejudices of the syndicalists.

The red trade unions have begun to organize themselves on an international basis. On the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the left unions of Italy, Russia, and England have created a triple alliance which will call an International Congress of Red Trade Unions in August or September as a counter pole to the yellow Trade Union International of Amsterdam. Support this action in France. See to it that your unions join the Red Trade Union International. This is the task of the real communists in France.

In the report of Frossard, the question is put to us half-reproachfully, as to whether we will insist on the ouster from your party of certain persons. This question is of serious significance. However, our relations with you will not be determined by it. We tell you frankly, in comparison with the German Independents you have remained behind. While the German Independents finally have disposed of the question of Kautsky's ejection, Albert Thomas and Renaudis, i. e. the French Noskes and Scheidemann still have equal membership rights within your party. Yes, we declare, that we are fully decided, in spite of the campaign which Longuet leads in favor of the Russian Revolution despite his lip-worship of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the ideology position and the general activity of Longuet in press and parliament resembles the propaganda which Kautsky conducts in Germany as one drop of water resembles another. We cannot avoid separating ourselves from a large number of right leaders, who are reformists even to their bones.

However the main question that we put to you is not the ejection of certain persons, but that of a break with a definite reformist tradition. The Communist International does not demand of you that you immediately make a Soviet Revolution, who represents that as the demands of the Communist International twists the true state of affairs. We demand only: that in your daily work, in the press, in the unions, in the Parliament, in meetings, you systematically and uncompromisingly carry on an honest, unequivocal propaganda for the ideas of the Dictatorship and Communism, that you pave the way for proletarian dictatorship, that you fight against bourgeois reformist ideas.

This, comrades, is what we chiefly have to say to you. Your delegates, Cachia and Frossard, before their departure, have officially declared that they are agreed with the terms drawn up by the Second Congress of the Third Communist International. They have declared that after their return they will propose that the French Socialist Party break with the old reformist tactics and take the direction of Communists.

It is superfluous to add that we shall greatly rejoice when the French working class movement finally will open for itself a new path. We shall follow the further developments within the French Socialist Party. The Congress will give their Executive Committee full power to admit your party into the ranks of the Communist International if the terms laid down by the Congress are accepted by you and transformed into life.

In conclusion we formulate just another point which appears to us very important and upon which we await from you an explicit and clear reply.

We are in perfect accord with the reply given to the German Independents and which was also published in the Parisian Communist press. This reply is also directed to you, the present majority in the French Socialist Party.

Bearing in mind the conditions in France, we draw up and present the following ten points: viz:

1) The French Socialist Party must radically alter the character of their daily pro-

paganda and agitation in their press (in the direction indicated above).

2) As to the colonial question, it is necessary that an especially distinct and clear stand by all parties be taken towards those countries in which the bourgeoisie extend their dominion over colonial peoples. The French Socialist Party must mercilessly unmask the machinations of the French imperialists in the colonies, support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not in words but in deeds; popularize the slogan—"Imperialists get out of the colonies"; insist in the French workers true fraternal feelings for the working class of the colonies; conduct a systematic agitation among the French troops against the oppression of the colonies.

3) The French Socialist Party must unmask the hypocrisy and insincerity of SOCIAL-PACIFISM, systematically pointing out to the workers that without the revolutionary destruction of capitalism, neither international courts of arbitration, nor speeches about disarmament can protect mankind from new imperialist wars.

4) The French Socialist Party must, by organizing Communist elements within the Confederation General du Travail, begin to carry on a struggle against the social-patriots and traitorous leaders of the Federation.

5) The French Socialist Party must accomplish, not in words, but in practice, the strictest subordination of the Parliamentary Group to the will of the party, in order to certainly execute the party decisions, and alter their whole daily parliamentary activities in the direction indicated herein.

6) The present majority of the French Socialist Party must radically alter their conduct toward the left (communist) wing of the French working class movement. The present majority must seek a sincere approach to the Communist elements of France.

7) The French Party must radically break with reformism and undertake a systematic purging of their ranks of elements who will not tread the revolutionary path.

8) The French Socialist Party must also change its name and step forth before the whole world as the Communist Party of France.

9) The French comrades must recognize the necessity of illegal work along side of legal work in an epoch in which the bourgeoisie makes exception laws for the workingmen and their leaders.

10) The French Party, as must all parties who wish to enter the Third International, must unconditionally recognize as binding all decrees of the Communist International. The International recognizes the varieties of situations and conditions in which the workingmen of different countries must struggle. The Congress of the Third International will always bear these conditions in mind and will make generally binding decrees only as to such questions where such decrees are possible.

We ask you to bring this reply to the notice of the French Proletariat.

Comrades we have expressed our opinion to you upon a whole series of important questions. We know that only a small number of your leaders now reported by us will assent. We are, however, convinced that the hearts of the enormous majority of class conscious workers and honest revolutionary syndicalists beat for us. No matter what form our mutual relations will take in the future, we are absolutely certain that the French proletariat will create a mighty communist party and will take their place among the first in the revolutionary union of the fighting proletariat. It is impossible that the revolutionary working class of France with its admirable revolutionary traditions, with its brilliant culture, with its glorious fighting spirit, will not create a powerful communist party in an epoch when bourgeois society is at its last gasp.

Comrades, next year the International Proletariat will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune, that great working class uprising, of which the proletarian revolution in Russia is the continuation. With all our heart we wish the French Proletariat that this Fiftieth Anniversary of the great Paris Commune will find you a powerful, proletarian communist party, continuing the traditions of the Paris Communards and prepared to storm the citadel of capitalism.

Long live the Working Class of France!

Long live the one powerful French Communist Party!

With Communist greetings;

The Praesidium of the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International.

G. Zinoviev.

N. Lenin.

P. Levi.

A. Rosner.