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POLITICS

The Birth of a Communist Party

By *G. Zinoviev*.

To the French Communists:

Maxim Gorki has a wonderful story entitled, "The Birth of Man." In it, with remarkable realism and joyous virility, he pictures the birth of a child. The event takes place on the shores of the sea. The mother is a good and robust woman of the laboring class. The child is immediately bathed in the briny water of the sea; it is affectionately caressed, and its first cries are heard. Altogether, it is a perfectly easy and normal delivery, but yet, naturally, not without a certain amount of pain.

The delivery of the French Communist Party, although produced under extremely favorable conditions, is incomparably more painful. I cannot help but think of this when I reflect on what is now happening in our French Party.

For, that which is now happening in France, is precisely the birth of the Communist Party. The delivery is rather difficult. But there is ample reason to believe that it will end happily.

Those who are aiding, for the first time, in the birth of a Communist Party, and who do not fully realize the situation, are somewhat fearful of a catastrophe. Naturally, we are not now speaking of our enemies, who have a definite interest in picturing the present condition of the French Party as the height of chaos and confusion. But there are even some of our most sincere friends who, seeing merely the surface of things, are sometimes seized with despair. In this respect, we cannot refrain from the friendly reproval of one of the best militants in the French Party, our friend Vaillant-Couturier. In an article of July 12, entitled, "The Only Remedy: Organization", in which he calls for organizers to prevent the crumbling of the edifice of the French Party, we believe him to be expressing an exaggerated pessimism.

Yes, Comrade Vaillant-Couturier! The birth of the Communist Party is infinitely more difficult than that of the child described by Gorki. That is what we must realize, once for all.

Tendencies, groups, fractions, sub-fractions, insensate combats, personal conflicts, bitter controversies, furious discussions—all this we find in the French Party. But that does not mean that the Party is about to perish or decay. It has been the same with other Communist Parties, before their definite consolidation. There is therefore no reason for despair in this case. In spite of all, the child will be born; he will grow up and become the terror of his enemies!

But, it will be said, the French Communist Party was born at Tours.

That is not quite true. The Tours congress was the rupture with the avowed social traitors. The majority at Tours wanted to be, but had not yet become Communists. Towards the end of 1920, when I was at Halle, Comrade Daniel Renoult, representing the majority group of the French Central Committee, came to see me in order to enter into negotiations. He accepted the greater part of the 21 points—which have now attained world-wide fame—but he firmly insisted that the Party should retain, for a while, its old name; that is to say, that it should not yet call itself a Communist Party. Renoult, was then right in a certain sense. In fact, if it be desirable that a name should correspond exactly with reality, the French Party should have been called, not a Communist Party, but a *Party desirous of becoming Communist*.

Between a wish and its realization, the road is often long. For example, when, at St. Etienne, the members of the French Party warmly congratulated themselves on having succeeded, for the first time, in organizing a preliminary conference of Communists working within the unions, what did it really mean? Always the same thing: that the Party wanted to be Communist, but that it had not been so up to that time. That which in any other party, however poorly organized, is considered as the matter of fact process of growth, is for our French Party quite an event, giving occasion for mutual congratulation.

Yet, we repeat, there is no reason whatever for yielding to despair. The first step is the hardest. Comrades, as long as you have a firm and sincere desire to become a Communist Party, you will become such.

Let us remember how the Communist Parties were started and formed in the other great countries.

Germany.

At first, the old *Social Democracy* divided into two parties. On the one side were the Right Social Democrats (Scheidemannists) and on the other, within the limits of one party, the Independents and the Communists. Then, after some time, a new division took place. The Communists separated from the Independents. Thus, three parties were formed. Later, at the Halle Congress, the Independents became sub-divided into two equal sections, one of which took its place with the Communists. And finally, the group adhering to Levy, Däumig, Geyer and consorts left the Communists and returned to the Independents. And it was not until all this had happened that the German Communist Party was definitely formed.

Italy.

Here, things happened a little differently. The first important split took place along another line of difference. Two parties were formed. But one of them was composed more of the Right than of the Centre. This was the *Italian Socialist Party*. On the other side, were the Communists. Now a second split is being prepared; the Centre seems to be disposed to break with the Right and to form a party of its own, similar to the German Independents. So that, instead of a two-party division, we shall also have in Italy a three-party division: the Right, the Centre and the Communists. A part of the Centre will then pass over to the Communists, and we shall then be able to consider the Italian Communist Party as definitely formed.

There were certain defections of groups which took place before all this, both in Germany and Italy. The Spartacus group was formed before the official split in the old German Social Democracy. In Italy, Mussolini's group—now the Fascisti—broke away from the organization before the first big division in the Italian Party. But these were merely episodes. The principal divisions were along the following lines: 1. The Centre and the Communists against the Right; 2. the Right and the Centre against the Communists.

The working class movement in France appears to have followed an intermediate path, between those of the Germans and the Italians. The followers of Longuet have joined with the Right against the Communists. So far, the evolution of the French Party appears to resemble that of the Italian Party. It would appear that the Communists stand alone against an alliance of the Right and Centre. But one soon notes that this delineation is not definite. In the heart of the French Communist Party, certain elements—not numerous, it is true, but influential in "high places"—have remained, which are not far removed from the Longuet faction. One would be blind indeed, if one could not perceive that Raoul Verfeuil or Lafont, for example, are fundamentally very close to the political position of Longuet. We should not be at all astonished, if we were to hear, in the very near future, that the Centrist elements among the Socialist dissenters, and in the Communist Party itself, have abandoned their respective parties in order to come together and form a third party, Centrist in character, and analogous to that of the German Independents. We shall not deplore this fact. The Centrist elements which will leave the French Communist Party will not be numerous; and they will be, for the most part, intellectuals. The workers will not follow them. The French Communist Party can but gain by being rid of these elements. If, from any given quantity, a negative quantity be deducted, the sum resulting from this operation will represent a quantity superior to the original.

That there are Centrists in the French Party, no one will deny. One must not confuse the Centrists in France with that which we, in this country, call the Centre of the Party. The French Centrists are the *Right* of the actual Party. But, by the Centre of the Party, we refer to the existing majority which sincerely desires to become Communist and which, we are convinced, will eventually form, with the Left, a compact Communist Party.

And it is precisely because the French Party is still in the state of "becoming", that it is essential that the Communist kernel show firmness, energy, clearness and cohesion. The least concession to the Right might considerably retard the formation of the French Communist Party, and would deal the French movement a terrible blow. And if the leaders of the Centre took it into their minds to form a "bloc" with the Right against the Left of the Party—as they did quite recently—it is certain that they would paralyze the French Party for some time, just as Serrati has paralyzed the Italian Socialist Party. That is what Comrade Frossard appears to have realized when, in his report on the Moscow conference, he was decided never to play the part of a French Serrati. Nevertheless, that does not mean that other Serratis will not arise in the French Party. From all we know of the activities of Comrade Daniel Renoult during recent months, we cannot help fearing that if he persists in his errors, he will become a French Serrati. Let Comrade Renoult not forget that, at the outset of his conflict with the Communist International, Serrati also endeavoured to criticise the International from the "Left" point of view. The logical development of his struggle has compelled Mr. Serrati to gather against the Communist International, the malcontents of every shade, the "Rights" as well as the "Lefts". Is Serrati's fate so enviable that he can still find imitators? Serrati, who has literally shattered his party, is the fit example to make all comrades who are sincerely devoted to Communism, recoil with horror.

The French Party has not yet rid itself of all its Centrist elements. That is the crux of the real situation in France. Another fact to be remembered is that anarcho-syndicalist tradi-

tions are still extremely virile in France. Thus we have a species of arc, of which the Centrists from one segment, and the anarcho-syndicalists the other. It is by combatting these two deviations that we can assuage the birth pangs of the French Communist Party.

The Centrists would not be Centrists if they did not have a foot in each camp. But we, as Communists, should prefer that they frankly join our adversaries.

Centrism as an international tendency in the working class movement, is crumbling before our eyes. Never has this been so obvious as at present. While the German Independent Party is striving by every means to enter the bourgeois coalition government, and is even prepared, for this purpose, to ally its organization with that of the Right Social Democrats, that is, with the Scheidemannists, a rupture is about to take place in Italy between the Reformists and the Centrists, as the latter still fear open participation in a bourgeois government. In short, the international working class movement is divided into three currents: the Right, the Centre and Communism. It would be more exact to say: two currents and—one Centrist bog. Our task as Communists, is to keep a hundred leagues away from this Centrist marsh, and to drain it off, if we find the faintest traces of it in our own Party. The Communist International tells you this frankly. Comrades of the French Party. In your party, there are diseased areas. Do not fear to look the truth in the face, and you will then soon be able to restore your Party to health.

The union of the actual majority (that is to say, of the Centre of the Party, and not of the Centrists) with the Left, will soon save the French Party and set it firmly on the path towards the conquest of the majority of the proletariat. But the vacillation of the Centrists would cause irreparable harm to the Party in a very short time.

The choice is not hard. A few months of collaboration between the Centre and the Left; a few decisive efforts to render impossible our betrayal by the Right; an explanation of the meaning of these happenings to the broad working masses; a little energy and perseverance; and the French Party will definitely become a Communist Party, surmounting, as the German Party has recently done, the final obstacles, and will occupy one of the most honorable places in that great international working class family called the Communist International.

With all our heart, we trust that our French comrades will, as soon as possible, set out along the path which we have indicated.

The Crisis in the French Party as Seen by an Optimist.

By Boris Souvarine.

Moscow, July 12th, 1922

In the International Correspondence of June 17th, we read an article by Rappoport which characterizes my commentary on the situation in the French Party at the session of the Enlarged Executive as pessimistic. This seems to me unjust. At any rate it does not correspond to the spirit which inspired the commentary.

Other comrades have formulated the same accusation of pessimism, applying it either to the opinion of the Executive as a whole, or to that of Trotzky, the chief spokesman of the International in the debate on the French working-class movement. Trotzky answered in substance as follows:

"It is you who are the pessimists in your estimate of the French Party. You treat it as a dying person at whose bed the voice must be lowered, in whose proximity we must walk on tip toe, to whom medicaments must be administered with infinite precaution. We have a better opinion of the French movement; we believe it healthy and vigorous, and well able to listen to the revolutionary language we address to it."

Zinoviev observed several times that some comrades are rather inclined to consider their own deficiencies as those of the Party. When they suffer criticism, they protest against the persecution of the Party, as if they were identical with it, or as if the criticism were expressed for pleasure, or to lower the Party.

The reflections of Trotzky and Zinoviev, both of whom know and judge most justly the state of affairs in the French movement, show a clear-sightedness which the development of the situation justifies daily. It is evident to all Communists who are following the problem with attention that it is time to put an end to that childish conception of the present disagreement between the Executive and the French Party as the old story of the wolf and the lamb. How could this idea of the Executive-wolf and the French Party-lamb ever enter a Communist head? Can the interests of a section of the International ever be different from

those of the International as a whole? Who could possibly divide the international Communists into friends and enemies of the French Party?

Never have we heard such enormous absurdities clearly expressed, doubtless because those who conceive them are somewhat ashamed of them. The truth is that the central organ of the International, and the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties show a preoccupation for the interests of the French Party at least equal to that of the Central Committee in Paris, and certainly a much greater comprehension of them. Facts and experience prove this to be no mere affirmation. All the acts of the Party which were useful and fruitful were carry out under pressure from the International. All that which could hurt the Party, which could weaken or paralyze it, had long been discerned by the International which pointed out and denounced it to the French Comrades, and proposed the remedies long before imposing them.

The condemnations which I uttered before the Enlarged Executive are not a tenth part of those which my Party deserves, and Trotsky justly began his speech by saying that mine had been "too moderate". The whole International judges severely, and justly, the direction of the French Party, and all the Comrades who took part in the debate did it in the same sense. Does that mean that we are the pessimists, and that those who try to justify the inexcusable errors of the Party, thus maintaining or repeating them, are optimists? Clara Zetkin recalled in her speech the old proverb, "Who loves well, punishes well", and told with emotion how dear the French Communist movement was to the world proletariat. It is because so much is expected from the French section of the International, that we have been forced, after a year of temporization, of persuasive efforts, to address it in the somewhat rude fashion of revolutionists who can but poorly embellish the truth.

Is the Party capable of listening to it, and then to understand and answer it? I believe it, the members of the Executive believe it, and therein do we show a more optimistic view than does Rappoport. But our optimism has nothing in common with that of the ostrich.

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To appreciate sanely the state of the French Party, it is necessary to distinguish between the Party and its leadership. The Central Committee was elected at the Marseilles Congress under circumstances which the two political secretaries of the Party condemned in unforgettable terms. It could do nothing but harm to the Communist movement, and that is what our Comrades who resigned after the elections understood so well. Later experience not only confirmed, but surpassed their anticipations.

Not until the next Congress will it be possible to evaluate fully the detrimental effect of this reactionary Central Committee upon the Party, a leadership which has thrown the Party back to where it was before Tours. The difference, however, is that the real forces of the anti-Communist fraction are minimal; this fraction possesses no parliamentary staff like that of the dissidents, capable to detract from the Party a large membership and a number of organizations. Nevertheless, it can already be seen that the evil lies deep.

Here, in France, after two years of adhesion to the Third International, we still have to consider the creation of an organization and a press truly Communist, of a true *workers' party*; the work in the unions remains still to be grounded; the first slogans of the economic struggle have still to be uttered. This is the truth, and not a single member of the Party can honestly deny it.

And when a movement manifests itself in the Party, conscious of that truth and trying to recall the Party to its task; when comrades devote body and soul to Communism, and offer the necessary criticism without sparing themselves, they are accused of attacking the Party, *their Party!* In reality, they are defending it against the *saboteurs* which the Party has been weak enough to tolerate until now in its ranks; they are defending it against its worse enemies, those from the inside, and against its own errors and false steps.

We are also accused of underrating the work of the Party since the Tours Congress. This is not true either. We know as well as any one, what has been done; that is why we know what *could* have been done, what *should* have been done, what was *not* done. In reality the Party has only accomplished that which was strictly necessary for its existence. The constant pressure of the Executive could hardly force more. Let us suppose that our desire to see the Party become rapidly a section of the International should have induced us to underestimate the work accomplished (which is not the case). Are we, however, wrong in desiring that it do more, in trying to give it a more vigorous impulse? Is it the work of Communists to congratulate each other without rime or reason? Shall we be satisfied with a party three times stronger

than that of the dissidents and a press of ten times the importance of theirs, and rest on our laurels? True, it is also only a beginning. To be convinced of the possibility of giving the Party more cohesion, fore homogeneity, more discipline, to desire to give it the direction it deserves, is that a proof of pessimism? The accusation cannot be sustained.

To a comrade who told him, "The Party is better than you believe", Trotsky answered forcefully: "*It is not a question of the Party, but of the Central Committee*". This every Party member must have clearly in mind. *In the International no one attacked the French Party, but all the Communist Parties were unanimous in their condemnation of the Central Committee.* It is not that the mass of the Party, endowed with all virtues, is above criticism, but its will is good, and its mistakes are sincere. So much *cannot* be said of those who are trying to mislead it.

And it is precisely because we believe in the health of the Party, in spite of its sick leadership, that we of the Left have no cause for pessimism.

ECONOMICS

The Recent Collapse of the German Mark

By E. Ludwig (Berlin).

In the few weeks since the assassination of Rathenau, the mark has experienced a catastrophic decline which is unexampled, even amidst the general tremendous collapse of German currency. After the wrecking of the Paris loan discussions, the mark fluctuated for a few weeks around the figure of 300 marks to the dollar. After having remained fairly steadily at this figure, for a few days after June 24, it then rose in quick jumps to 550 marks. Now, after a decline to about 420, the dollar is again worth 500 marks or more, in Berlin. The foreign exchange value of the mark has thus, in about three weeks, fallen from 1.4 Pfg. to 0.8 pfenning. The depreciation of the mark is almost doubled.

Bourgeois journalists, with obviously political motives, attribute this collapse to the powerful mass movement of the German proletariat, caused by the murder of Rathenau; this, they say, "has but further deranged our sick economy". Certain Socialists, on the contrary, see in the simultaneous occurrence of the monarchist assassination and the decline of the mark, a connection which renders it unnecessary for them to seek further for the cause of the situation. Special emphasis is also given to the conception that the fall of the mark is attributable to the machinations of counter-revolutionary financiers, who use this confusion of values as a weapon against the rising working class.

It is, of course, quite true that the speculative forays of stock exchange jobbers and the large banks, and also the political and economic crisis which is again threatening Germany as a result of the Rathenau murder, have a definite share in the causes of the fall of the mark. Such speculations must needs cause the German financial house of cards to totter even more shakily, as, according to the estimate of Helfferich, who certainly ought to know, there are 20 billions of marks in foreign countries, which must have a depressing influence on the value of the mark, at any critical period in Germany.

But speculation and manipulation can only exert an influence on currency values when the causes for depreciation exist in the actual economic circumstances. It is precisely these economic factors which the Social-Democratic organizations of both tendencies will not acknowledge. Just as the murder of Rathenau by the secret monarchist organizations merely gave an impetus and a direction to the intensification of political antagonisms, so speculation and jobbery, and the consequent decline in the mark, constitute a distinct symptom of the continuance of the economic crisis, and forces it to increasing intensity. The best evidence of this conclusion is that, directly after the trade unions and the two Social-Democratic parties had lent their aid in the political panic of the moment, to the Wirth cabinet and the bourgeois coalition, by their agreement with the anti-Communist law for the protection of the republic, the new decline in exchange took place. This proves that despite all efforts of our best "experts" and diplomats, the underlying national and international economic causes of this crisis still exist.

This crisis, with its resultant depreciatory effects on the exchange, its disturbance of the economic situation and of national finance, combined with the ever more perplexing question of reparations, renders it ever clearer that—contrary to Kautsky's wishes—these "abnormal" disturbances of capitalism are part of its "normal" functioning, and are inherent in its very existence.

This applies quite plainly to the German currency depreciation. For a while, it appeared that in consequence of the comparative stability of the foreign value of the mark, the home value could become standardized according to the former; thus the foreign market prices for certain German exports, such as coal, iron and textiles, could be arrived at. This means that the economic crisis becomes a crisis of ruin; instead of the export of coal and textiles, imports began to increase, and there approached the perils of industrial stagnation and unemployment.

The new decline in the mark brings with it again the continuation of cut-throat competitive exportation, the maintenance of credit relations for a few weeks longer, and the requisite relationship between the prices of German commodities and world market prices. The monarchist outrage and its results offered the profiteers and usurers, the captains of industry and the banking magnates, a welcome occasion for the securing of this relationship.

This "success" of the German capitalists, arising from the raising of the dollar exchange value from 300 to 500 marks, will result immediately in the increasingly rapid shattering of German economic life. The German "price revolution" assumes the Austrian form. According to the figures of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, on July 1st, wholesale prices rose to 91 times those of the pre-war period; for food-stuffs alone, it was 83 times; for coal and textiles, 140. Since then prices have risen at a still more staggering rate. Salaries and wages are left ever farther behind these prices. In spite of all defensive measures by the workers, in spite of all strikes, this characteristic of capitalism becomes ever more sharply impressed upon us: that the only way by which it can prolong its life is by the increasing exploitation of the broad masses, whose standard of living falls from hour to hour.

National finance is falling into chaos; the flood of paper money and the national indebtedness grow without limit. Every day two billion marks are issued in new paper currency, which still further deflates the value of money. The deficit in the national budget, despite all new taxation, becomes ever greater.

Internationally, the collapse of the mark proves once more the impossibility of solving the reparations problem by capitalist methods. It is impossible for the Wirth government to procure the required gold payments, with the sinking mark. Therefore they ask for a moratorium for two or three years. If they secure this, it will be at the cost of the forfeiture of German financial control to the Entente, and of further requisitions of commodities, which will make the burdens of the state and the sufferings of the broad masses ever more unbearable.

With the Rathenau affair, the reparations crisis became more intense. From the superficialities of the monarchist assault, the situation turns again to its determining root causes, only to explode soon, more disastrously than ever, in a series of political crises, international and national.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The American Miners' Strike and the European Working Class.

By W. Lada.

We were led to believe a short time ago that on the whole the American government was abstaining from a direct assault upon the striking miners. It could be said that the strike was proceeding comparatively smoothly. It is true that it was added at the same time that this could only be stated from the point of view of American conditions. For up to the 14th of June, not a day passed without strikers and trade union organizers being arrested and brought before the Court. In several cases the police broke up forcibly strikers' demonstrations, mishandling end of June the newspaper reported increased bloody collisions workers have attacked the strike breakers.

Since then the strike of the American miners has entered upon a new and more acute phase of the fight. Already by the end of June the newspapers reported increased bloody collisions between the strikers and the police in Herrin (South Illinois) where several persons were killed. The employers' press gives the version that the strikers are responsible for this collision through their brutal attack upon the strike breakers. They are said to have shot down "like madmen" the terrified willing workers, to have killed armed and unarmed miners "without listening to their remonstrations and pleadings". The New York *Volkszeitung* of June 23rd, reported at that time that the collision was as a matter of fact caused by the provocation of the strike breakers. At the beginning of July the same paper reported that in West Virginia, in Colorado and in Pennsylvania, the militia, among them being also mounted troops, were on their way to the

"enemy's country". It was reported from Pittsburg that the miners were being driven out of their lodgings into the street.

On the 1st of July, the Commercial Supplement of the *Times* had a report from a reliable source in Washington that on this day the United States had 60 million tons of coal all told. On the 15th of July the same correspondent reported, that on the 27th of June nearly the whole stock of coal was exhausted and that as a result, the industrial works were compelled to substitute anthracite coal with soft coal. It was further reported that since the 1st of July, the Railwaymen had started their movement. These facts rendered it clear that the policy of the government with reference to the strike was undergoing a change. In addition to the tactics of provoking the strikers in order to cause them to commit so called excesses, President Harding attempted during the last days of June to terminate the strike by getting both parties to negotiate. At conference which was called at The White House, on the 1st of July, Mr. Harding appealed to the parties to come to a rapid understanding, "for their mutual well-being and in the best interests of the country." "In the event of the parties to the conference not coming to an agreement", declared the millionaire president, "the public servants would be called out in the name of the security of America and the welfare of the whole people". A bourgeois paper expounded the ideas of the president to the effect that the government was prepared to apply forcible measures in order to compel the strike leaders to end the strike.

In spite of the remonstrations and threats of Mr. Harding, the conference terminated without any result. On the 13th July it was reported from Washington that the proprietors of anthracite mines had declared to the president that they would accept the Court of Arbitration proposed by him and that all they asked for was time to fix the wage scale. The proprietors of several coal mines are also said to have accepted the proposal of a Court of Arbitration. The coal owners know perfectly well what they are aiming at, in showing their good will in this manner. They know perfectly well that the court will decide in their favor. The miners however reject the Court of Arbitration for the very same reasons, and as a result, the coal miners are insisting upon their original terms, i. e., they demand now, as before: 1. That the wage rate paid at the outbreak of the strike serve as the basis upon which the wages are to be revised in an upward direction. 2. That the eight hour working day shall be guaranteed for all workers. 3. That the practice of the "check off" (which means that the employers collect the Trade Union contributions through deducting the same from the wages) shall be abolished.

The government is at present faced with the alternative: Either to set up a Court of Arbitration against the will of the miners and compel them to resume work under the conditions determined by the Court, or else to take over the mining industry and attempt to run it under conditions more favourable to the miners. The first alternative threatens such far-reaching consequences that the government hesitates at applying it. Still less is it in a position to decide upon taking over the coal mining industry. In the meantime the government terror is increasing. On the 17th July in Wheelburg West Virginia, another bloody collision occurred between the strikers and the mine guards and it is reported that 25 persons were killed and more than 31 injured. At the same time Mr. Harding threatens to withdraw trade union liberties granted to the workers during the war. On the 17th of July the *Daily Telegraph* reported that Federal troops have been given orders to be in readiness. The strike breakers have been promised "prompt and adequate support" by the Government in the event of the Governors considering their own troops insufficient for protecting the strike-breakers. A formal plan of mobilization of the state military forces has been worked out.

All methods of pressure up to now have been without result. According to the *Times*, the threats of Mr. Harding have not even had any influence upon the extremely conservative president of the Miners Federation, Lewis. On the 20th July the leaders declared that they will issue instructions to the men who are at present working the pumps, to cease work in the event of the Government carrying out its threats. The celebrated Socialist leader Debs has called upon all workers to support the Miners by calling a general strike. The struggle is now therefore entering upon its most acute and decisive phase. For Capital the surest and speediest means of relief in the critical situation lies in the importation of coal from abroad. The *Times* of July 20th reports that 100,000 tons of coal are to be sent from North and South Wales to America. Further consignments are to follow. Here it is necessary that the international solidarity of the European working class should put forth its utmost efforts in order to hinder these strike breaking undertakings. The English miners have several times assured the American miners that they are ready to render energetic support to their American class

comrades. The Chairman of the Miners Federation, Frank Smith, recently gave assurances to this effect to the Congress of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to this, the recent Congress of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain gave the same assurances to the American delegates. The eyes of the working class of the whole of Europe are centered upon England: the European workers expect the English Miners and Transport Workers to prevent the export of strike-breakin; coal to America.

The Labor Movement in Australia.

By W. P. Earsman (Sydney).

The most important working class organization without doubt is the Trade Union Movement. Australia's achievement in this direction is unsurpassed and the percentage of organized workers places her aigh on the list with other countries. It is no paper nor fictitious membership as in some countries. Neither is her organization fictitious because before long it will be first on the list with Industrial Unionism as the chief form of organization.

Australian trade union history dates back only seventy years. There were some ephemeral unions prior to that. The pioneers of the movement were men who had been persecuted for their views in Britain and were forced to seek new pastures. Suffering under these wrongs, they began to establish their ideas from the beginning. So from 1850 they were able to use the experiences they had gathered in the old world. Therefore the movement has escaped all the shortcomings of a long history, with its barnacles and corruption.

The trade unions started off with a high standard of living, which though not maintained, nevertheless has been kept higher than in any of the European countries. The later developments of capitalism have given the workers set backs, which today are being remembered. As elsewhere it has been through actual struggle that this experience has been gained; not from a pacific development but one born of strife. Though the unions have been nursed and pampered by politicians of their own making, yet they have had many bitter struggles. The philosophy of the trade unions of Australia has been that whenever they found a force opposed to them that could not be overcome by conciliation, there was to be no hesitation in using force, withdrawing labor power and going on stike. The fact that the Labor Party had control of the Government did not stop it. If the Labor Government did not come up to the scratch, then it had to face the issue. Therefore we find through struggle the worker has received his knowledge and education which has led him to realize his own shortcomings and those of his organization.

The craft form of organization has been in existence for the last sixty years with us. The old unions are those of the craftsmen who came from Britain and started branches of their organization in the Island Continent. Of recent years the Australian unions, that is, those with connections in other countries, have favoured the industrial unions. Not because they were revolutionaries, but because they saw it was the strongest form of organization.

The results of the economic development arising from the war brought this home more and more to the worker. A good deal of propaganda work was done by the Labor Council of New South Wales. Comrade Garden, its Secretary, was the prime mover and his work will be long remembered. One Big Industrial Union has been continually kept before the workers and to day its foundations are firmly established. In February of this year it took definite shape, when the Australian Workers Union (agriculture) 150,000, Coal Miners, 30,000, Dockers, 12,000, Railwaymen, 48,000, Seamen, 10,000, decided to join together and form The Workers' Industrial Union of Australia. Later the Seamen's Union withdrew because of a clause in their constitution debaring colored workers from membership. This clause is certainly not in keeping with revolutionary principles but it was accepted for the time being to satisfy the demands of the A.W.U. who are the bosses of the Labor Party and who are great believers in the "White Australian Policy". The other unions think that it will only be a very short time before the clause will be cancelled.

Following this development, the building trade unions began to form one union in this industry, and the iron and steel trade unions are taking a ballot for the same purpose. Not only are the unions consolidating their ranks in that way but in 1921 the first All Australian Congress of Trade Unions took place. It was the means of laying down a common program, which will take effect in the future. The second congress was held this year and some of the anomalies of organization were removed and more power given to this centralized body.

The importance of this All Australian Trade Union Congress not only lies in the fact that it will consolidate the ranks of the workers economically but that it will dominate the Labor Party and have a very strong influence on its program.

The Australian Labor Party.

This organization is not unlike its brother, the Labor Party of Great Britain. It differs in one respect, that it has only trade unions affiliated to it and no other kind of body. Its discipline is very much more rigid and the party is dominated by the executive between conferences.

As stated previously, the Labor Party has slipped back and lost the confidence of the masses. This is easily understood when it is remembered that the party has been in existence for thirty years and in the last twenty years has on several occasions been returned to power and held the reins of government. This significant fact should be of great importance to British trade unionists, because of the absolute failure of the Australian Labor Party to make good.

If we look at the achievements of this party in power we find it has passed acts which were supposed to assist the workers in their struggle. Not one of those acts stand for anything to day, and it cannot be said that they have not been tried. In fact, its legislation are dead letters.

Nationalization and its message of hope have been liquidated by the Nationalist Party and this principle as an emancipator has been more of a menace than anything else. The workers who have been employed by the State often have fared worse than those under private enterprise. The number of strikes which have taken place is evidence of that. It was originally thought that with the Labor Party in power there would be no question of suffering arising from strikes. This great illusion has been removed. During the last twenty years, time and time again the Labor Government has used the forces of the State against workers on strike. It has on several occasions recruited "blacklegs", and used armed force in Queensland and New South Wales. In 1921 when the unemployed were demanding maintenance or work, the police were ordered by a Labor Minister to attack and disperse the mob. Some suffered broken heads while others were arrested and sent to jail.

Its record is a record of failures as far as assisting the workers, but it has certainly administered the Capitalist Class State in the interests of the master class. Today it is bankrupt of intellect and ideas. If it has to live as a working class organization it can only do so by Jeansing itself and forgetting its awful past. With a revolutionary program it may recover lost ground but it is doubtful whether it has realized that the day is past when principles can be sacrificed for votes. The workers of Australia have come to realize that they can get as much from the Nationalist party, therefore they are looking for a more advanced program. The Labor Party will probably move a little more to the left or get out of business all together. At present it is hopelessly split by the sectarian question which is very much alive at this moment. The Catholics are strong, and at last, the non-sectarian and protestant groups have broken away and formed what is known as the Majority Labor Party. This is regrettable from one angle but on the whole it will prove good to the movement.

The Communist Party has not been slow to turn this situation to advantage. The effect of this work is beginning to bear fruit. The C.P. has been working with the Labor Party for months, and now we find it in a state of flux. The Labor Party torn with dissension in its own ranks, the unions faced with the capitalist offensive, the Communist Party stands as the only political party that has any clear program for the future.

The Communist Party.

This baby of the political movement has had a hard road to follow. It was established in October 1920. The Australian Socialist Party, some of the branches of the Socialist Labor Party along with members of the I. W. W., and a few of the trade union leaders were the founders. Only a few weeks passed when the Socialist Party withdrew for some personal reasons, but in spite of that the party has continued to grow till now it is firmly established in every State.

The Communist Party has concentrated the greater part of its energy on the trade unions and has been very successful in its work. The party members have been in the front ranks of all struggles, whether political or economic.

At the recent Economic Conference called by Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister, the majority of the workers' delegates belonged to the C.P. and did very effective work. It has also played the leading rôle with the unemployed and consistently carried out tactics of the Communist International.

It is in the Labor Council of N.S.W. which is affiliated to the Red International where the members of C.P. make their influence felt, and act as the driving force of the workers.

The chief weakness of the C.P. is its isolation from the world movement. This is felt very much and though some comrades do not realize the importance of the Colonial question, nevertheless it is a very important one. The coming struggle in the Pacific, places Australia and the large number of Islands under its control, in a very important position. Because of this we hope that the Fourth Congress will do something in organization which may be the means of removing the isolation.

The Communist Party before long will play the leading rôle. In the life and struggle of the Proletariat of Australia. The workers are looking for this lead, and with the removal of internal squabbles and a strong lead from the Third Communist International success will soon crown the efforts of the Party. The seed has been sown and now it only requires the machinery to gather in the fruits. Australia, as the outpost of the British Empire, has a mission and it will be accomplished in due course, but the parties of all other countries must realize that they too have a mission to perform as part of the International, by keeping in touch with those removed from the centre.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

A New Conspiracy of the Japanese Militarists

By A. I. Kostolansky (Moscow).

Scarcely have the hymns of praise devoted to "the will to peace" of the imperialists who gathered at Washington in order to maintain peace on the Pacific Ocean, died away, and already the Japanese have taken a step which has most keenly alarmed the English imperialists. According to the Tokio reports of *The Times* of April 2nd, Japanese military circles have ever since the day on which the treaty was signed, occupied themselves with the question of national defence. After many conferences of the most celebrated militarists, generals and admirals, it was decided on the 25th of March that the traditional systems of national defence should be altered. In accordance with the status quo ante the line of defence, (running east and south-east); had to be drawn nearer to the principal islands. The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, will, in the opinion of these militarists have the effect of isolating Japan in the settlement of disputes. It therefore becomes necessary to take measures now in order to secure the proper connections with the neighbouring territories, so that a proper provisioning, rapid mobilization and manoeuvring be possible in the event of a war.

At first glance the report appears innocent enough. One would believe that it concerned an internal affair of Japan, the alteration of the strategic plans of defence. But the alarm sounded by *The Times* which vigilantly watches over the interests of British imperialism, shows, that here it is not a question of the inner affairs of Japan, but that the provisional peace of the Pacific Ocean which was pasted together with the greatest pains in Washington, is now threatened.

And if we examine the report of *The Times* from Tokio more closely, we begin to see through the sinister nature of the decision of the Japanese militarists. The first part of the decision which deals with the contraction of the circle of defence, is a natural result of the Washington decisions. On the basis of the arrangement arrived at in Washington, Japan pledged herself not to further fortify the islands of Bonin and Kuril. If we now connect this with the agreement for the cessation of further naval construction, it then becomes clear that Japan was forced in the interests of her own defence to draw in her line of fortifications. But the second part of the decision shows on a short analysis, that Japan has decided upon a plan for the control of certain territories and the conquest of the ways of approach to them. But what countries has she in mind? She is already in possession of Korea, and this was not disputed by the other world exploiters at Washington. The Philippine Islands and Hawaii which are in the neighborhood of Japan, belong to Japan's future enemies. There therefore exists no doubt that these neighbouring territories, which in the event of a war will supply the necessary stores, and with which the Japanese militarists are so interested in linking up, are Siberia and — China. But such intentions on the part of the Japanese robbers are diametrically opposed to the interests of her rivals, England and America, and throw the generally accepted principle of the open door to the winds; for they mean nothing else than the acquire-

ment of privileges to rob, to the detriment of the other robbers. The Washington Conference, however, had the direct object of ratifying the robberies perpetrated in the past, and on the other hand the setting up of equal conditions for the future exploitation of helpless China.

The Times is alarmed over this. And this ultra-conservative newspaper adopts the pose of being an ally of Japanese liberalism and is astonished at the system prevailing in Japan, according to which the Japanese militarists are able to decide without the knowledge of the government over a question which even endangers the peace of the Pacific.

The reports of *The Times* served as good material in the hands of the Government opposition in Japan, enabling it to make fresh attacks upon the government and the military regime, which are leading the country into a position of dangerous isolation and to the fate which met Germany. The Liberal paper *Jomiuri* wrote thereon as follows: "We must put an end to the anomalous situation, in which it is possible for the military and naval leaders to approach the Throne upon questions of strategy, without the knowledge of the government. The great alarm which has been sounded by the report of *The Times* has induced the Japanese Naval Department to issue a denial. The denial disavows any aggressive intentions on the part of Japan. But in spite of this *démenti* the fact remains. The undertaking of the Japanese militarists has struck a severe blow at the provisional state of equilibrium set up with so much pains at Washington. It is a breach of the Washington agreement and therefore also involves the question of peace. Perhaps they will succeed this time in repairing the breach. But for how long?"

APPEALS

A Message to the Seine Federation of the French Communist Party.

Dear Comrades,

An important part of the International's work at the last session of its Enlarged Executive Committee, was devoted to the study of the situation of the French Party and especially that of its chief organization, the Seine Federation.

Several months ago, in February, the enlarged Executive Committee had already treated that question in collaboration with a strong delegation from the French party, and had pointed out to that delegation the dangerous position in which the Party and the Federation would be placed by the adoption of the federalist principle in organization.

The evident persistence of federalistic prejudices in the Communist organization of Paris and the non-occurrence of any modification in its structure to make it conform to that of the International and its affiliated parties forced the Executive Committee to a special decision with respect to the Seine Federation. In full agreement with the General Secretariat of the French Party and the French delegates present, and after ample discussion in the committees as well as in plenary sessions, the Executive unanimously adopted a resolution requiring the Seine Federation to conform its constitution to the rules contained in the theses of the International on the structure and organization of Communist Parties.

The International is convinced that the overwhelming majority of our French comrades, enlightened by the theoretical remonstrations of far-sighted Communists as well as by practical experience, which the present state of the Seine Federation serves to confirm, will approve this resolution. The International desires hereby, to comment openly on that resolution in that spirit of friendly revolutionary frankness which is the rule among international Communists. It wishes to submit its conception for discussion and criticism to all our militant comrades.

The principles and rules of organization established by the International are not the fruit of pure intellectual speculation, but the conclusions drawn from an experience of three quarters of a century of struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat of both continents. The working-class has not fought and suffered in vain in the first periods of the revolutionary struggle; it was taught from its defeats as well as from its victories the necessity for cohesion in its fighting ranks, for discipline in its class-organization, and for centralized leadership. That is why the Communist International Congresses, condensing in their theses and resolutions the total acquired knowledge and experience of the workers' parties the world over, formulated the principle of *Democratic Centralism* as the basis for the

political organization of the proletariat. *Centralism*, because it is necessary to assure the united action of all sections of the proletariat, the simultaneity of actions undertaken under a common watchword, which is possible only when the leadership is concentrated in effective fashion, in the hands of local and central organs, following a firm and consistent policy; *Democratic*, because these local and central directing organs, which, in special cases may be very limited in size, are elected and controlled by the whole party membership, and are responsible to them.

It has often been remonstrated that centralization results in the despotism of the leaders, in the relative inactivity of the masses, and in the creation of an actual oligarchy. It is self-evident that this centralism, if ill-applied, may degenerate into oligarchy. The fault does not lie with centralism, but with the false interpretation of its prerogatives and its methods. In reality a rigorous centralization of the organization contributes in the highest degree to the activity of the masses by assuring a continuous, regular and stable political direction. To say that the working-class needs no leader is to deceive the workers. Without a rigorous selection of local and national leaders, without a permanent control of the actions of these chiefs, a victory of the proletariat is impossible. A Soviet system in a *party organization* leads to a constant change of direction, to vacillating leadership, and to the destruction of personal responsibility. It is precisely in such a system that groups are formed within the organization which take effective control of the movement to the detriment of the masses, misled by the illusive advantages of federalism.

It is erroneous to bring as an example in this case the federal regime of the Soviet Republic. The Soviet applies the federal system in its state organization only in so far as it is necessary to establish the union between immense territories inhabited by different races and national groups (White Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, etc.). But the Russian revolutionists have never applied, and never will apply the federative principle in the constitution of their proletarian party. The Ukrainian, Georgian and other Communist organizations are framed in a single party, not federatively, but on a basis of strict centralization. Were this not so, the Russian working class would never have been able to defend the Soviet Republic, or to rule it.

Every conscious proletarian understands that against the capitalistic power, strongly disciplined and centralized, we must raise the proletarian power, no less well disciplined and centralized. That is why those who combat the idea of democratic centralism, as expounded by the International, unconsciously betray the cause of the proletariat and reveal themselves totally foreign to the enlightened portion of the workers.

The Communist Parties are not academic debating societies, nor simply propaganda clubs; they are organizations of combat and must be formed as such. The modern proletarian revolutions, the tragic struggles of the workers against capitalist oppression, the untold sacrifices of the elite of the workers have taught unforgettable lessons to the vanguard of the social revolution. It is not the Communist Federation of the Seine, the spiritual heir of the Paris Commune, which will misjudge the essential causes of its downfall: democratic, federalistic, middle-class prejudices and the absence of a directing power, coherent, disciplined, centralized.

Therefore the International is convinced that its policy has answered the purpose and revolutionary interests of the Seine Federation looking for the best means of organization. It is happy to notice in the French Party a strong current inspired by its ideas and capable of gathering in it at the next federal congress all the healthy forces of the Federation. The Executive is happy also to notice on the program of the Congress the question of Article IX. of the International Statutes. The debate on that question will bring out clearly the fundamental differences between the Third and the Second Internationals and will show the essential reasons for the confidence of considerable masses of the working-class in the Communist International.

Like all Communist Parties, the International is a centralized organization, concentrating the attributes of leadership in an Executive Committee which holds the powers given it by the annual World Congress. Therefore the Communist International, unlike other international organizations imbued with nationalistic prejudices, is not a federation of independent national parties, but a great, single International Communist Party. The incontestable right of the International to refuse admission to any group, or to expel any group is exercised during the interval of the annual Congresses by the Executive Committee. This is the significance of Article IX. of the Statutes.

This article was not improvised in a fever of combat, under the influence of temporary and circumstantial preoccupation. It flows logically from the principle of democratic central-

ization and can disappear only with the very notion of a fighting organization, with the renunciation on the part of the proletariat to achieve its liberation by force.

To doubt the value of Article 8 or to interpret it void of its revolutionary significance is to attack the organic principle of the Communist International. It is the right and the duty of any national section to demand the revision of a principle which experience has shown to be ill founded, or unfortunate in its application, and the French section has full liberty to use this right at the Fourth World Congress. But the Seine Federation must understand that a question of such importance must be posed in its full breadth and on its true ground. If it finds it necessary to revise the very basis of the international organization, it is not lightly, and under the pretext of a disciplinary incident that it can raise the question usefully.

The International found it necessary to exclude from its ranks the citizen Fabre and his adherents. In this decision the Executive was guided by considerations of revolutionary necessity. In an old country like France, middle-class and parliamentary, the middle-class public opinion exercises a particularly strong pressure. This public opinion is seeking wedges to penetrate the flanks of the revolutionary party, to split it, to weaken it. Fabre's press organ was one of those wedges of bourgeois public opinion. For any revolutionary party to neglect such a fact would be to expose itself to the greatest danger. For that reason, the Executive Committee judged it its duty to call the attention of the whole Party to the Fabre group. Immediately dissidents and bourgeoisie took up the cause of Fabre, because it was the cause of the bourgeoisie that Fabre was defending within the Party. This publicity lent Fabre an appearance of importance. But this imaginary importance will disappear as soon as the Communist Party effectively ejects Fabre and his adherents from the organization. This parasitic group without principles will then burst like a soap bubble.

As we see, the interest of the Revolution required the expulsion of Fabre and his partisans. Political necessity dominates all considerations of form, all juridic consideration. Considerations of a formal nature must nevertheless be satisfied. And it is precisely in that connection that Article IX shows its value. The Central Committee of the French C.P., of whom the great majority recognized the necessity of expelling Fabre, because of the particularities of the French Party Statutes, did not possess the power to carry out the expulsion. The Committee on Conflicts, whose importance in the Party is very great, has as its primary task the precise, attentive, and impartial examination of individual cases relative to the character and honor of Party members, of violations of party discipline by any member, and of rules of Communist comradeship. But in the case of Fabre there could be no question of lengthy and complicated procedure; it was a case of judging the political significance of a group hostile to Communism in its entire spirit. Evidently it was not up to the Committee of Control to decide such a question, but to the Central Committee, the court of supreme instance in the Party between two Congresses. But since the Central Committee could see nothing in the statutes of the Party which gave it the right to expel Fabre and his clique, it became the duty of the Executive Committee to apply § 9 of the Statutes of the International. The lesson derived from this highly instructive experience calls not for the elimination or the limitation of § 9, but for a modification of the statutes of the French Communist Party, to grant the Central Committee full power to maintain the ideological purity and the discipline of the Party.

The experience of all parties shows that the vacillating, semi-opportunistic elements manifest their tendencies not in open fight against the revolutionary current, but in raising obstacles to that current on secondary questions of form, on juridical questions, etc. The Seine Federation would give those elements a well earned lesson if, instead of indirectly supporting Fabre and Co. with fallacious arguments of form, it ordered these opportunists to submit themselves to Communist discipline and to participate in the implacable political fight against the remainders of Fabrism in the movement.

The concentration of all elements really revolutionary, a concentration which the working masses of the Party will support unreservedly, must be the program of the next congress of the Seine. This congress must be the worthy prologue to the congress to be held by the Party in October whose task will also be to concentrate the revolutionary Communist elements by eliminating all centrist and purely pacifistic tendencies, by creating in the Party a system of revolutionary discipline, by putting an end to the fractional strife within the Party, and by assuring to an homogeneous Central Committee a veritable political leadership.

The formation of a Communist Party is a long and complicated process which cannot proceed without a serious self-

criticism and internal purification. The Executive Committee is convinced that the vanguard of the French proletariat will acquit itself of its task with success and that the Seine Federation will take the leading role in this work.

Moscow, July 22, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the Central Committees of all Communist Parties.

Dear Comrades!

The necessity for the Proletarian United Front increases the importance of the Communist work among the women of the proletariat, of the producing and exploited masses.

It is self evident that the Proletarian United Front is not complete unless the women, subjected and robbed by the domination of capital are conscious and active co-militants. This is conditioned by the part played by women in the social economy of capitalist countries, and in the household of the worker and of the middle class. This is determined by the pressing and compelling vital interests of the broad masses of the working women, vital interests which the governing and exploiting bourgeoisie sacrifices without feeling and without conscience on the altar of profit. *As victims of exploitation and oppression, the men and women of the proletariat, the officials and clerks, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the small peasants have a common enemy,—the exploiting and oppressing bourgeoisie and its state.* They have one common interest against the present general offensive of this rapacious, relentless and incorrigible enemy of their physical and vital requirements, their right to a slave's rest, their right to a decent human existence.

Through this common interest, the women of the broad masses can become more than trusty, watchful and self-sacrificing co-militants of the rank and file of the united proletarian front. The conditions under which the mass of working women live, exploited and subjected by the power of capital in economic life and in the state, carry within themselves the possibility that the burdened and wearied wives and mothers of the working class, that their daughters threatened with ruin in body and soul, may become pioneers and standard-bearers of the proletarian united front. Unemployment, long working hours, high prices and starvation, taxes on wages and no right to strike, miserable housing conditions and epidemics,—these are universal miseries born of capitalism, which hit the proletarian housewife and mother, the proletarian woman worker of every description with particular intensity, and which must be combatted by one solid and powerful front of the producing and oppressed masses.

Difficult and critical social conditions are arising which demand special measures in the interests of women, if the mothers and children of the growing generation, the future treasure of the proletariat, are not to be handed over to ruin and death in great numbers. In consequence of the political backwardness of the women, there exists an enormous army of unattached unorganized women with whom the idea of the united front has not encountered all the inner-political and organizational hindrances which are very frequently met with among the politically and industrially organized men.

It is the duty of the Communist Parties of all countries to make full use of the existing possibilities, to convert the masses of exploited and oppressed women into conscious militants, into pioneers and standard bearers of the proletarian united front. The Party leadership should therefore cooperate with the leading central organs of the Party and see to it that the necessary measures be taken for carrying on Communist propaganda among the broad masses of women, that the instruction of the organized women comrades in theory and practice be conducted with increased energy and regularity and that steps be taken for the awakening and mobilization of the working women to take their places consciously and confidently in the united proletarian front. This applies not merely to political work in the narrow sense, but more particularly to the work of the parties and their branches in the trade unions and cooperatives.

The proletarian women and the proletarianized lower middle-class constitute deep and potent sources of vigorous fighting power and fighting energy for the defense of the vital cultural interests, indeed, of the barest necessities of life of the broadest masses. To unlock these sources will be the duty and honor of the Communist Parties of all countries and will serve as another guarantee for the success of the united proletarian front in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

We are convinced, dear Comrades, that this appeal will require no continual reiteration to engage you with all your

strength in the fulfilment of the tasks outlined. "Communist work among the women is half of our Communist work in general." The recognition of this fact must lead us in our struggle for the united proletarian front and in the united proletarian front.

With Communist greetings,

The Executive of the Communist International.

To the Communists of all Countries! To the Jewish Proletariat!

The conference of the World Union *Poale Zion* has considered the conditions of entrance into the Communist International, which were jointly deliberated on by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and representatives of the majority and the minority of the World Union.

The Conference has rejected these conditions.

The position is therefore clear. Since the third congress, the petty bourgeois nationalist and opportunist elements of the majority of the delegates from the various sections, have attempted to sabotage and hinder the efforts of the proletarian and Communist elements in the *Poale Zion* to effect affiliation with the Communist International. They have taken advantage of the negotiations with the Communist International, which they intentionally drew into infinite length, for the purpose of ruthlessly suppressing the Communist elements and to exclude them from the World Union in order to secure for themselves a majority against affiliation at the congress. Owing to the patience of the Executive Committee of the Communist International these tactics have been successful insofar as these wirepullers have actually succeeded in bringing about an overwhelming majority against affiliation with the Communist International.

The Communist International laid down as a condition for entrance the abandonment of the nationalist, opportunist Palestine program and the dissolution of the *Poale Zion*, as well as the entrance of the Jewish proletarian Communist elements into the national sections of the various Communist great concessions with regard to propaganda and organization, great concessions with regard to propaganda and organization, in order to facilitate thereby the development of Communism even among the most backward portions of the Jewish proletariat. For real Communists these conditions of entrance are quite acceptable. This is proved not only by the fact that the minority representatives from the *Poale Zion* accepted them but also by the fact that the real proletarian revolutionary elements have already turned their backs upon the *Poale Zion* which is guided by petty bourgeois sectarians, and have joined the Communist Parties of their respective countries in order to work shoulder to shoulder with their non-Jewish class comrades for the *World Revolution and for Communism*. The Executive Committee of the Communist International declares it to be the duty of these national sections to carry on the most intense struggle against the petty bourgeois sectarians. The Palestine objective, the attempt to divert the Jewish working masses from the class war by the propagation of mass settlement of Jews in Palestine, is not only nationalist and petty bourgeois, but in its effects counter-revolutionary; for, broad masses of workers are captivated by this idea and have been enticed away from an effective prosecution of the class war against their Jewish and non-Jewish capitalist exploiters. The Communist International considers it the duty of its sections to give full and effective support to the minority of the *Poale Zion* in its fight against the majority, insofar as the former have accepted the conditions of entrance and have decided on loyally carrying out these decisions by unitedly leaving the *Poale Zion* and joining the Communist International.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, in November of this year, a conference of Jewish groups already affiliated or about to affiliate will be held in order to lay down a final working program and the tactical theses for the propaganda bureau which will be established by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, for propaganda among the Jewish proletariat.

The statement of the majority representatives of the *Poale Zion* to the effect that after the refusal of the conditions of entrance by the *Poale Zion*, further negotiations are being carried on with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is not in accordance with the facts. The only relations between the Communists and the *Poale Zion* since the rejection of the conditions of entrance have been those of the greatest hostility.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, July 25th, 1922.