The Executive Committee has decided to establish a Jewish Bureau in the centre of Jewish activity, whose task it will be to carry on Communist propaganda among the Jewish proletarians throughout the world.

The Executive Committee calls upon your Central Bureau to convene an international conference of all the Communist Poale Zion organisations within six months, for the purpose of finally dissolving your international organisation, and merging your organisations within the national sections of the Communist International, within a period of not more than two months, and under the aforementioned conditions.

In conclusion the Executive Committee appeals to all the Jewish Communist workers to battle against the particularistic tendencies prevailing in the Jewish Communist Labour movement, and to realise that the revolutionary Jewish Workers can become an organic part of the Great Communist Workers' family only within the Communist International.

Long live the Union of the Jewish Communist Workers within the Communist International!

Long live the Third International which alone is capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of the workers of all nations to final victory!

## Executive Committee of the Communist International.

August 26th, 1921.

## To all Members of the All-Jewish Workers Union ("The Bund") in Poland.

In March 1921 the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed to the Congress of your Organisation (news of which we had received from your representative), a detailed communication containing a minute criticism of the activity of your Bund and explaining the conditions, the fulfilment of which was imperative for the admission of the Bund into the Communist International.

Unfortunately, we are compelled to state that the step taken by our Executive has not had the desired effect. The Congress of the Bund was disbanded before it provided an opportunity for giving the greatest publicity and consideration to the questions raised by the Executive, no discussion taking place, and the contents of the letter were treated as though it were an internal affair of the central committee. Moreover, and this is more serious, the letter of the Executive did not exercise any influence on the attitude of your Party, and on the contrary, the centrist, reformist, nay, counter-revolutionary character of the public manifestations of the leading organs of your Bund became, if possible,

more pronounced during these last months, their anti-communistic tone more challenging, without any attempt on the part of the left wing to counteract such counter-revolutionary attitude. The columns of the Jewish Bund press are open to menshevik campaigns against Soviet Russia, to the publication of Martov's manifestoes and for counter-revolutionary conspiracies of the Mensheviks of Georgia, organised in Poland. In international questions the Bundist press is most emphatically backing Longuet, Serrati, Levi, Hilferding against the Communist International.

The centrist majority of your Central Committee, in answer to the letter of our Executive, has passed a resolution categorically renouncing 5 of the conditions for admission, rejecting all "split peril" and insisting on the democratic right of the centrist majority to retain the leadership of the party. The resolution even goes to the length of expressing the hope that the III Congress will reform the Communist International to the extent of it being able to admit into it the united Bund. It justifies the necessity

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of this reform by instancing "the development of the workers' movement in Italy and Germany", viz. the "unfortunate" exclusion of Hilferding and Serrati.

We are also sorry to note, that the resolution of the minority of your Central Committee differs essentially very little from the one of the majority. In it, too, the minority is condemning some points of the conditions of entry (like the one, for instance, where it stipulates that the press should be directed by experienced Communists), it, too, is demanding a change of conduct of the whole Communist International, besides also referring to "the recent events" in Italy and Germany.

In our letter we invited the Bund to delegate representatives to the Ill Congress of the Communist International, to enable them to get into closer contact with the entire Comintern, also to afford us an opportunity to get better acquainted with the Bund through their intermediary. But the results of the presence of the two delegates of the central committee of the Bund who were admitted to the Congress with consultative votes. did not meet with the desired expectations. The delegates to the Bund did not participate in the work of the Congress, did not request the floor on any question, whether in the commissions or in the plenary sessions, while one of them availed himself of his stay at Moscow to commit a trespass against the Soviet Republic, in consequence of which a commission of the Executive Committee pronounced him as unworthy of participating in the negotiations of the Executive Committee.

The situation in the Bund, as appears from extensive material at our command, may at present be characterised as follows: We see before us an old workers' organisation that is entrapped with strong social democratic and partly nationalist traditions, which has gone through the war and the revolution without any splits, and is being led by confessed centrists. There is a "Left wing" within this party, supported by a considerable part of the workers organised in the Bund which harbours strong and upright sympathy for Communism, but is sadly lacking in clearheadedness and resoluteness.

The prime task of these elements is to organise into a solid, conscious wing, to take an unreserved stand on the basis of the III International and all the decisions of its Congresses, and to take up a decided struggle against the centrists and nationalists for the conquest of the majority of the Party. It will be the duty of these comrades-not only to recognise the spiritual leadership of the Comintern, but also unhesitatingly to cooperate in closest union with the Communist Party of Poland. It will be the task of the Communist Party of Poland to lend every assistance to the really revolutionary elements in the Bund. The former policy of systematic sabotage of the decisions of the Comintern, of the defense of the centrists, and the everlasting capitulations and compromises, of distrust and separatism as against the Communist Party, must be totally abandoned and make room for courageous, clear, militant tactics.

This is the advice which the Comintern gives to those workers organised in the Bund who honestly and genuinely desire to join its ranks.

Revolutionary Jewish Proletarians! Get rid of the centrist elements, and thus make your way more quickly into the ranks of the only world organisation of proletarians—the Communist International!

To you, the real Communist elements in the Bund, we tender our most fraternal greetings.

## The Executive Comittee of the Communist International.

August 26th, 1921.