

"For United Front of World's Workers!" Call of Fourth Congress, Communist International

The Slogan of the Fourth Congress: "UNITED FRONT!"

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International, comprising 62 parties of Europe, America, Asia, and Australia, has confirmed that which the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International has already twice resolved: that it is the duty of all Communist parties to devote all their energies towards organizing the working class into a solid united front, in order to resist the attack now being made by world capital on every position of the working class.

Thus the highest tribunal of the Communist parties has confirmed that which has been the aim and object of our last year's work, and has sounded as the slogan for our coming work: "The struggle for the united front of the world proletariat, the struggle for unity, for the common defense of all proletarians, regardless of their political tendency and attitude."

As early as last spring the Communist International had applied to the Second International, and to the Vienna Working Union, with the request that they participate in a Worker's World Congress for the pur-

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Fourth Congress of Communist International Issues Call to World's Workers to Unid

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pose of organizing this common fight for saving the eight hour day, against wage reductions, against the loss of everything which has been gained by the trade unions, against the renewed armaments, and against the danger of new wars.

At the Berlin Conference of the representatives of the three executives, the representatives of the Communist International made this proposal. The parties of the Second International rejected it.

As a first condition for the convention of a world workers' congress, the Second International demanded that the Soviet Government abandon its opposition to those parties attempting to induce the Russian proletariat to renounce the most important conquests of the revolution, to give up the possession of the factories and to replace the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie; as a second condition the demand was made that the Communists cease propagating their views within the trade unions, and give up combatting those trade union heads who are in favor of weakening the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, altho the intensification of this struggle is an obvious necessity.

The Communist International was obliged to decline these proposals, for their acceptance would have been tantamount to the abandonment of the whole aim and object of the United Front.

We are working for the united front with the aim of increasing, not lessening, the fighting and defensive powers of the proletariat against the international bourgeoisie.

Six Months of Capitalist Offensive
Another half year has passed since the failure of our proposal to form a united proletarian front for the organization of the proletarian defensive struggle. This half year saw

the uninterrupted advance of the bourgeoisie in all countries.

In England the reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie have gained the upper hand. They have put an end to Lloyd George's attempts to conceal the aggressive policy of English capital beneath phrases expressing anxiety for peace and for the reconstruction of Europe.

The Conservative Party, now reigning supreme, has proclaimed "law and order" as its watchword, and "non-interference of the state in economics", that is, it gives capital a free hand in the strangulation of the proletariat.

Its first step was the attempt to do away with the minimum living wage. Bonar Law even refused to listen to the unemployed.

In France the government gave the command to shoot at striking workers in Le Havre, only 4 years after the wholesale bloodbath. The French government attacks the eight hour day openly.

In Germany the coalition government of Social Democrats and bourgeoisie has openly and unequivocally declared that the sole means of stabilizing the mark is to squeeze more work out of the under-nourished proletarian masses. It has openly proclaimed that the last vestige of economic control is to be given a free hand. The new Cuno government is a government of industrial magnates and the fore-runner of the open dictatorship of the iron and coal barons. The character of this government is so notoriously reactionary, so unmistakably directed against the first interests of the working class, that the Social Democrats were obliged to refuse to enter it.

From Bavaria the extreme counter-revolutionists are preparing an armed attack on the last remnants of the November Revolution, on the republic. They are encouraged in their

efforts by the success of the Fascist in Italy, where the dictatorship of the sabre was proclaimed without the slightest resistance being offered by the democratic bourgeoisie, where the parliament has become a zero and now aims at so strengthening the rule of the bourgeoisie that the working class is to be forced to place itself unreservedly at the disposal of capital with blood and sweat.

In Czechoslovakia the capitalists are throwing thousands of workers into the streets daily. Unemployment increases; one lock-out after another is utilized to reduce the workers' wages.

Austria has been crushed into a colony of the Entente capital. Austrian finance is to be put on a sound basis at the expense of the Austrian working class, by means of starvation wages for the workers and the lower officials of the civil service. The representatives of Entente capital are to be lords over life and death of the Austrian masses.

In the United States of America the employers are attempting to destroy the trade unions by depriving the workers of the right to organize. Capital is to possess its mighty trusts, and no one is to drink a glass of milk without tribute to the Trust. But the working class is to be scattered by every puff of wind, like sand.

In South Africa General Smuts, the gen of international liberalism, is playing the Grand Executioner. General Smuts, pacifist of the League of Nations, not only commands workers on strike to be shot down, but he has the leaders of the South African mining struggle, provoked by his government, hanged eight months later.

New Wars Ahead

All these are facts showing how the most elementary interests of the working class are being trampled un-

derfoot. But the capitalist offensive is not alone directed towards intensified exploitation of the proletariat, but the danger of a fresh imperial world slaughter looms ahead with appalling clearness. Up to to-day no single capitalist state has set about carrying out the reduction of naval armaments resolved upon by the Washington Conference. Not a single old battle-ship has been scrapped. The building of new warships has not been interrupted.

The proposal made by the Russian Soviet Government for disarmament, or at least for the reduction of land armaments, was rejected at Genoa by all capitalist powers. The League of Nations is impotent; it can accomplish nothing in this direction, even if it wanted to. The resolutions of the League have to be unanimous, and require the ratification by the governments opposed to "disarmament."

Europe is bristling with weapons, now more than before the war. And during the "Near Eastern" crisis in September of this year the world had the opportunity of seeing what this means. Europe was saved from a new war solely by the renunciation of the Turkish Government of its right to occupy its capital city.

—to cross the passage to that capital—the Dardanelles; solely by the renunciation of the Turkish government of its right of self-determination. The English trade unions and the English Labor Party accused Lloyd George of having stirred up a new war, a war which would not be confined to the Balkans. And who can be sure that the conservative government of England will not defend the rapacious interests of English Imperialism with as much determination as Lloyd George's government?

With infinite pains, the Soviet Gov-

ernment has prevailed upon Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Finland, to meet together for a disarmament conference in Moscow. Roumania is not represented at the congress, because the Roumanian Boyars demanded, as a reward for appearing at the conference, a piece of Russian ground, Bessarabia, and the peasants dwelling upon it. At the moment when the Fourth Congress of the Communist International is adjourning, the Moscow Conference is not yet ended. But the withdrawal of the representatives of the vassal states of the Entente shows plainly enough that they do not desire any reduction of armaments. This then, means: that the great war, which cost the lives of 12 millions of human beings, was not the last war. The bourgeoisie is preparing new ones!

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to the workers of the Second International and of the Vienna International, to the millions of workers organized in trade unions throuth the world, to their leaders, and to the conference at the Hague, with the question:

Are you going to stand there inactive, and look on while the eight hour day, the first condition for the rise of the working class, is destroyed?

While the standard of living of the workers of the oldest industrial countries is being reduced to that of a Chinese coolie, while the most elementary rights of the workers, by the aid of which you hoped to attain emancipation from the capitalist yoke along peaceful lines, are being snatched from you, while the dictatorship of capitalism is being established as you going to remain inactive, and look on while victorious capital, unhindered, dictates a fresh war in which you are to bleed in the interest of capitalism?

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to all its affiliated parties, and to all sympathizing trade unions in all countries, state for state, country for country, to place this question before the labor parties, and to summon them to fight unitedly against the legal or practical abolition of the eight hour day, against wage reductions, against the deprivation of the working class of its liberty of movement, against "fresh" armaments, against the danger of new wars, for the minimum living wage of the workers, for disarmament, and for peace among the peoples.

The Call of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International turns to the Second International and to the Vienna Working Union with the plain question whether they are willing, now, after their policy has rendered the position of the working class worse than before, to join hands for the establishment of a United Front of the international proletariat, for the struggle for the primary rights and interests of the working class.

It turns to the Amsterdam International with the question: Is it willing to cease its splitting tactics in the trade unions and its tactics of expelling Communists out of the trade unions; if it is willing to help lead a united proletarian front into action.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Hague Conference of Trade Unions and Cooperatives, assembled at the same time as the capitalists of the Entente gather in Lausanne, after the bankruptcy of the Versailles peace, to force a new Versailles peace on the Turkish people, and thus to sow the seeds for fresh wars. The Com-

munist International asks the Hague Conference if it is willing to join with us in a forward march of the working class, and to show the bourgeoisie that the international proletariat is no longer willing to be dragged without resistance on the fresh fields of battle.

As we already said at the Berlin Conference, the Communist International does not expect the parties of the Second International, and of the Vienna Workers' Union or the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat which was and is our goal. But we ask them if they will fight against the dictatorship of capital, if they are willing at least to utilize the last vestiges of democracy for the purpose of organizing a resistance against the victory of the same Capital which transformed the world into one great grave, and is already digging fresh graves for our proletarian youth.

The Communist International has spoken. It has issued its watchwords for the fight:

For the united front of the proletariat,
for the control of production,
for the eight hour day,
for the minimum living wage of the proletariat,
for the armament of the workers and the disarmament of the bourgeoisie,
for the workers' governments of the united labor parties as instruments in the struggle for the immediate interests of the working class.

And now it is your turn to speak, Second International, Vienna Working Union, Amsterdam Trade Union International, and Hague Conference!

Moscow, December 4, 1922.
The Fourth Congress of the Communist International.