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A United Proletarian Front.

Working men and women of all countries!

The Executives of the Communist International and of the Red Labour Unions International have, in three sessions, discussed the world situation and the position of the international proletariat and have come to the conclusion that all the forces of the international proletariat unite and a single front be formed by all the proletarian Parties, regardless of the differences of opinion that divide them, provided they are ready to fight together for the immediate demands of the proletariat. The Executive of the Communist International is calling an enlarged session for February 19th, 1922, and the Communist Parties are invited to send a double number of representatives to it. The Executive further calls upon the proletarians of all Parties to exercise all their influence with their respective Parties to ensure their readiness to joint action.

Working men and women!

Three years have passed since the close of the great imperialist war in which you sacrificed your lives for the sake of the interests of capital. These

three years international capital has had full opportunity to prove whether it is capable of introducing a social system worthy of humanity, a system which would secure to the large masses of the people a minimum of safety, a minimum standard of life.

The World Economic Chaos.

And what is the result?

Six millions unemployed in America, two millions in Britain; unemployment steadily on the increase in the victorious States as well as in the neutral ones that have battered on the war,—for these countries have no possibilities of export.

On the other hand, the ruined countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Balkan States and Turkey are in dire want. They require milliards worth of goods produced by the industrial countries in order to set their economic life going and to provide the industrial world with bread and raw materials. And—sandwiched in between East and West—we see Germany hard at work, throwing enormous quantities of goods on the world market and underselling the other countries. Germany knows no unemployment, yet the German workers are in

a worse position than the British unemployed. Against their will they have become the sweaters of the workers in the other countries. The housing problem is becoming more and more acute, the tax burden is growing ceaselessly. The bourgeoisie is unable to bring peace and quiet to the world rent and torn as it is, and the cry of "woe to the conquered!" which is ringing through it now will soon be replaced by a "woe to the conquerors!"

Germany's Reparations Duty is the Reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The ruins of Northern France, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Poland and Russia are not yet made good. Victorious capital is throwing the costs of reconstruction on a single country — Germany, and the inevitable result is that Germany herself will succumb under the burthen and become a heap of ruins. And wherever the bourgeois start upon reconstruction, they make it an object of speculation and of exploitation which must needs bring about new conflicts. Soviet Russia, the granary of Europe, notwithstanding her heroic defence, has been devastated by three years of imperialistic war, by three years of armed intervention of the Allies. This summer's drought which threatens twenty five million people with starvation makes Russia's reconstruction a matter of life and death to millions of Russian workers and peasants. And gradually even the most narrow-minded bourgeois come to realise that neither the economic world crisis nor the high tension in world politics can be relieved, albeit for a time, unless the invincible Soviet Government be recognised and Russia be reconstructed economically. *An irreparable gap will be opened up in the world economy unless Russia reappears again as a market for exported goods and a supplier of raw materials. And as long as Soviet Russia is not safe from new attacks, she will have to keep her Red Army ready, and there will be constant danger of a new world conflagration arising out of the adventures of the Polish white*

guards and the Roumanian boyars. Yet the world bourgeoisie refrains from giving relief to the starving millions of Russia's population, for it expects that starvation will make them more docile to the demands of world capital. What these demands amount to is that the Soviet Government, in return for its recognition, should sell Russia to an international financial consortium which would pillage Russia as it has pillaged Turkey and China. For four years the Russian people has defended itself with sword in hand against the setting up of the rule of world capital in Russia,—a rule which was to be erected under the mask of the dictatorship of the Russian whites. It goes without saying that the people of Russia will now desperately oppose this "peaceful" attempt at enslaving it. The question of Russia's participation in the world economy, the issue of general peace will form the objects of new bitter conflicts.

The Washington Conference.

However, the relations of world capital to Germany and Soviet Russia are not the only sources of new great convulsions. The Washington Conference has failed to solve the Far Eastern problems. The great Chinese people counting 400 millions has remained an object of further bargaining and fighting. Since the Allied Powers neither can nor will give up plundering China and dividing it among themselves, they have concluded the Quadruple Alliance which merely proves one thing: that they realise the great danger of war and therefore try, by means of a cobweb agreement, to prevent one another from taking independent steps. Not even on paper did they dare to limit the land armaments; while the whole hue and cry raised about the naval armaments ended in their discarding some old ships and limiting the number of super-dreadnoughts in order to arm under sea and in the air. At the same time they are busy preparing new weapons which could wipe whole nations off the face of the earth.

The Offensive of Capital against the Working Class.

The capitalists all the world over are unable to unite for the reconstruction of the world, they are unable to give it peace and bread, and *thus they unite for a joint attack against the working class*. Everywhere they try to *cut the wages*, although these amount to less now than the workers received before the war to keep body and soul together. Notwithstanding the unemployment they try to *prolong the working day* everywhere. All over the world capital has taken the offensive against the workers. The war has piled up *pyramids of state debts*, and the imperialistic peace has increased them still more. The capitalist Governments do not dare to cancel these debts. Somebody must bear this burden, and since the capitalists, of course, do not want to do it, they try to shift them on the workers' shoulders. What are the state debts? They represent the right of capitalism to appropriate part of the product of labour without trouble, without in any way participating in production. *The offensive of capital has for its aim to force the workers to work harder, to produce more, in order that the war and peace profiteers should get an ever growing part of the product of proletarian labour*. During the war the workers, slaving in the factories and accommodating themselves to the demands of capital, enabled the latter to play havoc with the world, and now, in peace time, they do their strenuous work only to enable the hyenas of the battle fields to lead a life of joy and pleasure on these ruins.

The Results of the Reformist Policy.

For three years you hoped, in spite of all the war had taught you, that conditions would improve, that the capitalists would redeem their pledges given during the war, that they would give you democracy, the right of self-determination, bread and freedom. Alas, you hoped in vain. There is no nationalisation of the mines and, instead, the British miners must look on while

the coal kings cut their wages. The German workers had hoped, by submitting to the rule of the bourgeoisie, to bring about the socialisation of industry in a peaceful way, and now they must look on while the kings of German industry, the Stinnes and C^o, reach out for all the productive forces of the country, while they try to confiscate the railways and export the country's riches in order to hide away from the German people their foreign currency by depositing it in foreign banks. In France capital, united since the war, holds wider sway than ever before. In America *the rule of the Republican Party amounts to the plain and un concealed rule of the trusts*. Even the State bread subsidies have been abolished everywhere; he who cannot afford to pay the high price of bread may starve. Post-war democracy is nothing but a mask hiding the rule of the war profiteers; it is a screen behind which brainless diplomatists hatch plots against the nations. *White terror* is abroad in a number of capitalist countries; in India and Egypt this terror, which hitherto was directed against small groups, has been turned by the British world oligarchy against the masses. In *America, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia the militant leaders of the proletariat have been outlawed*. All the promises made by the *Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals* have come to nought. All these international organisations have proved incapable of leading you into the fight, if only for democracy and reforms. Their *coalition with the bourgeoisie* has reduced them to impotence, and whether they want or not, they help to strengthen the bourgeois rule.

The Necessity for a United Front.

Past events ought to have shown even to the blind that the Communist International was right in saying that the only means for the working class to attain liberty is to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, in close unity on an international scale to clear away the war ruins, and to begin the work of reconstruction. But we know that the fetters of the past still hold

the workers enchained, that the capitalist schools, press and church still exercise a great influence upon them. We know that great masses of the proletariat are still afraid and shrink from taking the power into their hands and shaping their own destinies. We know that wide proletarian masses are still afraid of such defeats as the Communist minorities have suffered in fighting to save the large masses from slavery. We know that the capitalist world press tries to discourage you by pointing to the wounds that the isolated Russian proletariat has received in its duel with the whole capitalist world. And therefore we say to you: *Well, you do not dare as yet to take up the struggle anew, you hesitate to rise with arms in hand to fight for power, for dictatorship. You do not dare as yet to begin the great offensive against the citadels of world reaction. Then at least unite in a common struggle for a bare existence, for bread and peace. Rally yourselves for this struggle in one united front, unite as a proletarian class against the class of world exploiters and traitors. Pull down the barriers that have been erected between you, link up into one united line, all of you, whether you are Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists or Syndicalists,—unite for the struggle against misery and want.*

The Communist Party always appealed to the workers who stood on the platform of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviets, to organise independent parties. The Communist Party does not withdraw a single word of what it has said in favour of the formation of independent Communist Parties. It is confident that day by day ever greater masses will come to realise that it was right in all it did and said. And yet, in spite of all that divides us, the Party says: *Workers of the world, unite for the common struggle, for the common aim.*

The workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists or even Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, *do not want to admit a further cutting of their wages.* They do not want to go on working while suffering starvation and exposure, and therefore *they*

must unite in a common front against the offensive of the employers.

The workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists, Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, do not want day after day to go begging for work from one factory gate to another. They all dread to be thrown into the street. Therefore they must rally *against everything that tends to increase unemployment.* And unemployment is sure to grow in all the industrial countries, if the German workers will have to go on working in the sweat of their brow as the slaves of the Entente and of German capital, as international sweaters, to enable the German capitalists to throw their goods on the world market at ruinous prices and thus to pay the Versailles contributions. Unemployment will grow, if the capitalist world puts Soviet Russia conditions that will enslave and oppress it and force the country to go on starving or to fight for life with arms in hand. *Therefore join to fight for the cancellation of the war debts, unite for the struggle against the throttling of Germany, and for the recognition of Soviet Russia and her reconstruction on conditions that correspond to the interests of the international proletariat.*

Not only does the proletariat suffer from unemployment; it is threatened by anarchy in production, it is threatened by the fact that the capitalists can produce and export whatever they like. The empoverished world demands a systematic distribution of the raw materials, their systematic utilisation, the control of the prices. Yet all this is impossible unless the working class gains control of production and unless the representative organs of the workers have the possibility to control the activities of the capitalistic disorganisers of industry. All the workers must unite in a common struggle for the control of production, for this is not only in the interests of the proletariat but also in the interests of the broadest strata of the petty bourgeoisie groaning under the bacchanalia of prices.

All the workers, be they Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists, Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, are

interested in preventing the capitalist diplomacy from bringing about a new world conflagration, they are interested in checking the doings of the capitalist diplomats. Therefore unite for the struggle against the capitalist armaments, against the capitalist intrigues!

Organise the United Front in the Workshops!

The Communist International calls upon all the Communists, all the honest workers, everywhere, in the whole world, in the workshops and in the meeting halls, to unite in a single family of workers supporting each other in all vicissitudes against the onslaught of capital. *Develop an iron will to achieve proletarian unity, a will which would crush every attempt at splitting the proletarian masses.* Only if you, proletarians, will thus unite in and outside the workshops, will all the Parties that look for support to the proletariat be obliged to unite for a joint defence against capital. This is the only way to force them to *break their alliance with the capitalist parties.*

Once the proletariat will be united, it will be able to utilise the scanty rights left to it by the capitalist sham democracy in order to fight for the improvement of the workers' conditions, for strengthening its positions. And thus we tell you: The giant Proletariat cannot stretch his limbs under the roof of the bourgeois hen-pen, he cannot rise to his full height. Once you begin to fight you will realise that you need *the sword of the dictatorship* in order to be victorious. Yet we know that this dictatorship *is possible only when the great majority of the proletariat will come to realise its necessity by their own experience.* And therefore the Communist Interna-

tional and the Communist Parties will patiently and in a brotherly spirit march together with the other proletarians, even if they stand on the platform of capitalist democracy. Once you join forces, once the whole proletariat stands in battle array, you will realise the tremendous power you represent. You will then see the *bourgeois who now, in a world of ruins, think themselves masters, become small and humble.* We are firmly convinced that you will follow the way that your best representatives have marked with their blood, the way for which hundreds of thousands of Russian workers have sacrificed their lives, the way for which Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogiches and hundreds of other fighters have died and for which tens of thousands are languishing in prison. We are firmly convinced that the fighting proletariat will be forced to enter upon the road of Communism and thus we call upon you, workers of the world, to unite.

Long live the united proletarian front directed against the bourgeoisie!

Onward, you workers, to the counter-attack against the offensive of capital!

Onward to the fight for the workers' control of industry!

Down with the capitalist armaments and plots!

Hands off Soviet Russia!

Bread and machines for the Russian workers!

Long live proletarian solidarity in every country and all over the world!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Labour Unions International.

Moscow, January 1st, 1922.