

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! M O S C O W

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

Interview with Jack Crosby.

Asked to give his opinion of the attitude of the American workers towards Russia, and to give his impressions of what he has seen since he has seen since he has. Been in Russia Jack Crosby told our representative the following:

Although the ultra-reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labour like Gompers etc., are doing everything possible to create hostile attitude toward Russia generally and its Trade Union movement particularly although all the reactionary labour and bourgeois press is persistently spouting hell and thunder against Russia the American workers have lost faith in their misleaders. They do not any more believe in the "body" "barbarian" bargees' fables red up to, them: but are beginning to upon Russian working class with atest confidence and respect. Two lion organised American workingmen have demanded from the government to lift the blockade and resume trade relations with Russia. 60 local and Central Labor Unions protested openly against mper's hooligan statements about Russia. d this move in favour of Soviet Russia on the increase.



The American Workers have been astonished by the marvelous feats performed by the gallant Red Army, defeating the capitalist armies of the whole world; crushing the countless counter-revolutions of Denikin, Kolchak, Wrangel, etc., and besides these military victories also the work, done by the Red Army on the economic front, are impressing very favourably the American workers.

Owing to the extremely grave crises the revolutionary sentiment in America is spreading, the revolutionary propaganda conducted by the Communist Party is finding fertile soil among the American working class.

The favourable attitude toward the Third International is so strong and widespread among the American workers that even the rank and file of the Socialist Party have voted to join the Communist International although their leaders and petty bourgeois politicians energetically opposed it, being in favour of the Yellow Second and Half International. Large numbers of Unions have sent their representatives to attend the Red Labour Union Congress in Moscow.

Crossing the border of Soviet Russia was the happiest moment of my life, because I left behind me the rotten capitalist world and set my feet on the soil of the new world — the free Communist Republic of Russian workers and peasants. The good order I found on the railroads, the fine doings on Soviet Agricultural Communes impress me with the best confidence in the ability of the Russian working class to create new happy future. I visited Russia fifteen years ago and can see very clearly the tremendous difference between then and now.

I am member of the Communist Party of America and of Marine Fireman's Union, and represent the Shoe Workers, Protective Union, the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America and five other Labour Unions for America being delegate to the Congress of the Red Labour Union International.

ENGLAND.

Miners strike negotiations.

London May 25th. In the opinion of the "Morning Post" as a result of tomorrow's conference, a ballot of the miners' will take place next week.

According to the "Daily Herald", the representatives of the miners will come to the conference with definite demands, and any changes in the conditions, which will be proposed to them, at the conference will not even be submitted to their constituents. The dockers of Glasgow decided yesterday to resume work, on the condition of establishing a national pool, for equalising profits, and the withdrawal of strikebreakers in view of their expulsion from the unions, and the expectation of some changes in the situation of the miners.

Effects of miners' strike.

Nauen. 25.5.21. The Cunard Company has postponed the sailing of the Mauretania on Sunday owing to the inability of providing coal.

British Trade Mission.

Horsea, May 26. (Wireless) The official British trade mission which is proceeding shortly to Moscow, will, it is understood, consist of about twenty persons. The first work of the mission will be to get into touch with the Soviet trade authorities, and from Moscow some of the British representatives may go to Petrograd and Archangel in order to promote trade in every possible direction. Subsequently visits will be paid to Ukraine and South Russia and, perhaps, to the Caucasus.

Stormy election in Ireland.

Nauen 26.5.21. (Wireless) The elections in Northern Ireland were accompanied by serious disturbances. As a result of the burning of the Dublin Custom House by Sinnfeiners, many important documents have been destroyed. The Headquarters of the Irish Transport Workers' Union were also destroyed by fire.

Dublin Customs Raided.

Horsea, 26th May. What is probably the most daring act perpetrated by Sinn Fein occurred yesterday when the Dublin Customs House was burnt down. This act was apparently planned with deliberate care. Armed bands of Sinn Feiners rushed the building, cast papers and books on the floor, sprinkled them with petrol and set them on fire. About the time, three tenders of auxiliaries, accompanied by an armed car were attacked near the custom house. The auxiliaries opened fire on their assailants and also poured a hail of bullets into the custom house, though the officials, including many girls were left in the building and stood in the windows with their hands up, waving white handkerchiefs.

Some tried to escape in small parties, but were killed, wounded or captured. Casualties are officially given as follows: Four auxiliaries wounded, seven sinnfeiners killed, 11 sinnfeiners wounded, 11 sinnfeiners captured. Official account says that the auxiliaries eventually stormed the building. Some of the sinnfeiners then surrendered and were found to be saturated with petrol. It is believed that some were burned to death. The custom house was the headquarters of several government departments and must have, in the ordinary course of events, played an important part in the Ireland self-government machinery.

English Telegrams.

On the principles laid down in the English text of the draft agreement the Peoples Commissars have agreed that the Commissariat of Post and Telegraphs sign the agreement with England of the exchange of telegrams by the English-Russian cable.

NORWAY.

General Strike in Norway.

Christiania, May 26. (Wireless from the "Arbeiderpresse" agency) Tomorrow at midnight begins the general strike of the Norwegian trade-unions against the attempt to reduce the workmen's wages. 600 men, avowedly whiteguards, have been mobilized in Christiania; in other parts of the country trustworthy troops are kept ready against the workers. Disorders have taken place in Hammerfest.

Riots in Norwegian Seamens' Strike.

Nauen 26.5.21. According from news from Hammerfest serious riots took place there. The sailors on strike completely disarmed the police.

Norwegian delegates.

Nauen. 25/5 (Wireless) — Comrades Grepp, Traulman and Maadsen have been elected members of the Norwegian "Chamber of Agitation" and comrades Shefflo, Hardsen, Fritz, Glausen, Bull, Villsen, Stedstad, Janetta and Arvid Hansen have been elected to represent the Norwegian Section of the Comintern at the III Congress in Moscow.

English miners' strike.

Horsea, May 25. Lloyd-George has invited the miners and coalowners to attend a conference with members of the government on Friday next. The premier's speech intimates that the informal conversations which have been in progress for some time between the various parties have resulted in an agreement on a basis which is likely to be found satisfactory, for the premier has emphatically stated that no new conference could be called by the government unless preliminary understandings were reached, which would insure that this conference would not prove abortive.

Lloyd George's Demands.

Lloyd George intends to appear at the forthcoming Conference of the Supreme Council and demand the payment by Poland of all the losses which were caused by the insurgents in Upper Silesia. The British Government is of the opinion that Korfanty has acted from the very beginning at the behest of the Polish Government, and therefore the latter should bear all responsibility for the actions of the insurgents.

Is it the end?

The L. T. A. reports that there are evidences of the speedy liquidation of the miners strike. In the Birmingham district nearly 1000 workers have restarted work.

POLAND.

Communism Will Conquer.

At a meeting of the Seim held on May 24th, when the question of Amnesty arose, the Communist Lengunsky, of the Seim fraction of Polish Socialist Party declared: "the project of Amnesty is nothing more or less, then hypocritical comedy enacted for the benefit of those abroad. You do not wish to relieve all political prisoners, because you think, that with that you would commit an act of weakness, and you wish to demonstrate your strength to the very last that will not avail you. Communism has deeply planted its roots in Poland and neither the government nor the Seim, can pull them up. Communism will gain the victory over you.

Communist's Speech.

A great sensation was caused by the speech of Deputy Langutski who appeared officially in the Seim in the name of the Polish Communists. Langutski concluded his speech expressing full confidence in the victory of Communism. This is the first Communist speech in the Seim.

SILESIA.

Establishment of Extraordinary Authority.

As a result of the inactivity of the Inter-allied Plebiscite Commission a representative organ of the Upper Silesian population Composed of twelve delegates, was elected by all the parties in conjunction with the Trade Unions. An Extraordinary Executive Committee was formed of three prominent political men from the delegates. General Hoffer, the leader of the German Self Defence Detachment has received a mandate from this commission.

Destruction of Bridges.

The insurgents on the Ode have blown up two bridges in order to hinder the right bank of the river.

Against The Recruiting of Volunteers.

"Freiheit" continues its warnings against the advance of revolutionary detachments into Upper Silesia and again shows the attempts being made by the Nationalist to take advantage of Korfanty's insurrection and make use of it for monarchist purposes. It is emphatically proposed that the government dissolve the bands of the "Orgesh" operating in Upper Silesia. The paper threatens the government with independent action by the proletariat if it does not take more energetic steps in counter-acting reaction. The Independants organised a demonstration to protest against the enrolling of recruits and the adventure of the Nationalists.

The Situation in Upper Silesia.

Lyons, May 26. (Wireless). The "Petit Parisien" states that the German railwaymen, by order of their trade-union, continue to strike and that the funds which the Reichsbank sent to Upper Silesia are not sufficient to pay the wages to the Polish workmen.— The Prussian cabinet has delegated the Secretary of State for the Interior to the frontier of the plebiscite territory in order to obtain information with regard to the efficiency of the measures taken for the closing of the frontier.

Korfanty's Insolence.

Korfanty has called upon the towns of Upper Silesia to surrender, otherwise he says it will be impossible to re-establish normal economic life in the country, and Upper Silesia will be ruined.

France and Poland.

The French Government has intrusted its ambassador in Warsaw to present to the Polish Government a categorical demand that the latter adopt the same measures as were exacted by the Allies from the Germans.

The Government is urged to make immediate steps for the prevention of aggressive action and the speedy liquidation of the bands which are centres of the revolt.

GERMANY.

Judgement in the Leipzig Trials.

Nauen, May 26. (Wireless). Non-commissioned officer Neynen has been sentenced to ten years imprisonment for maltreatment of prisoners of war. Today the trial of another war prisoner will commence.

An Appeal to the Workers

The Dresden railwaymen, Saxon Social Democrats, Saxon Independents and Saxon Communists have issued a manifesto to the workers appealing to them to prevent the despatch of troops to Upper Silesia, which is still proceeding in spite of the official orders of the German and Saxon Governments.

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On the Eve of the Congress.

Reviewing the successes achieved by the communist movement during the last year we have a right to be proud of the results attained. At the Second Congress of the Communist International there were only two large parties present, — Russian and Italian. Even then, the latter from the standpoint of consistent communism, represented a doubtful quantity. This has been strikingly proven at its Congress in Livorno, where the majority refused to accept the conditions formulated by the Third International, thus detaching itself from it. It must therefore be stated that there was actually only one large communist party at the second Congress of the Communist International. A year has elapsed. Despite the prognostications of our enemies, who predicted that we would lose the last of our adherents during that year, the world communist army has everywhere grown in magnitude and strength. In spite of the fact that not only the capitalists of the entire world but also the social traitors of the Second International and the Centrists have launched a furious onslaught upon communism, they were unable to stop the irresistible growth of the revolutionary parties. The compromisers of the centre have appropriated from us a few phrases in order to use them as a screen and to hinder our cause, and, at the behest of the world bourgeoisie they finally organised their own Vienna International, or the Two and a Half International, hoping thereby to prevent the discontented working masses, who have lost all faith in the Second International, from rallying to the banner of the Third International. But all their cunning, all the threats, slander and violence was in vain.

At the Third Congress of the Communist International there will be more than one great communist party. Communist parties have now been organised in all great capitalist countries. Three quarters of the old Socialist Party in France immediately went over to communism and formed a Communist Party with one hundred and twenty thousand members, which, according to French standards, is of considerable magnitude. In its political campaigns, especially for the last few months, this Party has won its communist spurs, and it can now come to the world Congress with head erect. One half of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany has joined the Spartacists and formed the United Communist Party with a membership of five hundred thousand. The failure of the last communist uprising in Germany has not in the least affected the virility of the party. Only a few leaders stumbled, but the masses rallied still closer to the banner of the party and are eager to enter the battle anew. For the first time we have in England a Communist Party which, for England, is of imposing dimensions. Within a very short time it numbers within its ranks some twenty five thousand members, i. e., it almost equalled the old Socialist organisation of England, the I. L. P. in its heyday with its forty thousand members.

We are agreed that the figure in itself is small, but at no times has the British proletariat represented such a favourable soil for Communist propaganda as it does at the present time, when the masses become naturally imbued with a revolutionary spirit and enter upon a struggle with capitalism despite and over the heads of their leaders. In Italy the Communist elements have left the Socialist Party and have formed a separate Communist Party. We are not in the least perturbed by the fact that so far Communist are in the minority, as we are perfectly well aware, that the great majority of the workers, who still remain in the old party are also in with us, which is the reason why Seratti holds on for all he can to the Third International. When he, Seratti will completely break with the Third International, which will take place in the event of the Centre categorically refusing to reject opportunism, we are sure that the great majority of the heroic proletariat of the Italian vanguard will then find its place in the Communist Party. The extent to which the Centrists are obliged to pretend to be in favour of Soviets, can be judged

by the fact that they, like the Communists, are compelled to accept our done is to add a book to our "Hammer and Sickle", which throws Jean Longuet into the seventh heaven of delight. This Serattists intended to demonstrate and to hint at the fact that the crude Communists ignore knowledge. The question however is what kind of book have they added. If it is Marx, we of course, do not object. But if it is Bernstein, as it most likely, it will not do at all.

In addition to this, quite a number of new Communist Parties have been formed in other countries, as for instance, in Switzerland, Spain, Rumania, Techecko-Slovakia, and so forth. By reason of the as well as by the number of its members, the Techecko-Slovak Party is one of the said to be on a par with any of the largest parties, whilst in many other respects it is in reality, one of the strongest in the world.

In certain countries, such for instance, as Norway and Sweden, the socialist and doubtful elements, and has become more uniform in consequence, and that of course, also means, that they have become more adapted for a consistent Communist policy, and corresponding activity. In Bulgaria and Serbia, the Communist Party has become consolidated, and has grown very strong by having absorbed all those working class elements which formerly stood aside. In short the growth of Communism in the old world is more conspicuous.

What is of most importance however, is the fact that the peoples of the East, oppressed by capitalism, are beginning to join the Communist movement. With the exception of Turkey and Persia, which have Communist Parties, the rest of the East has no such parties, but instead has Communist groups and organisations which are gradually undergoing a more extensive development. Under the influence of Communist propaganda we observe, for the first time in the history of the mysterious East, and of the so-called "Coloured Nations" that these are being continually attracted into the sphere of historic action and enlist into the universal struggle of the workers for emancipation from the yoke of world capitalism. A perusal of the list of those organisations which have been invited to take part in the Third Congress of the Communist International, shows the names of exotic countries and colonies, such as Japan, Azerbeidjan, Armenia, Cuba, Java, Central America, South Africa, Bokhara, India, China, and Korea. The myopic heroes of the Second International naughtily ridicule this march of the oppressed peoples of the East. This outlook portrays the spiritual poverty of these heroes. We remember the time when they treated the Russian Bolsheviks, in the same manner, asserting that the latter are no more than a handful of people not enjoying a support of the Russian masses. Their shortsightedness was exposed by the course of history. What has happened in Russia is very feasible also in the East. That the peoples of the East are awakening is an undoubted fact. But it is not given to everyone to understand that Communism is the only force capable of a consistent struggle and therefore predestined as the natural guide for these nations, who are rising against the capitalist yokes. It will not surprise us in the least, if at the forth coming congresses of the Communist International, the Communists of the East will bring with them a following of many and many millions of adherents. At all events, it is clear to us that without the active participation of the masses which are oppressed by imperialism, humanity will not free itself from exploitation and the European-American proletariat in particular will not be able to deal its class enemy the necessary mortal blow.

With the Communist International, the movement of the labouring masses becomes, for the first time, truly universal embracing every part of the world and raising all nations and races. For a short period, for a period of not more than three years, Communism has made tremendous conquests. The Communist International has already succeeded in rallying under its banner millions of pioneer workers and peasants inspired with a common idea and a common will. It is now only necessary fully to utilize this power, which is noticeably growing day by day. It is necessary to correctly direct it and to point out the truest way to victory. It is the task of the forthcoming congress of the Communist International to do all this, and we entertain no doubt whatever that this task will be duly fulfilled.

U. Stekolov.

The International Situation.

The Tasks of the Congress of the Communist International.

Karl Radek.

II Before New Battles.

Superficially, it would appear that the Third Congress of the Communist International is being called under much less favourable circumstances than the Second Congress. While the Second Congress was being held the guns of the Red Army were booming on the Vistula, and were re-echoed, not only on the Spree but also on the Thames. The impressionist, who not only misses the booming of the guns of the Red Army, but perceives the internal difficulties of the Soviet Government, and sees how it is compelled to go back on a great part of its policy, and compromise with England, the greatest force of the counter-revolution, chants an elegy. One fact is outstanding in this atmosphere and that is that there were many revolutionaries, who hoped that the Red Army would save them the necessity of emancipating the proletariat of their country by their own efforts. They forget however, that the taking of Warsaw would not have removed the difficulties for the proletarian Government of Soviet Russia, but would have presented greater tasks for it to accomplish. Those tasks would have been accomplished by Soviet Russia only on the condition that, at the taking of Warsaw, a revolution in Germany at least followed, and a united front was established from the Rhine to Vladivostok; in short, on the condition that the forces of agrarian Russia united with the industrial forces of Germany under the Proletarian Dictatorship. That these conditions did not prevail in Germany in the summer of last year is known to everybody who is a little more intimately acquainted with the development of the German revolution. When this had become clear to everybody, the fate of the Polish campaign was sealed. The fact that Poland did not become the bridge between Germany and Russia is not due to the military defeats, but to the absence of a revolution in Germany.

The international situation of the preceding year can be characterised by two facts: the final defeat of the counter-revolutionary armies of the Entente by the Red Armies of Soviet Russia. After the route of Wrangel in December 1920, had brought the first period in the history of Soviet Russia to an end, after the junker and capitalist counter-revolution had been defeated, the task that confronted the Proletariat Government of Russia was, to consolidate itself, by devising that form of economic structure more in accordance with the social constitution of the State. Already in 1904—1905, the Bolshevik Party declared that the Russian Revolution would establish the Dictatorship of the peasants and the working class. Comrades Trotzky and Luxemburg then put forward a counter-formula of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat based on the power of the peasants. One can argue over these formulae as one will. The basis of both these formulae however, remains the same; the recognition that in a country with an 85% peasant population the dictatorship of the working class is impossible unless it understands how to secure the support of the peasantry. In April 1917, Lenin in his debates with Kameneff declared that in Russia only transitional measures to Communism were possible. In a speech in April 1918, on the immediate tasks of the Soviet Government, Lenin crystallised this position and declared that the economic basis of the proletarian domination could only consist in the socialisation of the heavy industry, the railways and the monopoly of foreign trade.

The fact that the Soviet Government went beyond these limits was due to the necessities of the war in general, the necessity for gathering all the sources of the State for carrying on the war, and for alleviating the poverty of the masses; and to the civil war in particular, which necessitated the smashing of the class enemies, i. e. their expropriation. Now, when the Soviet Government feels that the war measures are an obstacle; when it permits the establishment of small industry; when it attempts to attract foreign capital for the purpose of developing the productivity of the country, under the control of the proletarian dictatorship; when it is attempting to clear the ground for the development of agriculture, it means the struggle for the consolidation of proletarian rule in Russia, the creation of the new conditions for the future active participation of Soviet Russia in the development of the world. Naturally this process will not take place without struggles; naturally much that is dazzling and striking in the policy of the Soviet Government will have to disappear, to the great sorrow

of the agitator. It will have to disappear not only because Soviet Russia has to entertain certain considerations since it de facto entered the existing political world system through the Trade Treaty with England, but also because Soviet Russia must adjust its entire economic system to the raising of productive forces of a petty bourgeois country, in order to play this world role.

What is the situation at the opposite pole. The capitalist press throughout the world is rejoicing over the collapse of communism in Soviet Russia, although there has been no communism in Russia up to now, but only a proletarian government struggling for bare life. It is rejoicing over the collapse of communism, in order to conceal the fact of the ever-greater decay of capitalism. Two and a half years have passed since the world war came to an end, and we ask: where is the reconstruction of capitalism? A universal economic crisis is shaking its very foundations. And those who have been dinnning into the workers ears: only work can save us are now closing down one factory after the other. World capitalism can only be saved if it consolidates all the resources of the world and endeavours to save the world as a whole, was the declaration made in 1919 by the English economist Keynes and the American banker Frank Vanderlip. And we are living to see how France is ruining Germany only to save itself from bankruptcy. Every measure taken by France against Germany signifies not only the ruin of German economic life but also the ruin of English economic life because France exacts more coal from Germany than it can possibly use, it is restive competition against the English coal industry, which, threatened at the same time by the American industry, can only maintain itself by reducing the standard of living of the English miners, i. e. by aggravating the class antagonism in England. The economic development of Germany is being brought by its capitulation to the Entente into difficulties out or which there is only one way: revolution. The question arises: why does the English government, which at first opposed this policy, now support it when this policy will rob England of its best customer, and thus hasten the ruin of its economic life, bringing in its train the social revolution? The answer to these questions may be found in two facts: England feared the union of French and German capitalism, as carried on by Stinnes and Loucheur. A capitalist block from the Channel to the Vistula and farther — Poland being a vassal of France — to the Beresina, would mean the creation of a Continental power which would also extend over Russia. But it was not only the fear of the possibility of the rise such a power that drove England into an alliance with the military cliques of France which are consumed by fear even for a Germany that would restore its economic life under the management of France and would pay tribute for its life. It is the fear of America which compels England to fulfill all the desires of the French military clique. Whether the report of a secret Anglo-French agreement directed against the United States of America be true or not, the fact remains that the English government conducts its politics from the viewpoint of its struggle against American competition. If it be true that only the erection of International kartels and trusts can give capitalism the power of mastering for some time longer the decaying influence — and it is undoubtedly true — then this policy of economic and political competition signifies the continued ruin of the capitalist world. Its main European representative, England, is already being driven to destroy Europe, in order to save itself from America. In the Orient, England is fighting defensive struggle. Even if we estimate the concessions made by Lord Milner in Egypt and by Lord Reading in India as very slight, they are nevertheless acts performed by the English bourgeoisie only because it feels how much it is losing ground.

Neither on the economic field nor in world politics is world capital consolidating itself. And even that which gives impressionist the idea that a victorious counter-revolutionary is speeding through the world — the attack of English capital against the miners, the defeat of the Central German Proletariat, the bellicose attitude of the Orgesch, the white terror, Horthy Gang, are only pre-monitions of new great battles.

To be continued.

The March Defeat.

The lot of the German working class is tragic. In spite of the fact that it continually maintains that it has the most progressive workers organisation of the world, that is not only economically more important, but has attained greater political heights than the workers' organisations of any other country, it nevertheless entirely lacks political sagacity. This is proved not only by its attitude during the last few years of the great world crisis, but also by its conduct during numerous international political complications before the war. In entire ignorance of the revolutionary obligations which it, as the future bearer of a new system of society, must accept, it entirely lost its bearings during the war, and remained completely passive towards the reactionary forces at home, as well as towards the insane policies of the rulers in foreign affairs. In short, the German workers evinced no independent political vitality, and never gave evidence of the will to drive the bourgeoisie out of its battlements by resolute struggle. Not even the Russian revolution of March and October 1917 really caused any disturbance in their rank. The Trade Union bureaucracy and the party bureaucracy, which proceeded entirely along imperialistic channels of thought, found it an easy task to tie the organised working movement to the chariot of the German bourgeoisie; the unorganised workers were, if possible, spiritually even less independent. On November 1918, when for three days the banner of the revolution had been flying in Bavaria and the coast towns, the general commissions and the trade unions were still able to publish an appeal warning the workers with the greatest urgency against participation in the revolution. When, on the following day, the revolution spread victoriously throughout the empire, it did not even occur to the workers to chase that crowd of traitors at their head out of their ranks.

The power of the bourgeoisie had dissolved into nothingness and it lay completely in the hands of the workers to make of Germany a real socialist republic. The great economic education and the mass of socialist consciousness which they were pleased to boast of before all the world for thirty years, apparently prevented them from taking an energetic step forward. Incompetent to make anything out of the power that has fallen into their hands while they slept, they retreated step by step, and raised the fallen bourgeoisie anew to its ruling position. The general German trade union organisation and the leaders of the Social Democratic Party remained as ever their recognised leaders. The social revolution was replaced by an alliance with the capitalists, which Karl Legien and Hugo Stinnes had concluded. Instead of expropriating the bourgeoisie the armed workmen was used to protect the capitalists' coffers and Noske was able to murder ten thousand workers in the name of the democratic republic, without fearing the rebellion of any considerable portion of the labour movement. Instead of organising economic life, instead of securing the existence of the working class, Germany's economic life was systematically destroyed, and countless numbers of workers were left to starve in the greatest misery. The "Chosen Leaders" preached patience to the workers in these circumstances and patience has been exercised with little recalcitration.

In this atmosphere and among this working class material the revolutionary labour elements organised in the Spartacus Band commenced and continued their activities. Only those who know these conditions precisely can imagine the possibilities of the German revolution and estimate the success of the efforts of the Communist party. During the existence of the German Communist Party, Germany has suffered a great number of severe economic and political disturbances, and in almost every one of these situations Communist attempted to seize the leadership of the movement, to force its will upon the process of development, or at any rate drive a large part of the proletariat towards the revolution. The passivity of the great masses, neglecting to make use of revolutionary situations, was explained by critics of the German Communists not from the standpoint of the objective circumstances under which the Communists were compelled to labour, but were rather attributed to incompetence or cowardice on the part of the German Communists who neither appeared to understand, nor had the will to do their duty in revolutionary situation. This is however an entirely unfounded assumption. And yet we do not desire to deny that, owing to the dull spirit of which the German revolution developed, negative, sceptical for-

ces arose within the ranks of the Communists too. Many were imbued with the feeling that it were better to avoid abstracts which had not been overcome during the two previous struggles. They produce a policy of irresoluteness, even create such a policy a Fabian-Cunctator theory, and abandon the conception that the Communists as the revolutionary vanguard, must fight, and by such fighting activity prove to the masses, that the Communists are the true leaders of the revolution; they incline towards the idea that the masses can only be prepared for the great future struggle with the bourgeoisie by simple intensive educating work.

This conception had already taken root in hearts of the Communist party of Germany when the latter combined with the Left Wing of the Independents in December of last year and formed the K. A. P. D. The sudden growth of the Communist Party to teatimes its previous membership strengthened the elements inclined to passivity, whereas on the other hand the tasks and the revolutionary obligations of the new party grew tremendously. On that December day all the speakers laid stress on the fact that the party should no longer confine itself to the simple propaganda of communist ideas, that the size of the party brought with it the duty of revolutionary activities. "The existence of a communist party in Germany is dependent upon its revolutionary deeds. Without revolutionary action it is doomed to death", was the way in which one of the speakers at the party congress characteristically expressed it. But it is much easier to talk about revolutionary activity than to realise it. The great misery in which the proletarians live, the continually growing cost of living, the burden of taxation, the increase of unemployment, the limitation of production and consequent cessation or reductions of wages for many hundreds of thousands of proletarians, forced the party to choose the policy of the general battle of the working class against the German bourgeoisie. In their well known open letter they appealed to the other political parties and trade union organisations, urging co-operation in this struggle, for safe guarding the existence of the working class. Millions of workers agreed to the demands made in this open letter, nevertheless all the parties and trade union organisations refused this offer of co-operation in the struggle.

In this situation, the German bourgeois government experienced a number of difficulties outside of politics, in addition to those in the social field. In order to deprive the government of the possibility of establishing itself at the expense of the proletariat by provoking new catastrophes and committing new deceptions, the Communist party appealed to the masses to commence the struggle for the protection of the existents of the labour mass against the bourgeoisie and its government. This step to organise the masses for the defensive struggle was not supported by all the party leaders. The pessimistic elements could not awake from their lethargy, and when, owing to number of external circumstances, the struggle proved not entirely successful, men arose in the party, who openly committed sabotage. The trade union bureaucracy, as well as the leaders of the independent and social democratic party took advantage of the situations to discredit the Communist party by mean suspicions and falsifications in order to rehabilitate themselves in the favour of the masses. It is self evident that the bourgeoisie did not remain an inactive spectator when the right labour leaders, assisted by the passive attitude of a number of Communist leaders began the attack on the Communist party, thus making a united struggle against the bourgeoisie impossible. All the well known methods of the civil war, of the victorious bourgeois were immediately brought to bear against the Communist workingmen; and what the right leaders and the saboteurs within the Communist Party had not succeeded in accomplishing, was completed by the white terror—the collapse of the March action.

Ten thousand proletarians found their way into prison. By means of 40 Extraordinary Courts the social-democratic President of the German Republic had swift justice instituted, by which the workers were sentenced to death and long terms of imprisonment. Innumerable communist delegates were subjected to the punitive vengeance of the Bourgeoisie or the persecution of the trade union bureaucracy, which called out strikes, with the single purpose of depriving communist workers of the means of subsistence. It was under these circumstances that Paul Levi arose as the accuser of the Central Board of the Communist

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Though the name of Winston Churchill is synonymous in British politics with adventure, muddle, and bankruptcy that does not deter him from finding new scope for his swashbuckling career. The hero of Sidney Street, Antwerp, Gallipoli and Archangel—the secret compact with General Golovin and his White Guards will be fresh to everyone—has assumed a new role. He is now Colonial Secretary for Great Britain.

No sooner is he invested with the chains of office than he plans an excursion to the Middle East, presumably to see at first hand fresh fields for adventure. This man in the estimation of the heavily taxed middle class, may be mad but there is a grain of method in his madness. He is probably no more than a pliable tool in the hands of the financial clique that runs the British Empire. Of that we shall see presently.

The secret of his visit to the East has at last been given publicity and reveals the octopus of British Imperialism at work in no uncertain manner.

It is well known that since the Armistice strong feelings have existed between the British and American oil interests concerning Mesopotamian oil rights. The Yankees, apprehensive of a British monopoly, have protested against the machinations of the British Administration, alledging that it was sorting out the territory in its own interests.

With characteristic naivete the British reply is that such "development" as has already taken place has been purely for military and administrative purposes. With regard to oil, their interests they contend, have been limited to one well, to obtain a supply for military purposes, from a point nearer Baghdad than the Anglo-Persian depot below Basrah. The ownership of the oil they say remains with the administrations—now British, hereafter Arab—which will not establish a monopoly though it may regulate the conditions of development.

They point out that the rights of exploitation conceded by Abdul Hamid were eventually leased early in 1914 to an Anglo-German body, the Turkish Petroleum Company, the German interests in which came during the war into British possession. These rights were transferred to France under the San Remo agreement in return for facilities for the construction of a pipe line to the Mediterranean through Syria.

(Continued from previous col.)

Party and the Executive Committee. It was under such circumstances that Paul Levi, together with a considerable number of the party leaders, declared that German Communist Party was dead. This was the situation in which, passing judgment upon the March action, they called out their cold "Never again": But the masses of workingmen who were members of the Communist Party and considered it as their strong weapon, decided otherwise. The first fight had scarcely passed when the communist organisations gathered and gave their opinion of the struggle that had just taken place. Almost unanimously the members of all the locals throughout the country declared: "We undoubtedly committed errors during the struggle, but in its entirety the action was an inevitable necessity. Paul Levi and his associates are wrong. Our party will not die by this defeat, it will learn from it for the benefit of the inevitable struggles to come. "The members said that it was not possible to learn how to beat the opponents in one single battle, the struggle for the defeat of the enemy must be practised. Solidarity in our own ranks must be augmented. The vacillating elements among our leaders must be removed and the saboteurs ejected. And when, by means of such a cleansing and attainment of greater solidarity, when by increasing our self-confidence, have lent more union and firmness to our party, then the masses of workers outside our ranks, the proletarians who have been deceived by their leaders, will have greater faith in us, Communists. The victory of the bourgeoisie over the Communist vanguard, has not destroyed the Communist Party, it has only yielded the bourgeoisie a Pyrrhic victory. The political and extra-political difficulties of bourgeois society are increasing and the objective pre requisite conditions for the revolution are keeping rapidly developing, whereas on the other hand, and also as a consequence of the March action, the subjective prerequisites for the proletarian victory are augmenting".

Not only the sessions of the party board proved the untenableness of Levi's arguments and the weakness of his supporters, but the results of the votes in the various locals after ample pro and

Thus the Turkish Petroleum Company, now Anglo-French, has a vested interest in the oil of Mesopotamia. These interests, they argue against the Yankees, are not among the fruits of victory, since they were disposed of before the war. Such is the gist of the controversy.

Mr. Churchill has been to the East. It is now contemplated to run this pipe line as mentioned above from Mesopotamia to the Palestine port of Haïdo, a distance of over 700 miles. Obviously, such a proposal cuts across the conflicting State interests of the small nationalities and has to be reconciled. This it is proposed by Churchill to do by "organising a chain of native autonomous states federally related to Gt. Britain". Thus Emir Feisal, the son of Hussein of the Hedjaz could rule Mesopotamia. The mountainous territory of Kurdistan, he suggests, should form an "autonomous province". The country beyond Jordan is to be an independent state under Emir Abdullah. Palestine is to have a defence force composed of equal numbers of Jews and Arabs though the Arabs are said to number 85% of the population. King Hussein and the Imam of Genian (in Southern Arabia North of Aden) are to receive annual subsidies etc.

But supplementary to these arrangements, it is interesting to note that for present in the vicinity of this area, there are no less than 112,000 armed forces. These are disposed of as follows: Constantinople 9,350, Egypt 18,030, Palestine 7,700, Mesopotamia 76,900. The cost of this army works out at L 37,267,600. Finally and this is probably the real secret of Churchill's visit, it is proposed to establish an immense air station in Mesopotamia. This station to be a link between Gt. Britain, India and Australia. It is suggested that by such a station the route to Australia will be reduced to eight days.

Against the huge military expenditure Churchill promises curtailment since the "Royal Air Force" he says could then be the "paramount factor" and will "police" the whole area.

The reduction and removal of the troops in the Middle East may be comforting to the natives who are promised "half determination". They can hardly view with gratitude the prospects of a "Royal Air Force" that is to act as "Police" for the area, especially with such a man as Churchill at the head of affairs.

Thomas Bell.

con discussions yielded convincing evidence thereof. Furthermore, in opposition to Levi and his supporters the German communists have clearly recognised the great services to the entire international communist movement of the March action and its consequences. The German Party commenced in those days its internal transformation from a mass party for the carrying on of propaganda, into a fighting organisation. The loss of members it has suffered through this March action by estranging the luke warm and vacillating elements, will shortly be retrieved by a still greater stream of active proletarians into its ranks. The March struggle demonstrated for the first time that great proletarian masses in Germany no longer drop blindly into political events, but that they enter the battle, organised and fully conscious. This signifies tremendous progress on the path of the German revolution and cannot be estimated too highly. In any case the Communist Party of Germany now understands how to make use of all the experiences of the March struggle, both from a political and organising stand-point, it will not or become the leader of the proletariat in Germany, but one of the most active members of the International as well.

A Struggle with three Enemies.

Van-Ching-Gung, President of the Supreme Court of China, who has just arrived from Geneva, declares that China is faced with a struggle against three enemies: (1) with the 2nd point in the statutes of the League of Nations which contains a clause, provoking to China dangerous to the League itself; (2) the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which in event of an impending war, would make China take sides with the United States; and (3) the notes of Lansing and Ives which violate the rights of China and out of its geographic position. He declared that China is determined to stand its demands.

Strikes in Lower Silesia.

Paris, May 24. (Radio.) According to information received from Hamburg, workers in Lower Silesia have begun a strike, claiming an increase of their wages.

Japanese Workers' Problems.

MOSCOW

MAY 28th 1921.

While the Japanese imperialists, having tasted the fruits of their policy, are striving to seize as much territory as possible on the Asiatic continent, a deep sense of class consciousness is growing amongst the Japanese proletariat. Their leaders, who understand thoroughly the international situation of the East Asiatic continent, already foretell the inevitable collapse of Japanese imperialism.

Take for example the leading article of Osugi in his journal "The Labour Movement":—"Siberia, Korea and China threaten Japan", he says "The majority of our readers will be loathe to believe this, but I moreover foretell this to happen in the very near future. Just look at Russia. England and France have withdrawn their forces. Wrangel, the last anti-bolshevik leader has collapsed. Ataman Semenov, the last anti-bolshevik in Siberia, is shattered. Japan alone is continuing the struggle against Bolshevism, in spite of the fact that all its attempts to strangle the latter have been without result. Another factor, which brings the collapse of Japanese imperialism nearer, is the Canton Government. The next six months will result in the organisation of a new and large republic to the South of the Yang-tse. In that case, our military circles true to their traditions, will help the North. But that will only lead to the formation of an alliance between the South and Soviet Russia".

Such is the picture which Osugi paints, and here are the conclusions to which he arrives.

"Many Japanese are awakening. Of that, there is no doubt. For the bankruptcy of capitalism drives them to it. And that leads to the best intentioned Japanese loosing more and more their faith in Japanese imperialism. That is why we say we must not sit with our arms folded. What must be the attitude of the workers and socialists towards the oncoming downfall of the Japanese Empire? (this is what Osugi calls the revolution under the difficulties of censorship). We can solve this question only when we come face to face with the collapse (revolution) but we cannot let slip the opportunity for preparation. We must discipline ourselves. We must perfect our organisation. The degree of our discipline will determine the path which we must take when the desintegration of the Japanese empire takes place".

If we turn to the latest figures which describe the position of the possibilities of a revolution in Japan. In the four chief branches of Japanese industry we have more than one and a half million workers.—Textile industry—720,000; engineering—230,000; chemical—140,000 and mining 440,000. Of these about 160,000 are organized, and form the following percentage of the mass of workers. In the respective industries: textile workers 6.6%, engineers 13%, chemical workers 6.4%, miners 12%. Comrade Osugi is quite right when he points to the need of perfecting the organisations of the Japanese working class. Obviously the immediate problem of the latter is to strengthen the Trade Union Movement amongst the Japanese proletariat.

On the other hand if we turn to the figures describing the development and growth of strikes in Japan, we see that for the 14 years from 1900 to the beginning of the war, there were 302 strikes affecting 58,000 workers. But for the last six years—from 1914 to 1920.—there were 1534 strikes affecting 211,000 workers. From January to August 1920 there were 52 strikes affecting 72,608 strikers. Of course these are official figures which are a great deal short of the actual figures. However we can determine even from these figures that it is becoming more and more necessary for the working class of Japan to step into the fight for improving their really distressing condition. And in so far as it takes its place in this fight for its class interests the building up of its organisation becomes inevitable. Hence the growth of the class consciousness of the Japanese proletariat.

Japanese imperialism is digging its own grave in a sanguinary conflict in Eastern Asia. The Japanese proletariat is learning that such a struggle is inevitable, and is gathering its forces so that it can take its place in the revolution—united and disciplined. The revolution which alone can divert the catastrophe of an immense imperialist conflict in the Eastern Hemisphere.

V. C. Vilenski.

The National Conference. Russian Communist Party.

The National Conference of the Russian Communist Party was opened on May 26. Comrade Lenin, opening, said that the conference was called earlier in order to discuss questions of our economic policy: the food tax; that it is the important question at the present time.

The following Comrades were elected to the presidium: Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, Petrovsky, Evedokimoff, Novosevich, and Landau. The following elections were confirmed. 1) Secretariat, from the secretaries of the Central Committee. 2) Credentials Committee, composed of Comrades Kiseleva, and Komapova, and 3) the revision committee composed of Comrades Katanyana, Bladimirova, and N. Mestcherakova.

Comrade Lenin then reported on the agricultural Tax. Which will be published in a future number.

After the report of comrade Lenin, there were reports from comrade Milutin—on small industry, and comrade Khinchuk—on cooperation.

Before the adjournment, the delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Editor, and the founder of the Cen-

tral organ of the German Communist Party, comrade Talbeim, conveyed hearty greetings, which were met with a storm of applause. He said, the first impression created, on the arrival into Soviet Russia, is that undoubtedly, the power lies in the hands of the working class. In Germany, the revolutionary feelings of the proletariat is increased, and strengthened by the example of the Russian Revolution. The March revolt did not prove successful, but it has been proved, that the Party after that was much stronger than before. The Party, as a great mass force is preparing for the decisive struggle for Power, and when that will be accomplished, that will serve as a spur to the European upheaval, because an alliance of industrial Soviet Germany and Russia with her resources, will create the most hopeful bulwark of the Revolution, and will rapidly take the path of regeneration.

On the proposal of the Presidium the conference passed a resolution to greet the German workers languishing in the prisons on account of the March revolt.

The De-nationalisation of small industry.

Whilst the discussion about the possibility of de-nationalizing small enterprises is still taking place, Professor E. Varga in the columns of the "Economic Life" suggests the following plan for freeing these enterprises from the sphere of government control.

In his opinion: It would have been much better to follow the example of the Italian industrial undertakings, which has met with so much success. Let these enterprises become the property of the workers who work in them. The workers, in the capacity of owners of the enterprises invite into their service a manager, as is done in the Italian building and agricultural implement industries. Once the industries belong to the workers, the latter are free to invite as manager even the former owner and to allow him to participate in the distribution of profits of which he is an expert.

It is of course necessary to emphasize the point that such a departure from the sphere of government control is only possible in the case of these enterprises which consume only those materials obtained locally, and therefore stand clear of the general control of the government. Those enterprises consuming materials which are state monopolies e. g. metals, salt, etc. cannot be freed in the manner

indicated above. Here, the relations between the workers, taking over a given enterprise must be the same as those which existed between the government and contractors during the war. The government, by special agreement gives those enterprises which have been given independence a fixed amount of coal, iron, etc. and the enterprise in its turn is compelled to give to government in exchange a fixed quantity of finished goods. Such enterprises at the same time have the right to accept orders on the open market.

Such a proposal must however be worked out in detail. In any case we believe that the real solution lies in this direction. As a result, separate enterprises could then either be united or directed by a consumers' cooperative or by the trade unions — but only in a very loose form".

Of course our Mensheviks shout to the workers of the West that the Bolsheviks have bitten off more than they can swallow and that they are compelled to re-establish the rights of expropriated bourgeois property. But we know that in Western Europe those specific Russian conditions which made it necessary to nationalise all industry, large and small are absent. (V. M. S.)

Economic Problems of the Pacific Ocean.

The "Far Eastern Tribune" (No 17) publishes an interesting article on the economic problems of the Pacific.

"For three centuries" — writes the paper — "the Atlantic Ocean was the

centre of attraction for the economic interests, and political interests closely related to them, of different nations and States: now there is no doubt that the Pacific Ocean will soon become the point of concentration for the economic and political interests of the world. Nearly eight hundred million souls — nearly half of the human race — live on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Never before have the peoples of the Pacific lived in such a heightened and tense atmosphere nor displayed so much energy as they do now.

Three world giants are contending ascendancy on the Pacific coast — England, the United States and Japan. Victory will go to the one that will win the peoples of the Pacific, that will concentrate the steam-



Pontius Pilate

washes from his hand the blood of the German workers.

ship lines in its hands and acquire the largest tonnage. The shipping in the possession of the United States can be computed at 3,000,000 tons for the merchant fleet and about 1,200,000 tons for

The Japanese merchant fleet amounts to 1,800,000 tons, and that of the navy 80,000 tons. As is known, the whole of the Japanese merchant fleet and navy is in the Pacific.

State of transport.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of Transport Workers, on May 24th, the director of the main Department of Ways and Communication, Comrade Borisov reported on the condition of our transport.

The transport is reviving and growing and if any crisis is felt it is only due to the shortage of coal. At present this crisis in coal is over to a certain extent. We have sufficient mineral coal and fuel, and if there is not enough wood it is due to the shortage of road transport and the season of farm work being upon us. But this shortage is also minimised by petroleum which comes in sufficient quantities. At present we are changing to transport by petroleum and for this we have placed an order abroad for 10 million fire-proof bricks. In that way the crisis will be absolutely liquidated.

The transport is also suffering as a result of the shortage in sleepers, of which there is an insufficiency of 20 millions. We have about 5 million sleepers at present and we are promised two million more by the Autumn.

The repair of rolling stock has increased to a great degree, and while in January of the 9,800 cars freight which were scheduled for repair, 8,400 were completed and in February instead of 9,800 only 9,793, in March the repairs were carried out 22 1/2% higher than the schedule, that is, instead of 9,800 cars 11,247 were completed. The repair of locomotives also increased. Generally, in regards to the repair the results are quite good. The condition of the power house is no worse. The daily trips of the locomotives for March and April increased by 9 versts, the trip of the workmen train by 4 1/2 versts and the ordinary trains from 67.4 in April reached 74 in May.

In respect to the work on the road the situation is such: we must change about 3000 versts of tracks. 1,500 versts of rails have already been ordered abroad, and upon receipt of these we will be fully satisfied because every railway worker finds means of settling the small shortage in new rails, by repairing the old ones.

The shortage in fish plates is considerably greater, but here also we have taken all necessary measures to get them and the shortage will be overcome in a short while.

The work in the repairs of the bridges and ways of communication ruined, is being rapidly done. Of the 3,377 broken bridges 1,426 have been repaired, most of the work being done during the last two months: The Darinski Bridge in Kiev, Cherkaski bridge across the Dnieper, across the Northern Don, across the Great river at Pskov, across the Chasovaya near the Perm railway, and others. These repairs are being done very well and rapidly.

The Peoples Commissariat of Ways and Means of Communication is doing all in its power to improve the passenger trains, and since May the passenger traffic to distant parts has been increased, so also has the traffic to the summer resorts near the large cities like Moscow, Petrograd, Kiev, Odessa, etc.

Very serious work is being done in the repair of the water transport and the results are quite satisfactory. The work of transportation of petroleum is being carried on very well. In April, instead of the expected 17 million, 21 million poods have been delivered, according to the schedule. Full cooperation is evident in the sea and river transport, although the latter's work is more intense. Due to this it was possible to carry across the Volga from Astrakan the remains of the petroleum deliveries of last year which amounted to 25 million poods. In regard to the repairs conditions are satisfactory, the ship-building work is worse. According to the schedule 850 wooden ships are to be built in five years, but the shortage of materials delays the work. For this reason the Peoples Commissariat of Ways and Means of Communication was obliged to reduce the schedule to 350 ships which in the future, if circumstances will allow, we will be able to increase.

British shipping — 11,000,000 tons — together with the 2,800,000 tons that is keeping up a steady intercourse between the home country and the colonies could, in the opinion of an expert, despatch only one quarter of its tonnage to the Pacific.

Thus, the shipping forces of the United States and Japan in the Pacific are about equal. The centre of gravity of the contest now lies in freights and rates of shipment of goods.

In this tariff and shipping contest the American have clearly beaten their rival — Japan. The Japs were unable to stand up against them, and have therefore been compelled to remain inactive.