

leadership and support these single acts were bound to be futile, but they seem to point to the fact that the revolutionary consciousness of the proletarian masses had attained a higher degree of development than the Left Socialist leaders realized.

Blood flowed. In the conflict between the military and the workers in Brux five persons were killed and twenty-five wounded. And still more proletarian blood will be spilled unless the class conscious workers form a unified Communist Party, conscious of its goal, which alone will be in a position to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat when the revolutionary situation demands it.

The religious faith in the power of "legality" has until now led to a lack of direction to most tactical problems. But the Left Socialists had finally to engage in illegal actions in the effort to retain "legal" possession of the People's House, even as they were forced in much more sweeping measure to adopt armed force when they sought not to lose the confidence of the masses. Nothing is more dangerous than to employ half measures. This is perhaps the most instructive conclusion which can be drawn from the events of the last three months in Czechoslovakia.

Until recently there was a great disproportion in the strength and support of the two parties by the Czechoslovakian proletariat. When the course of the strike is better known the dispute over the relative strength will be clarified. However, from the lying official reports some important facts can be gleaned. In Mährisch Ostrau, where the Right Socialist were heretofore masters of the situation, 26 mine pits or by far the greater number of the whole went out on strike in support of the Lefts.

In the great industrial centers of Reichenberg and Brunn, the general strike was successfully carried out. In Slovakia, where the party leadership took a seemingly hesitating attitude, great demonstrations were held, with partial strike movements and sympathetic strikes of the agricultural workers.

The proletariat has carried out a general strike movement, it has demonstrated its strength and in spite of apparent defeat it has emerged with greater solidarity from its first test. The education through action will lead to the further awakening of revolutionary class consciousness, even as the fight for the possession of the People's House and for the control of the party machinery led them to revolt.

Speech of Paul Levi at the Unity Convention of the Left Independent Socialist Party and the Communist Party of Germany.

Continued from page 11.

of Sevres, through which the Entente ruled the Near East. Without Greek troops in Little Asia the front of the Entente broke in Turkey. With that the policy of Turkey collapsed and thereby was partially attained the goal which our Russian comrades set for themselves when they entered into an armed alliance with the Turkish Nationalists.

The ring around Soviet Russia has been broken at this point. The Entente has been decisively defeated at a vital spot, but they cannot rest under this defeat. They will seek to throw more armies against Soviet Russia. They will send Poland, they will put remnants of Wrangel's force again in the field, they will permit new Balakhovitches to arise, they will send new troops and new munitions. Defeat only spurs them on to a fresh struggle with Soviet Russia.

But Russia does not stand alone. When asked how a world power arises we must say that the decisive mark of its origin is not the extension of its geographical boundaries. Long before the English world empire was geographically outlined England was a world power. These are invisible threads which form a net around the world; supplies of capital; traveling merchants; capitalistic interests which created the world empire of England. When we turn our attention to Soviet Russia I say its influence is not limited to the confines within Russia's geographical boundaries. Around the wide world there is a network of invisible threads. There is no country in which every beat of the hammer, in every sigh of the unemployed, the thought of Soviet Russia does not lie in the background. These are the threads which today unite the proletariat, the oppressed of the whole world, in the most portentous body in the world's history—the international of the oppressed, the Communist International.

Now we see an event the greatness of which is only too little known. In his inaugural address Marx said that with the founding of the First International was laid the cornerstone of proletarian foreign policy. Still, the First International was but the goddess which sprang from the head of Marx. Today the Goddess of Liberty places her helmet on her head. Today she is the great and most feared power of the world proletariat.

Soviet Russia fights against the European imperialism which today oppresses so many named and unnamed peoples. Ireland suffers under the bloody rule of

English imperialism and the Communist International and Soviet Russia fight for her as they do for all the oppressed peoples, whether they live in Turkey, in China or in India. The Communist International seeks to bind these peoples together in a league of the proletarians and oppressed of the whole world. There are tasks of tremendous magnitude which on this account rest today on the shoulders of the Russian workers and peasants. The German proletariat, as a part of the body of the oppressed of the whole world, must remind themselves of the first step of the German revolution, when we were scoffed at even in the ranks of Hilferding and Brettscheid, when we were laughed at as revolutionary romanticists. In those days the unshakable desire for attack, the impatience of the masses who had never fought, their impetuosity, their will for struggle and victory helped us.

In the great frame of world history the situation today resembles that of the developing world revolution. In all countries the resoluteness of the toiling masses effects an awakening and a leading to struggle which the masses will conduct. The guiding head in this struggle is Soviet Russia and without doubt the Entente will ever anew seek to strike off her head.

Soviet Russia is the central problem of the foreign policy of the proletariat of the world. This policy does not consist merely of sympathies, it consists in *struggling with all means against all enemies of Soviet Russia*.

Our convention is no German event; there are no German events in the European, in the world revolution. What we now create is the first strong link of the International beside Soviet Russia; it is the force which is destined to be the arm of the revolution as Russia is the head. That is the world historic significance of our convention, of the founding of our party. It is a work of unheard of difficulty in which we will not despair.

We look back over a period of fierce struggle and defeats; of many glorious deeds; of two years of the most trying events. Yet the spirit of glory arises out of the bloodshed. It is the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and of Rosa Luxemburg that now carries in this hour, in this hall. These great spirits which led us in the first hour of our existence, now call us again to new deeds, and on this account into the Communist Party. Let us then throw ourselves into the struggle and carry on the work for Communism with an iron will to power.