Ernst Thalmann

Speeches and articles
about history
German
labor movement

Volume 3

Selection from the years
September 1930 to February 1932

After edition, Volume 1
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Preliminary remarks

I

The present edition of the speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann from 1930 to 1933 appear on decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). It was compiled by a working collective of the publishing Red Flag. With this issue for the first time is a nearly complete collection of speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann, this outstanding leader of the German working class, from the decisive struggle years before the seizure of Hitlerism made available. The output includes the Thalmann writings from the period between September 1930 and March 1933 the date of the arrest of Ernst Thalmann by Fascists. Thus, the output connects to where the collection of speeches and articles Thalmann the Dietz Verlag in East Berlin breaks with its second volume. The other issue This originally planned three-volume edition of the Dietz publishing house was of the SED Revisionists late fifties set without any explanation. The already printed second volume was not fully delivered. The first band was in the GDR not reissued by 1958th The third volume was never published.
Given the fact that the first two volumes of the old Dietz edition in Templates Federal Republic until recently in photomechanical reprinting, while the Texts from the period from 1930 to the assassination of Ernst Thalmann 18 August 1944 majority of them are not tangible, decided the publisher Red Flag, first the speeches and Essays 1930-1933 issue in two half volumes. These present two Half volumes to be later in the multi-volume collection of speeches and articles Ernst Thalmann queuing that will issue the publisher Red Flag in the coming years.

The publication of the writings of Ernst Thalmann encounters major difficulties. The Originals of most documents are either lost, destroyed by the fascists been or will be by the SED Revisionists in their specialized institutes under lock kept. Most of the old brochure editions are only a few copies receive.

The publisher Red Flag has all the him speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann, the in the form of brochures, magazine articles, printed reports, calling and Articles in the 'Red Flag' be summarized in this issue. The templates reprinted unchanged and unabridged. Only the punctuation and unique Set errors were corrected gently.

Even if the issue can not claim, already a scientific to be critical business issue, so is their appearance but a great political and editorial success represents.

Because it turns out: neither the Nazis nor the SED revisionists succeeded or able to destroy the revolutionary legacy of Ernst Thalmann or permanently to suppress.

In 1974 we wrote:

"On August 18, 1944, thirty years ago, Ernst Thalmann was murdered by the fascists. He died, like thousands of his comrades, as a revolutionary, unbroken, unwavering in Relying on the masses of the people and the victory of the proletarian revolution. The fascists could Ernst Thalmann murder. But his image and his revolutionary work as Communist and outstanding labor leaders they could not extinguish. His legacy lives on, will continue and will be fulfilled! " [Forward in the spirit of Ernst Thalmann !, brochure the KPD to 30th Anniversary of the assassination of Ernst Thalmann on 08/18/1944]

The SED / DKP revisionists try to be executor of revolutionary Legacy of Ernst Thalmann represent. But even the suppression of speech and Writings Thalmann by the revisionists shows: Ernst Thalmann is for them a indigestible chunks.

You must suppress the revolutionary content of his legacy, must be
Recesses and counterfeit knock together a hollow Thälmann image to the bill her claim to be fuller of the heritage of Ernst Thalmann, ever maintain. The SED / DKP revisionists, these governors and henchmen Soviet social-imperialism on German soil, to the real, the revolutionary legacy of Ernst Thalmann fear.

Because accept and fulfill Thalmann revolutionary legacy seriously
ia: the implacable fight against all forms of opportunism and revisionism to lead,
ia: be sure to hold on proletarian internationalism,
means enter the building and strengthening of the Bolshevik Party, in the struggle for socialism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat unite, for national and social liberation of the German people to end to lead.

The revolutionary work and the legacy of Ernst Thalmann is in irreconcilable Contrary to the policy of the SED / DKP revisionists. Although the SED / DKP try to lead.

Revisionists, as well as their social-imperialist authority, with socialist Camouflage phrases. Although dare these people, suppress the Thalmann writings to decorate with the name of Ernst Thalmann.

But the more we in the creative realization of the legacy of Ernst Thalmann will progress, the clearer will be the Soviet social-imperialists and their 5. columns, the revisionist parties, as successors of the Nazis and as Main enemies not only of the German working class and the German people, but of all Peoples of Europe and the world appear. To more clearly will be seen: also in pursuit of Ernst Thalmann and Suppression of his work are the revisionists - albeit in more subtle way - to become the successors of the Nazis. This edition is in spite of the suppression of manuscripts and printed Ernst Thalmann writings come by the revisionists about. This itself is already a success. But it is also a commitment that excellent ideological weapon in this issue is to recognize and fight for the strengthening of international and national united front against the imperialist superpowers, in the fight against Social-imperialism and modern revisionism and the struggle for an independent, to use united socialist Germany.

II

Life Ernst Thalmann is inseparable from the great revolutionary Traditions of the German proletariat, the struggle of revolutionary Marxism against all opportunistic distortions and falsifications: born in 1886, he has performed as Seventeen of the SPD in and was from the beginning on the side of the revolutionaries in the SPD. He lashed out with Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, the policy of supporting bloody German imperialism by the SPD and trade union leaders. Since 1917 He was a member of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), fought during the November revolution as a member of the Workers 'and Soldiers' Council at the barricades Hamburg and organized the march of the Hamburg workers to Bremen to Support of the Soviet Republic. He advocated the union of USPD and KPD, was 1920 elected to the Central Committee of the KPD and quickly grew to become one of the sharpest Opponents of the Right opportunists in the KPD to Brandler and Thalheimer zoom, the 1923 Organizing the German Revolution prevented. On the barricades of Hamburg Uprising of 1923 Ernst Thalmann became the personification of the revolutionary Struggle will of the German proletariat. In 1924 he became deputy in 1925 Chairman of the Communist Party and remained the leader of the German Communist Party to up
Ernst Thälmann was with the masses of closely related tribune and labor leader, he stood with exemplary courage in the forefront of the revolutionary struggles of German proletariat. He united in his person - contrary to all bourgeois lies Scribblers - deep excellently knowledge of scientific socialism with the practical experience of the proletarian class fighter. He was a great strategist and standing in a row with the great leaders of the German workers' movement, with August Bebel, Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht.

Of this place especially the speeches and articles from 1930 to 1933, living Witness: steadfastly held Ernst Thälmann firmly on proletarian internationalism and fought for the fact that the German working class in the spirit of proletarian Internationalism was brought up; He castigated the aggressive nature of imperialism and stated long as there is imperialism, as long as there will be wars. He joined the Union of communist parties in the Communist International, for the alliance with the Soviet Union a. Under his leadership the KPD felt Campaign "Hands off the Soviet Union" and "Hands off China". At his suggestion, developed the KPD the groundbreaking "program for national and social liberation of German people "in 1930. This program exposed the bourgeois Nationalism as a pure hoax: a real national liberation of the German People there can only enter with the defeat of the imperialist system. At the same time and here was this program an innovator program used the KPD contradictions between a weak imperialist country (Germany) and the imperialist Victors of I. World war by already under the conditions of the ruling Imperialism in Germany against all forms of imperialist oppression of the Versailles victors entered:

"Only we Communists fight both against the Young Plan and against the Versailles Predatory peace, the starting point of the enslavement of all working people in Germany, as well as against all international treaties, agreements and plans ... from the Versailles Peace Treaty emerge. We communists are against any power of reparation, against any Paying international debts ...
We Communists declare that we no forcible annexation of a people or a People part to other national political structure that we recognize not only limit that without Approval of the working people and the real majority of the population is taken. We Communists are against the carried out due to the Versailles peace territorial violence Laceration and plundering Germany ...
We lead and organize the fight against tax and customs, against the rise in rents and community fares against wage cuts, unemployment and all attempts to the burdens of Young-Planes (reparations) shift on the working people in town and country."

The "program for national and social liberation of the German people" so union fighting against the oppression of a weak (imperialist!) by country other imperialist countries with the struggle for social liberation - no wonder that this program since Trotsky attacked by all those who the proletariat Deny leadership in the fight for national liberation, of the dialectic national
United front against the two imperialist superpowers attack. The special merit Thalmann it is, the KPD set off a Bolshevik Party out to have. Against the rights in the Communist Party, to the party a Social Democratic Party members tried herunterzuwirtschaften, and against Ultra-leftists that the KPD separated from the masses, sat Thalmann the principles of democratic centralist, by the masses related party in Germany. He fought against liberalism, which defied any party discipline, and closed all Fraktionisten from the party. Simultaneously, under his leadership, Operating cell to the very foundation of the party. Thalmann recognized the need the leadership of the revolutionary movement by the Communist Party:

"Today we can say with certainty that the working class (Russia) on November 7, 1917 no power had conquered, if not a factor would have been present, whose engagement the Decision brought about and thus the history of the world gave a new direction. This factor was the Russian Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin ... The. 7 November 1917 is the most powerful incarnation of the Leninist doctrine of the leading role of Bolshevik Party in the proletarian revolution."

With all clarity the party Thalmann fought against the policy of the SPD and Union leaders also and especially in the Antifascist Action. Thalmann recognized early that the SPD and trade union leaders actively and terroristic the bourgeois state would defend, even if the bourgeois class dictatorship not in the deep economic and political crisis since 1929 more by the means of let maintained parliamentary bourgeois democracy. As social fascists would they every progressive movement of the proletariat with terror and the abolition of bourgeois democratic rights in the bud looking to suffocate, and if they do not the dictatorship would build, they still would be accomplices of fascism. Given the Later policies of the SPD and especially the union leaders that the first Bourgeoisie offered the dictatorship and then finally made a pact with the fascists, was this assessment of 1929 almost prophetic. Thalmann it was himself who sectarian errors in the preparation of united action against fascism with Social Democratic and nonparty workers in 1932 with the help of the Communist International sought to correct. It was especially the 1932 "Anti-Fascist Action "encouraged and organized, having already as a leader of the" Red Front Fighters' League ", the military organization of the KPD, the fascists with the means Class violence combated. About the "Antifascist Action" wrote Ernst Thalmann 1932:

You should "all forms of mass proletarian resistance against fascism, war and famine summarized and the active mass struggle unfold. You want us to solid organization a Allow movement of millions of warring Red united front. It also seeks the Facilitating party, the masses to struggle against every capitalist way out of crisis collect and to fight for the revolutionary way out for proletarian revolution to prepare."

In the fight for the realization of the united front policy, the KPD 1923-1933 to develop sought to Socialist, Communist and non-party workers and advanced anti-fascists from the ranks of the other sections of the people against the Nazism unite, Ernst Thalmann stood in the front row.
And finally, the name Ernst Thalmann for the *Leninist policy in union the KPD*. With great clarity, he developed the communist unionists the Strategy that the revolutionary trade unionists not to conquer Could go central apparatus of the trade unions, but the conquest of the majority of the members.

"We may also in our own ranks no illusion on the question of the conquest Give rise to unions. There are some parties (the Communist International) Tendencies that the question of the seizure of the trade unions as a matter of conquering the Trade union apparatus provide. But who the question of the conquest of the trade union apparatus' provides misunderstands completely the fascist takeover of the apparatus ... is for us to be the question the conquest of the trade union masses. "

"Not to the extent that the means of bourgeois democracy to oppression and exploitation longer sufficient to the extent that the dictatorial and social fascist methods the Exacerbate bourgeoisie, in the same measure is also at the same time, the process for Elimination of industrial democracy of the union movement take place ... The stronger the Union apparatus with the state apparatus of power fuses, the more the revolutionary Union opposition, this system attacks ..., the sharper is the attack of His social fascism to the revolutionary front. "

Therefore Thalmann developed the strategy of "self-struggle leadership" regardless of and against the Social Democratic union leaders. And he fought for that this union strategy built on the company party cells and operational Fighting organizations (such as independent strike committees and committees of struggle). As Ernst Thalmann excluded after 27 years membership of the Transport Workers' Federation was, he called the bigwigs to:

"We go forward! You go back! We are the army of dawn! You are the last declining protecting their capital. The tremendous power of millions of proletarian Fighters, together with the exploiters even you, their lackeys, sweep! "

Again and again propagated Ernst Thalmann, the *dictatorship of the proletariat* as the only lasting way out of crisis economic and political oppression. In view of the Anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1870-71 declared Ernst Thalmann:

"What are the main lessons that the international proletariat with the help of the writings of Marx and Lenin drew from the struggle of the Communards? Firstly, that the proletariat to not take over bourgeois state apparatus and in a democratic way in the proletarian State apparatus can transform, but that the proletarian revolution the bourgeois state battered and must be replaced by the proletarian apparatus of power, by the councils, the resolved and leading organs of the working class. Secondly, that the proletariat ruthlessly, brutally crush the bourgeoisie, their troops disarm, must raise its own armed force, because the bourgeoisie, if you only a few days can be to collect, organize, arm, their power ruthlessly Used on the working class, which registers its claim as a class, cruel bloody revenge takes. "

Also, under the leadership of Ernst Thalmann failed the KPD, the most ruthless Troops of the bourgeoisie, fascism, in the class battles 1930-1932 repulse. He was already on 3 March 1933, a few weeks after Establishment of the Hitler dictatorship arrested. Eleven years of torture and solitary confinement could Ernst Thalmann not break. Without him ever being able to make a process, the shot Fascists him on 18 August 1944th But his legacy lives on in theory and practice of all Marxist-Leninist parties, lives on in the heart of the German working class. Forward in the spirit of Ernst Thalmann! Forward with the KPD!
Cologne, 08.18.1975

Department of Agitation and Propaganda
the Central Committee of
Communist Party of Germany (KPD)
the way to freedom

*From the speech of Comrade Ernst Thalmann on the tasks of the Communist Party after the election victory of 14 September.*

We can say that our victory is not only caused by the objective situation, the one was undoubtedly favorable to us; our victory in Germany and especially in Berlin. Moreover, a new proof, a full confirmation of the correct Bolshevik Line of the Communist Party of Germany. By this victory, decisions of the Comintern, the VI. World Congress and the Congress Weddinger entirety confirmed been. Our victory is at the same time of tremendous international significance. We do not just Social Democracy in Germany, but the Second International beaten. The succeeded thanks to the support of the Comintern, whose correct revolutionary decisions to have led a great victory of our world communist party.

In the struggle against reformism throughout the world, against the capitalist system, is the election September 14, 1930, when we an influx of more than 4½ million Voices had a great success of the Communist Party, a new signal and a new incentive for all communist parties. Coincidentally, it can be said that the bourgeoisie the result of our Electoral success in the context of the severe crisis of capitalism in Germany estimates and the success of the Communist Party on the general Dissatisfaction with the current Young-system of the reactionary government returns. Moreover, there was general agreement that the outcome of the elections in Germany as it were a referendum of millions against the Young Plan and the Versailles Means contract.

The foreign press is very concerned. Most excited are the French and Polish music. It is also no small matter when millions against the Young Plan, Young-slavery and exploitation Young-vote. In the decisive strongholds, in Berlin, capital of Germany, the Government center of the bourgeoisie, in the Lower Rhine, in Dusseldorf, the seat of the Heavy industry, in Halle-Merseburg, the important area therefore chemical TRUSTe, we are the emerged as the strongest party. In many other industrial cities is the party grown, the former hegemony of social democracy is broken, and the Communists have taken over the majority of the working people. This result represents a powerful extra-parliamentary victory of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany. This success has not been won by demagogic phrases represent, not by Slanders and smears our opponents. We avoided these methods. Our victory was achieved through our vow to continue the capitalist Combat system to the final victory of the revolution, against all class enemies, supporting the current government.
We have the election campaign conducted with a clear program, with a popular Program. As the voice and leader of nonperforming million, from their distress the hour Liberation is spring, we moved to this campaign, sharper than ever as the Champion and pioneer for the proletarian dictatorship. A crucial role in our struggle played for the whole election as for the Combating fascism undoubtedly our liberation program. Of course, the national liberation is impossible without the social. In a situation where in which the toiling millions of the double Sklavenfroh the German bourgeoisie and of foreign imperialism languish and their desire for freedom increases, it came for us

depends on not only our well-known in the mass position for the social liberation of Working people, but the current needs to correspond to particular Situation, our Leninist position for national liberation of the working people Germany, the masses knew much less, particularly strongly and as one of the key issues of our whole struggle to the fore. That is why we say rightly: fight for national and social liberation of the German people. Our liberation program is and remains a vital prerequisite for mobilizing the vast masses for communism!

*  

Despite sober, but really serious review of all deficiencies and weaknesses that in itself this campaign and have shown in our mass work at all, we must make the statement that we made this campaign boldly as the sole winner of the forward billowing million front of the working people have emerged. One can the voices success of the Nazis not equate with the victory of the KPD. Take for example the fact that here in Berlin the Annex of fascism not as strong has increased, as in other parts of Germany. Without a doubt this is no coincidence. Here in Berlin, at the headquarters of the Central Committee, have the decisions of the Politburo of the fight against fascism, which endorsed and underlined by the plenum of the Central Committee were most quickly attained their effectiveness in the lower Party organizations. Thereby it was possible to make fascism here in Berlin more and its decomposition accelerate. But at the same time showing the opportunities everywhere in the fight against fascism are present at all. Of course fascism all his forces on Berlin will try to focus. We must develop of fascism in Germany neither underestimate nor overestimate. With all its sharpness we must turn the other hand, the surprising success to portray the Nazis in the masses to black. Those who do not see the contradictory, fluctuating basis on which the Nazis their current voices success have won. On the other hand, of course, is the underestimation of the fascist danger extremely dangerous and we must be within the working class, far above the Setting out our Party, raise our voice in warning. In the SPD exist eg Such sentiments: Let the Nazis themselves abwirtschaften only in the government, then we will return to the helm. Such moods are a serious threat to
Electoral success also outside parliament increasingly brutal against the millions of working people in Germany advance. It must also by such moods of the will to fight against the fascist plans are weakened.

With all the energy we have to fight moods in our own ranks, the said that one should not increase the fight against Nazism as sharp because you thereby weakening the fight against the policies of the SPD. Just the opposite is Case. The fact that we struggle against capitalism, the fight against Fascism drove, and the more we drove him, the sooner we establish the Precondition for political recognition of the masses that we only the anticapitalist, the only anti-fascist party are. So alone, we can convince the working masses that they against the proletarian united front with us in the fight must include the reaction.

The struggle against fascism gives us new possibilities of obtaining Social Democratic workers for the Red Front. In front of us the task of the workers is to

to convince the hand of the facts from the fact that the reformist leaders never against can fight fascism, that they are no longer their classmates, but that they are representatives of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class. We must show them that the character of the policy of the Social Democratic Party can never change. We must demonstrate to the hands of the policy of the SPD leaders, that the in the development Fascism in Germany also the line of the Social Democratic Party fascism is still much closer. That is why it is our job, the belief in the Social Democratic workers that Communist and Social Democratic workers can go together to strengthen particularly.

*

In Germany, there are two ways to go. One way to treading the bourgeoisie: Execution of the Young Plan, the path of fascism, the open fascist dictatorship. The other way is the one that leads to the proletarian power: rupture of the Young-chains and Fulfillment of our freedom program. This is the path to freedom, to victory proletarian dictatorship, the real proletarian democracy in Germany. That's why we have our program popularize pick out specific sections and to use ideological and organizational growth in all of our class struggles.

We have to show that the fascists act as reliable partners of the bourgeoisie that they support all reactionary measures against the working class. And just as there is necessary to prove this on an international scale. I mention three examples, where fascism occurs in appearance as a "solution" to the crisis. Pilsudski tried in Poland, with fascist methods to bridge the crisis. Mussolini awakened by his fascist methods the resistance of industrial workers, the professions and the poor farmers. Horthy sparked by his methods the peasants to fight against the System of fascism.

And one more thing: We need this development in Germany and the Soviet Union juxtapose. In the Soviet Union no breakdown, no crisis, no Unemployment, no Young Plan, which attacks the throat of millions crowds, but a grand ascent, the stormy building of socialism, of the
Enthusiasm of all workers, also has to generate the opposing camp. It is necessary, to show the masses that we were the only champions against fascism, against economic Massennot and entrepreneurs are arbitrary, and that we show the way out, the the millions of working people is lead out of the capitalist yoke: to win the battle the proletarian dictatorship.

The battlefront of all class enemies of the working people, we have the million-unit front the revolutionary proletariat and all working people oppose. The formidable Election victory of the Communist Party committed, inside and outside the Parliament to fight against the present system, against the Young-rule and the capitalist regime, with tenfold greater determination than before reignite. We alone can forge the solidarity front between claimants and operating workers.

We alone can the struggle of workers, farmers and non-performing SMEs against organize taxes and charges with the weapon of control strikes. We alone can trigger and lead strikes of workers. As we are able to all these questions with the basic political questions of our struggle against the fascist methods of government connect to.

The Communist Party, the their struggle not to mandates, but vast masses of the working people has led, is now, after the election victory, not weaken, but only storm quite forward. We are also within the coming Reichstag in closest contact with the extra-parliamentary mass struggle against grass roots policy of the bourgeoisie and against the whole system Young-Germany advance.

Our first demand is the unconditional cessation of all tribute payments of predatory Young Plan be that we will apply in the Reichstag. Here must Nazis true colors.

We will continue to bring a generous savings program in the Reichstag, the will show the working masses, which millions and billions from the Tax dollars of the working people of the modern Young-Germany for the Pensions of generals and ministers, for the Reichswehr and police and for all other Beneficiaries and living recipient of the capitalist exploiters State wasted and could be saved.

We are also for the unemployed by special applications the demands on labor and bread with simultaneous introduction of the seven-hour day at full pay put up.

In addition, the Communist Party in the Reichstag immediately the struggle to increase the Taxes for millionaires and all haves and deplete the ground tax record.

At the same time we are a number of far-reaching, radical emergency measures to Support of starving the middle class and the poor peasants and to combat Monopoly capital demand.

Against the Brüning government, we will bring in a vote of no confidence and at the same time repeal all predatory and unconstitutional emergency decrees and apply coercive measures.

Finally, the Communist Party is in Prussia and other countries, as in Thuringia has already happened, take up the fight for the dissolution of the Diet immediately, after the general election showed that gaping contrast between these
That, comrades, the first steps that the Communist Party are in short trains
behalf of 4.6 million working people who have expressed their trust in us, within the
Parliament will initiate, these actions will be carried naturally by
the extra-parliamentary mass struggle in the factories and on the punch points, in
Urban and countryside.
Now for the basic tasks that are in our entire political work ahead of us and to
where the party because the election result must take a position. It is clear that
we as a Communist Party in the review of the election results and the lessons
we must consider for the future, the method of Bolshevik self-criticism energetically
apply, because we know that this very self-criticism of the Communist Party a
practical factor is to not only our own forces, but the initiative of the
to deploy masses especially and increase. What are the basic questions we have today in the
Foreground questions?
The election result shows that an enormous gap between the large and ever
growing political influence, which we recorded in Germany, and its
organizational anchoring there. If we do not understand, the 4.6-million-front
extraparliamentary expand and organizational anchor, new methods
and new ways, we will not be strong enough to our great historical
to fulfill task. Therefore, it is necessary to perform the following tasks in attack:
First, we saw in this election campaign that our party often with a certain
Delay their forces concentrated on the farms. This also applies to Berlin. Indeed
we have, if we check the whole of Germany, even a partial reduction of our
Operating cells. This weakness must be quickly eliminated.
This gets a matter of policy in the operation of much greater importance when
we provide the possibility of the prohibition of the party. The organizational inadequacy
can cost us a lot. While playing Stempelstelle and residential district a role, but the
basic foundation of our whole political activity is in the factories, particularly in
large companies. We will therefore try in Germany the question of Ausbaues
the operating cells in the various establishments to provide different than in the past.
The political center must be directly in enterprises.
Secondly: If we look back on the extension of the Revolutionary
Union opposition in recent times, so we have the greatest organizational
Weaknesses noted. We have seen that with the development of fascism new
Way of the construction of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition have to be found.
We have in Germany five million free unionized workers, except
the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions. We have ejected
Paying agencies, which are the RGO affiliated, and we have different, often poor
Factions within the unions.
In this situation presented to us the question: How do we want our great political
Fulfill tasks organizationally? We have before us the task of all revolutionary workers,
whether organized or unorganized, to register in the operating groups of RGO. We
have to take our anxiety and of issuing cards for release of
Member books pass. With the publication of books and a member of cashing
and registration must be initiated new organizational measures to
strengthen gradually our positions in the mass, because the development of the party
introduces new tasks.
In the present situation, economic struggles have not the same character as
earlier, but take on the character of the political struggle, because they no longer
directed straight to entrepreneurship, but against the state, against police,
Fascism and social fascism, against all repressive measures and any attempts
the Streikabwürung.
In such a situation we have to clear the way for the acquisition of new
Hundreds of thousands of unionized workers and the many millions
unorganized workers for the revolutionary class struggle. Much more revolutionary Elan
and a much stronger mental initiative is necessary to, in the millions masses during operation
in the unions to penetrate to the punch points, regardless of whether there are men,
Women or young proletarians are to bring them into the revolutionary
union mass organization.

The third question that we are trying to solve is this: How can we express the moods in
are German proletariat exists, especially with the Social Democratic workers and
much more in the nonparty, attach organizationally against fascism and
anchor. We know that in this campaign the red election officials a great job
have done. In the present situation this election workers movement we should not
be resolved, but we need to give it new tasks. We appeal to these
Election officials, together with the operation of weirs, the unemployed squadrons on our side
to strengthen the fight against fascism. We must try a new
to provide anti-fascist organization which as a vital organ of struggle against
Fascism in Germany beside the Communist Party and the not to be prohibited
Red American Legion, which occurs in appearance lives on and continues to fight. We are the
firmly believe that the spirit of valor in the German proletariat be strengthened
have to be.

Fourth: The enormous influx of new members and those who voted for us
have given is not yet complete. New Tens of thousands have into the party.
The party has become so immensely powerful that it is capable of new fighters to
win to fulfill their historic responsibilities. But not only the addition of new
Members is important, but also the application of new methods Matey,
to keep the members. For this reason must the spiritual life, the collective
Community spirit are brought into the party towards its highest expansion. The advertising of
new subscribers for our press is an essential task.
In all districts of the basis for the rejuvenation of the party with new elements must
be created. The aim is to focus on the large enterprises, on the
Railways and other transport, the later for us a great strategic
have meaning. The unemployed, whose numbers this winter from 3 to 4½
will increase million, the number of outsornt increases more and more. We can
they consolidate only politically through close solidarity with the standing in operating workers.
Emerging despair mood may not fascism benefit, but
must be evaluated for the goals of our liberation struggle!
A crucial question is also our struggle for the staff.
When we examine the election results, we see that women are much more the
Select bourgeois parties. Nevertheless, our position in the working women is already
become much stronger. Now we have to work especially among the workers,
Germany 42.4 percent of women are in employment.
It is also necessary a sharper advocacy with concrete demands for
Millions of young workers to initiate and the party stronger for youth
clamp. We have already gained from the ranks of young voters new forces, but
we must not be satisfied with it, but have our work among the proletarian
know Jugend increase with renewed vigor, with tireless effort.
In the sphere of our rural work, in the main centers of fascism, under the
small farmers and rural proletarians we need new methods of processing and the
Alliance with the proletariat of the cities to work out. Without rationalization of our
Work without appropriate distribution of functions are not our major tasks
can be solved. By streamlining the work we have every functionary,
standing in establishments that provide opportunity to enrich his ideological knowledge. Each
District headquarters, the Berlin organization must try such methods
to find work that a new train, new bold offensive spirit within the party and the
working masses outside the party feeds.
We have 738000 votes in Berlin. From these masses we need new cadres to
Refresh the party win. We were forced different in Germany
perform Make changes to replace some comrades by others, not because
they did not do their duty, but because the demands that are placed on the party,
are so large and constantly growing that such a replacement, improvement and
Replacement of comrades to responsible posts was necessary. I believe that even in
Berlin a renewal of forces in the organization from top to bottom, from top to bottom
necessary is.
For us there even after this huge election victory no paralysis, no rest. in the
Contrary, the stronger we are, the more we advance in the masses, the greater sacrifices
must bring our victorious thing every single Communist. Every Communist must
be an agitator and fighter for Soviet Germany, every Communist must be a leader
the masses are growing, the to the workers and laborers to the banner of the revolution
collect and to beat the drum of the proletarian offensive appreciated!
Our liberation program, this document of paramount historical importance, which in
scarce language the working masses underlying our Mission, was not
Election manifesto that we can put aside after the elections. On the contrary, this
Program is now that the elections have documented our huge rise, only
quite to the signal for our ever stronger, ever bolder fight against Young-
Rule of capitalist Germany. A fortiori, it is important that each section
popularize our liberation program before the masses and always new million
to awaken and unite to fight front of hungry people against the satiated.
Soviet Germany, for which we advertise our liberation program and fight is,
shake off the chains of the Young Plan and the place of the capitalist mass misery
socialist construction set. In the coming Soviet Germany, where the masses
the workers, employees and laborers will ascend the fittest to all forces
to develop the masses, the glutton and exploiters, the entrepreneurs, of which one
Hitler proclaimed, they must prevail as a higher race on the masses, not
over ruling class play!
Soviet Germany brings the masses bread, freedom, power! Storm for Soviet Germany and we fight as the party that defends the interests of all working people against all class enemies of the proletariat. Set all of force, forging the iron class front, thus on the ruins Young-Germany, the Free Socialist Soviet Germany He's standing!

*International Press Correspondence II, 1930*

The KPD after the Reichstag elections

The German parliamentary elections September 14, 1930 were marked by the
growing crisis of the capitalist system. 3 million unemployed, 2 million Short-time workers, the hunger offensive of the capitalist government against all layers of Proletariat and the working people, of the unemployed over the factory workers, the Employees, officers, non-performing SMEs to creating country people who desperate attempts of the bourgeoisie with fascist methods once a To force "capitalist solution" to the crisis at the expense of the working masses, - the all gave the election campaign as the election itself and its result, the special Character.

Looking at the current situation in Germany, the result is a complete and striking confirmation of all views on the prospects of development, as the KPD worked out on the Weddinger Congress and how they particularly on the 10th Plenum were confirmed and extended the Comintern. The turning of the economic crisis in the political crisis of the capitalist system is taking place in Germany in very rapid pace. Vast masses of the working people who even a few Months did not doubt in the least the fact that the bourgeois capitalist Society is a truly "God-ordained" order, doubt now long on capitalist system, rebelling - albeit still muffled and unclear forms - against the current system. Millions who are still away from the communist movement standing, looking but already a way out from the mass misery and the disaster of capitalist present. This is the social basis on which the elections of 14. took place September yes more than that, the basis for the entire last election campaign in Germany.

From these conditions, the election results on 14 September developed. The Consideration of this election result gives a major fact: the overwhelming victory of KPD! This victory, which by the simultaneous extraordinary voices of success Nazis is weakened or impaired in any way, corresponds to only to a lesser extent the favorable objective situation. It is crucial and decisive rather the fact that the correct policy of the Comintern and the KPD, the mass Bolshevik course, like him of the Wedding Party of the German party demanded and how struck him the party under the leadership of the Central Committee, the Prerequisites for the conquest of the proletarian majority Communist Party created.

What are the key factors for the assessment of the electoral exit? Wherein expressed the tremendous political significance just this from elections, far beyond itself the scope of an ordinary parliamentary election also raises? A first and important issue is the international significance of this German Reichstag elections and the Election victory of the KPD. The outcome of the German elections in the bourgeois press all capitalist countries passionately discussed. Satisfaction reveals only the Italian fascist press, all other sheets are marked utmost consternation. Coincidentally, the result of the election to the severe crisis of the capitalist Germany, wider on the mass misery and discontent people Circles returned to the policy of the government. Coincidentally is further found undisguised horror that the outcome of the elections as it were a Referendum against the Young Plan and the Treaty of Versailles tantamount. Also the liberal press of other countries considered the election results in Germany as an indication the bankruptcy of parliamentarism, as a symptom of the deep crisis of bourgeois Democracy.
Regarding the international impact of the German election is behaving the French and Polish press most excited. In France you paint the specter the rematch against the wall and calls for a reorientation of French foreign policy in an aggressive sense. In Poland the Pilsudski press uses the election victory of German Nazis as a major hit for the Polish election campaign. Of the Recalling an upcoming aggressive German Ostpolitik serves as an argument for Unleashing an unbridled chauvinist fascist propaganda in Poland. On the other hand rated the bourgeois foreign press the electoral victory of the German Communists as "signs of struggle and unrest". This is particularly true especially also for the American press. There wrote eg "Washington Star":

"It was a black Sunday for Germany. The Fascists and the Communists are now on a evil thorn in every German government ... The German Republic is still alive, but it is undeniable that they seriously threatened is."

Another bourgeois American newspaper "Washington Post" said:

"Show the German elections, that the spirit of unrest, which has revealed itself in South America, also taken root in Europe ... The economic crisis, unemployment, high taxation have the German people displaced in trouble."

Another American newspaper, "World", writes:

"The outcome of the elections million people in Germany have their indignation at the Tax burdens and the unemployment air made."

And finally, the "Herald Tribune", of a "outburst of desperate Dissatisfaction with the dismal economic situation "and of a" spontaneous gesture of Protest against the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan "talks. we reported briefly about the excitement in the entire French press. So writes eg the foreign policy of the "Matin":

"A complete anarchy in Germany would be disastrous for the whole of Europe, for the whole bourgeois world."

Even the "Journal" considers the outlook of Germany's development with panic Terror. It writes:

"Which way will Germany take? What will the winter? If you bloody Clashes experience, the defeat of democracy by force, adventurous policy, Depression, Reichstag resolution, crisis of the regime, anarchy and violence prank? - All the is secret of the future."

The English press is particularly concerned at the internal political impact of German elections. So writes the "Daily Telegraph" that the German elections the Republican system had been in Germany the hardest blow that a Government system has suffered in our time. According to the "Daily Express" disclosed the Election result "the political chaos of a nation" that once the strongest base of Rules have been in Europe was". The "Morning Post" seen in the output of the Elections a serious threat to the capitalist system in Germany. The Italian press rolls over with excitement about the increase in votes of Nazis. In almost all leaves appear images of Hitler. On the other hand declared the "Messaggero", one must not forget that any party that strongly waxes, also a greater responsibility take on and necessarily to
going out, "if not their program, yet the methods for its application, modify and moderate". The "Corriere della Sera" writes about the history of Campaign include:

"The Communists deployed feverish activity. The red color dominated the streets. In front all fell Communist women with flaming red blouse on a kind of Muscovite Woman battalions."

The Czechoslovak "Prague Press" overrides its editorial on the German elections characteristically "Revolutionary Germany". The people of Vienna; the Vienna Sausages "Arbeiter Zeitung", the journal of the Austrian social democracy strives indeed to cover up convulsively, the defeat of the German Social Democratic Party, but must but sentences like the following writing:

"That is perhaps what is to think of yesterday's election results the most: that the German Youth fascist and largely communist elected."

Significantly continues the Viennese Socialist "evening" in his confessions. He writes:

"The victory of the Communists, is also said to be not concealed, in large part to heavy Error of Socialists attributed ... The party is, it must be said again, in their urge to be a state-preserving party, gone further than she could. You pay now their valuable services that they two years the middle class as the leading party of the coalition has done."

We have purposely detail the international Press from all reproduced capitalist countries over the German Reichstag elections, to allow the to illustrate international significance of the election victory of the KPD. In fact, the Communist Party of Germany in these parliamentary elections not only the German Social democracy, but also around the II. International a heavy blow added. It is such. As no accident that the Polish reaction of the election victory of the KPD also an increase in the Communist vote in the upcoming Polish elections feared. The elections of 14 September are a huge mass of confession Millions of working people for the Communist International and the Soviet Union.

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What, then, with the numerical result of the elections and the individual? The Communist Party had the in the Reichstag elections of 1928 10.6 percent votes for itself won. 1924 in the May elections, following the inflationary and the revolutionary culmination of 1923, the percentage of 12.6 percent. But on your own this hitherto regarded as sensational success tip election of 1924, this time exceeded. The Communists received 13.12 percent of all votes cast. Naturally this percentage stake of the Communist votes in each district and Cities distributed differently. At the head marched Berlin, where the KPD 33 percent all votes received. It follows the constituency Dusseldorf-East, the part of the Ruhr area, partly one for the district of Lower Rhine, then Halle-Merseburg, etc. In last place is the Bavarian Franconia, where only 4.8 percent of the votes cast at the KPD accounted for. It follows that it is found that the Communist Party not only in the absolute
This electoral success of the party gains its special significance by the fact that a particularly shiny, especially in the decisive strongholds industry Rise of communism is recorded. In Berlin, as the capital of Germany and the center of government of the bourgeoisie, in the heavy industry city Düsseldorf, in the major center of the chemical industry, Halle-Merseburg, and in numerous other Industry cities defeated the Communist Party not only social democracy, but the fascists and all commoners and became the strongest of all parties. All particularly in Berlin, where the party for the first time the SPD surpassed and in a row of working-class districts where the SPD was even stronger at the municipal, now in turn conquered the majority of the success of the party at the expense of reformism is a resounding.

Of course, the weight of the election victory of the KPD is ever by the fact increased decisively that this rise is at the expense of social democracy took. This is a big turning point, the beginning of a historic Umschwunges the power relations within of the German labor movement in favor of the Achieved Communist Party. Here which suppresses loss of the SPD not just in their absolute votes from decline, but also in their relative loss, considering the generally stronger turnout. Under Mitberechnung this factor the SPD has actually not only 13, but, pro rata in accordance with their previous Strength, even lost 38 mandates. Earlier, the Social Democrats took 31 percent of the Reichstag, almost a third of, today only 25 percent, or a quarter. The 600000 Votes, the SPD has just lost, were almost exclusively of the Communist Party won. On the other hand, it is clear that over the extent of this 600000, the KPD hundreds of thousands of Social Democratic operation workers and Unemployment has won, for the SPD from lower middle classes, so from the Annex of the Democratic Party, etc., had a certain balance. naturally but also changed so that the social structure of the two parties: in the KPD in Meaning an expansion of their proletarian anchoring in the SPD in the line of continued rising bourgeois.

Attempts by the SPD to gloss over its electoral defeat, as in particular the Central organ, the mouthpiece of the Social Democratic party executive, the "forward, operation failed. Even the Socialist Breslauer "Volkswacht" wrote:

"In such a situation is operated in the ... ellipsis of, forward', completely unfounded Whitewashing truly a strong piece. We are, rather than winning, not insignificant declined and to fall into a situation that going back this particularly great weight leaves."

The leading journal of the so-called "left" SPD, the "Leipziger Volkszeitung", manifests itself similar:

"The Social Democratic Party has profited nothing from the increase in voter turnout. she has approximately 600,000 votes lost. This is a blow, the Social Democratic Party for a
It is particularly significant that this defeat of the SPD entered, although the Social Democracy already for half a year by the kick of the bourgeoisie from the Government armchairs was thrown out and thus more favorable to the election campaign in some Position of a not immediate load with the responsibility for the policy of Brüning government could lead. The apparent opposition of the SPD could therefore not the collapse of the Communist Party in the ranks of reformism and the

Severance of social democratic masses of workers from reformism to revolutionary prevent stock. This is an important and instructive fact.

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The success of the party was not limited to their victorious struggle against the Social Democracy, although herein - as the success against the main enemy in the camp of Working class - is to be seen the most significant publication of the election results. In addition, however, the party could also great progress in the field of the fight to the recovery or neutralization of the middle class to achieve. Even in the Meetings during the election campaign it became clear that the party of the layers distressed middle class in the cities and the working peasantry in the countryside penetrate begins.

For the first time was also in this campaign - although perfectly still insufficient extent - a serious fight against the center out. The center was in the latest political development in Germany under Roll Back German People's Party to leading and representative party of the German Big bourgeoisie, the religious discipline and the influence of the Church on Catholic Trailer of the center would mean that their party and of the general decomposition Fermentation process which afflicts all old traditional bourgeois parties, much is slower than any other affected party. The Centre has in these elections his absolute votes may increase slightly; considering the increased Voter turnout has been the center but relatively lost.

Also opposite the center there are important achievements of the party. In Essen, for example, the Capital of the Ruhr area, where the center is the largest party and the KPD earlier only 67000 votes could exhibit compared to 95000 votes of the Centre, took the party this time this big lead almost entirely on. In the elections of 14th September 1930 are now the 98000 votes of the center, so that despite increased Turnout could hardly increase, already 89000 votes of the KPD against, while the SPD has fallen from 60,000 to 50,000.

Naturally, already the sheer numerical verification of the election results also shows some serious shortcomings. Although the election victory of the KPD in 1930 differs from that of the 1928 basically in the fact that at that time in addition to huge successes in Berlin, etc. also significant setbacks in some districts, especially agrarian nature, in Southern etc were present during this time a general advance of Party in all districts of Germany exists. But this uniformity the positive character of the election results do not rule out that the success in individual
Districts unsatisfactory are. This is particularly true for East Prussia and Silesia. In Prussia although the Communist votes of 95,000 increased by 30,000 to 125,000th. Since the SPD has simultaneously lost 46,000 votes, it turns out that not all Social Democratic votes were absorbed by us, let alone beyond Votes of young voters and former bourgeois voters, but that in some cases Socialist votes fascists benefited. The situation is similar in Silesia. These weaknesses are apparent sequelae certain fluctuations sectarian nature as especially when in these districts throughout the practice and Event flags made their appearance.

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Now the significance of the great Nazi votes profits. Can this numerically extraordinary voices earnings are equal to the electoral victory of the KPD?

The opposite is true. In fact, yes, the success of the Nazis only one type of Regrouping within the bourgeois camp. The Nazis have numerous Voices of the German Nationalists, the German People's Party and a larger part of former non-voters, etc. adopted. Its current role is similar to that of the parliamentary German nationalists in former times: they are the strongest bourgeois become party. Given the crisis, the decomposition of bourgeois society and the mass misery of Young-slavery advised increasing layers of working people in a contradiction against the capitalist system and therefore also against all those parties whose open capitalist character has already become aware of them. This explains the Exodus from the camp of the old bourgeois parties. These masses not to Communism to march into the camp of the proletarian revolution, plays the Bourgeoisie their last card from: the National Socialist Party and its ruthless national and social demagogy. You want to catch the masses again and again the carriage of capitalism chains. This is the function of Hitler's party in the service of Capitalism. And that the National Socialist Party to this task with all their might Loosen strives elections of 14 September have shown. On the other hand, it is clear that this last card of the bourgeoisie at the same time a dangerous card is. The contradictory social composition of the NSDAP and their supporters, which is a mixed bag of the diverse elements of the middle class and the country people, the students and staff, including some backward Added layers of workers, bears from the outset the germ of decomposition in this Party. Naturally, those signs of decomposition as before the elections frequently and blatantly occurred in the Hitler party and on its periphery in appearance, according to the Elections in much greater reappear extent, the more the approach of the NSDAP the government posts they - in line with the quoted statement by the Italian fascist "Messaggero" - for damping compels their agitation. In this course, all depends on type and combat power of the Communist Party against fascism from. What opportunities for political-ideological and militant mass struggle of KPD are given to the Nazis in and of itself, proves the Berliner Result. In Berlin, the Nazis have relatively less favorable cut off than the rest of Germany. The reason is obvious. In Berlin, as the
Seat of the Central Committee, the main decisions of were Polbüros about the fight against fascism, which were later confirmed by the plenary of the Central Committee, quickly put into practice the party and taken up in the lower organizations effective as in other districts. Now it is to be understood that in a similar carrying Polbüro decisions in Germany, if they are on time and without loss of speed would have used, also the growth of fascist votes in the rest of Germany could reduce substantially attenuates. Anyway shows the example of Berlin, which Possibilities of the party are given on the basis of their correct policy.

Compared to the electoral success of the Nazis, as he has now occurred, one has the KPD in the masses - and possibly also in their own ranks - two tendencies combat: once any symptoms of a panic, an overestimation of fascist success, as occurs especially among Social Democratic workers. Secondly, a underestimation of the fascist danger, from which a insufficient fight one division would result against fascism. Again tried SPD awaken extraordinarily dangerous moods among the workers by the perspective unrolls, the Nazis are abwirtschaften, then would the SPD again ans Rowing. Against a such Einschläferungspropaganda of the Social Democratic accomplices of fascism directed the KPD their fiercest battle.

But the electoral success of the Nazis also refutes certain moods, such as occurred within the party at isolated comrades who believe that the

Election campaign of the party too strong against the Nazis would out, whereby Weakening our struggle against the SPD occurring. The opposite is the case. Just by working out that our main enemy of capitalism and the bourgeoisie are and just through our struggle against fascism, we show the masses the fact that the Communist Party is the only anti-capitalist and anti-fascist party is, under whose leadership they also queue at the battle front against capital and fascism have to. The anti-fascist struggle of the Communists is also an important lever for the preparation of the proletarian united front with the Social Democratic workers and their detachment from social fascism. is our struggle against social fascism not and must not in sheer abundance agitational attacks against social democracy exist, but mainly in the whole of our revolutionary anticapitalist and anti-fascist policy.

* An important, even the sharpest weapon in our fight against the fascists was the Liberation program of the KPD. Just the beating political success with the party This "program statement of the Central Committee for the National and Social Liberation struggle of the German people" achieved, once again underlines the fact that has already been determined on the last plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that the tempo loss which the party in the fight against the Young Plan in the past has suffered, the advance of communism in Germany delayed unnecessarily. Without this loss of tempo would the party today the demagoguery of the Nazis already have much more exposed than is now already happened.

However, not only in our fight against the Nazis, but in every respect was the liberation of the KPD program is crucial for the
Communist election victory. Here the party was in scarce, folk forms the Masses the way out of the impending catastrophe of capitalist bankruptcy. Here it proved that only communism rescue from the mass poverty and the Young can bring slavery. Here was convincingly for millions of working people hammered the need for proletarian dictatorship. had the freedom program the path of the struggle for Soviet Germany!

By the party its entire campaign on the liberation program and its Popularization concentrated, she raised both the election campaign and propaganda in been greater extent than at any previous parliamentary election case was, on the heights of a clear and principled curl our revolutionary path without the least concession to parliamentary illusions.

This principle guiding the election campaign with the clear elaboration of the Ultimate goals of the Communist Party, the proletarian dictatorship, perfectly fulfilled the Requirements of the historical conditions in which the party in the election campaign moved. The economic and political crisis of the capitalist system with its enormous ideological and political decomposition of society, with their radicalization of Masses beyond the scope of the working class beyond deep into the petty bourgeois Middle class, with its intensification of class antagonisms to a violent degree of Tightening, - this whole situation demanded such a revolutionary increase our Agitation and propaganda with bold offensive spirit and vorwärtsstürmendem Elan.

The relief program of the KPD as a focal point for all agitation and propaganda corresponded to this need. It is clear that such a program of national and social liberation in the face of the deep bitterness in the broadest masses on the double Sklavenfron by the predatory imperialist powers and the German Bourgeoisie after September 14 fortiori to a beacon for the collection of all Working people must become the revolutionary class struggle.

The outcome of the elections in Germany has indeed unequivocally those predictions regarding corroborated the historical development as the KPD and the Communist International developed at the moment of Maibarrikaden of 1929th The barricades from Wedding and Neukölln signaled in fact a historical turning point in Signs of the approaching revolutionary upsurge. Today, through the development in Germany all those who have the prospects of the Communist International questioned and diluted, completely beaten. 4.6 million communist Votes, victorious advance of the KPD against reformism in the struggle for proletarian majority - which is a clear reflection of the revolutionary upsurge.

And proves on the other side, and the disintegration of the old bourgeois parties and their Absorption by the Nazis only the crisis of the capitalist system. once are those masses of despair and bitterness in the hypocritical phrases Hitler Party have fallen inside, but today and in such a process of fermentation Rebellion understood against the capitalist system that they sooner or later the will see through hypocritical role of Nazism. On the other hand corresponds to it again only the general aggravation and escalation of the class antagonisms that the forces of the contending classes on both sides of the front and more clearly and wholehearted focus: here, in the camp of the working class, on the floor of the
Liberation program of the Communist Party, there, in the camp of the bourgeoisie, under Management of open fascism, the extreme counter-revolution.

The bankrupt bourgeoisie itself, which of their previous methods of rule bourgeois democracy and parliamentarianism in the end, is the fascist the state apparatus and the increasing rapprochement with the Nazis and German Nationalists always clear, always undisguised great ruling:

_Fascism or Communism!_

The bankrupt bourgeoisie must and will, which of their previous methods of rule bourgeois democracy and parliamentarianism in the end, is the fascist the state apparatus and the increasing rapprochement with the Nazis and German Nationalists always clear, always undisguised great ruling:

_Fascism or Communism!_

The 4.6-million-Pront who have passed their commitment to communism, must and will, which of their previous methods of rule bourgeois democracy and parliamentarianism in the end, is the fascist the state apparatus and the increasing rapprochement with the Nazis and German Nationalists always clear, always undisguised great ruling:

_Fascism or Communism!_

Now after the election victory of 14 September outside parliament new hundreds of thousands and Million against fascism, against the capitalist system, against the Young-

_Mobilize plunder. 4.6 million votes for the KPD - means new, grown, serious responsibility, greater obligations of the party to the masses_. In defending the vital interests of the toiling millions in urban and rural areas have the German party just because of their brilliant election victory with ten times stronger

Going all out decisive steps towards unleashing the revolutionary Mass struggle march forward.

* If the KPD with the requirements, the growing of the reaction, the increasing Fascism - like as always turn out the government combined the bourgeoisie - to them approach, grown? One of the first tasks that the party in the review make the teachings of the election campaign and our entire revolutionary mass work must, is the application of a true Bolshevik self-criticism. The party criticized with full sharpness deficiencies and shortcomings that emerged in this campaign are. This includes in particular the delay in onset of our mass agitation and revolutionary election work in the factories.

So alone, with open self-criticism, it will be possible within the party and among the Masses to rekindle those creative powers to fill any gaps, to

Renewal of proletarian cadres and to enhance the combat effectiveness of the party needed are.

We've had this election campaign _not_ as the Socialists and Fascists,

Million funds from entrepreneurs bags and union funds at our disposal.

We had _not_ like the other parties, broadcasting, aircraft, thousands of newspapers.

We moved _dirt poor_ in the election campaign and financed our agitation by sacrificing courageous Collections of _workers pennies_. The red poll workers that red frontline fighters, the

_Communist Youth League_, the _redden sportsman_ and all _revolutionary Mass organizations_ helped us achieve victory.

But it is precisely the victory shows the party the great disproportion between their increased political influence which has widened enormously and continue daily broadened, and the lack of _organizational implementation_ of this influence. here applies to provide quickest remedy. The party must in all ways and in all fields take those actions that enable it, their political influence, the

Electoral victory of 4.6 million to revalue in the extra-parliamentary struggle actions.

_Expansion and increase of operating cells_, raising the narrow comradely and collective spirit in the operating cells - which is one of the first and most crucial
Steps.

One of our main tasks is now expanding and political development of the revolutionary trade union opposition with new methods, according to the maturing new situation. In the union question, the party sends to now, a decisive turn make. We must join the ranks of revolutionary Union opposition politically and organizationally unite solid.

According to the decision of V. RGI-Congress be for better detection of Organized and unorganized in the revolutionary trade union opposition

Member books published.

With the practical leadership of the proletarian wage and economic struggles we have the Propaganda, preparation and initiation of the political mass strike against the fascist attacks and the state-capitalist reaction connect. Advertising for Party and our press and moreover development of such methods in the interior life the party through which recruited members are held and the fluctuation can be overcome within the party - which is the third step.

Reinforcing the work among the unemployed, the middle class in town and country, the many employees, the workers and working women and especially of the proletarian Youth - this is the fourth issue of the German party.

The fifth task is even stronger, even more, even more decisive use of proletarian united front from below for obtaining the Social Democratic and Christian workers. Fully aware of the victory of our party we forget not Minute that the Social Democrats, despite their defeat even millions of workers votes had received. These masses, we must not the treacherous social fascism leave. We have these masses of workers, according to a real warfare Search against fascism, instill the firm conviction that the Communist Party the only anti-fascist force, the victorious organizer of the fight against fascist murder gangs and the threat of fascist dictatorship. The thousands of red election workers have the basic core to the development of a broad, non-Party proletarian mass organization, a Kampfbund against fascism, are, the its doors to all non-party, Social Democratic and Christian workers opens wide, the are willing to fight down together with us fascism.

In connection with these questions is the sixth point in our task the absolute necessity for the exemption program in its individual sections below the toiling masses ten times stronger than during the election campaign to popularize and anchor.

These are, in brief, the most important tasks for the party due to the teachings of Election victory on 14 September. When the KPD masters these tasks and in such a way overcomes the weak points in their revolutionary mass work, they will be able its great historical responsibilities as leader of the proletariat and all working people in the upcoming heavy fighting to fulfill.

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Fierce and sharper than ever before are the martial questions before the German workers.
The predatory Young Plan capacity from month to month, week to week intolerable on the shoulders of the working Germany. Like the bourgeoisie with the govern Nazis, they may temporarily once the Social Democrats to use open participation in the government, she likes a reactionary Minority government of the caliber of the Brüning government under increasing elimination of Can govern Parliament, irrespective of: growing the reaction, ever more brutal attacks on the life and existence of the toiling masses, ever worsening looting and Enslavement to determine the policy of the bourgeoisie. Only the mass revolutionary struggle, with the tools of economic struggles for Wages and bread, with its increasing political mass strike against the fascist Dictatorship measures of finance capital and its lackeys, the German working class counter the attacks of the capitalist oppressors. The German Communists are these revolutionary mass struggle with all their might and in all areas to kindle and looking to increase. We unfold the storm banner of communism and wear it above the masses. We hammer the lessons of the heroic work socialist construction in the Soviet Union are the world proletariat, the German Workers as a thrilling and immersive example. We light the passionate fire of revolutionary enthusiasm for the only way out of misery, poverty and slavery: for Soviet Germany!

This is our way. Fraternally and led by the Communist International the KPD will march forward at the head of the masses and the Battlefront forge that overruns the capitalist system, fascism extinguishes, liquidated the social democracy and the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of Struggle for freedom wins!

Communist International,
Issue 36/1930

Unfolded the red banner of the world October!

Today, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union celebrate the thirteenth year of
Soviet power - 13 years dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the toiling peasants on one-sixth of the globe - the 13 years living object lesson for
World proletariat that only communism the working masses rescue and ascent can bring out of chaos and mass misery of capitalism. 13 years Soviet power - the
is building socialism, liquidation of unemployment, stormy rise in
Industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, unstoppable offensive against
the kulaks, against the last vestiges of capitalism. And at the same time, on the other
Page, crisis in all capitalist countries, bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and
fascist terror, mass poverty, unemployment and famine million on the five
Sixths of the bourgeois-capitalist world.
The Thirteenth Year of the proletarian dictatorship was marked by the heroic and
tireless efforts of the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union in the
Implementation of the Five-Year Plan, in the realization of socialist construction.
While in all capitalist countries, especially in Germany, under the blows of
Great Depression the rotten system of decaying capitalist world trembles,
while the factories are shut down, every week new tens of thousands and
Hundreds of thousands of workers on pavement fly up in the Soviet Union
up gigantic works of socialist economy, the wheels are turning, the smoke
Schlote, the huge grain mills, the socialist state farms stretch, on the
reclaimed land.
In Germany, the ruling capitalist class tried their hunger offensive against the
enforce toiling masses with all methods of brutal dictatorship. To the
Theory of Brüning-Bredt minister who wants to be 20 million "explode overnight"
thus "Germany is the richest country in the world" will, the Brüning government provides with
their social-democratic and fascist accomplices practice: the unemployed
the last piece of bread is stolen, the sick are plundered, the workers in
the factories robbed you the reward officials and employees are their
Hunger salaries again shortened. The non-performing SMEs and the creative Landvolk
be sucked with exorbitant taxes to the bone. The bailiff and
Tax collector gets the farmers the last cow out of the barn, pledged the grain from the straw.
These are the blessings of the capitalist order.
Bourgeois democracy extends as method of rule for the capitalists
Enforcement not their predatory policies against the growing resistance of the masses
more from. Fascism raises his bloodthirsty main. In Germany, the proceeds
Fascist seeds of Hitler and Goebbels on that with the Severing and Hermann Müller
have sown their social-fascist politics. In Austria, the "model country" of II.
International, rages the open and brutal military force against the fascist dictatorship
the working class, after the Social Democrats their role as pioneer of
Fascism with the delivery of the weapons of the proletariat has crowned. hunger and
Fascism - these are the "success" of the social democratic policy for the toiling
Masses in all capitalist countries! Hunger and fascism - these are the results
whose path to the German Social Democracy the masses after the November 9, 1918
tempted, the results of their alleged "democratic road to socialism".
In Soviet times, in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, there is no reward robbery, no
Exorbitant taxes, not fascism. The iron broom of the proletarian dictatorship has
counterrevolutionary rabble that in the capitalist countries to fascism
commanded, destroyed mercilessly on a sixth of the earth. Under the slogan
"Five-Year Plan in four years!" Breaks the offensive of socialism against all enemies the working class, against all agents of capitalism web. In capitalist Germany the working masses languish under the double Sklavenfron by the German bourgeoisie and international finance capital, as its taskmasters, the German capitalists predatory Young Plan at the expense of Toilers enforced. Tribute billion, in addition to the profit of the German Capitalists from the sweat and hunger of German workers forced out. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has no Young-slavery, no Dawes Plan, no Versailles Treaty. The victorious proletarian revolution, the imperialist torn prey contracts and explains the tsarist debts null and void. The proletarian dictatorship has given the masses work, bread and freedom. The Red Army, the sword of the workers 'and peasants' state has, in the past all the stops imperialist bandits shot blocked on the land of socialism and in the future know repulse the predatory appetites of the imperialists. With the time of the machines in the factories of socialist industry with the crackling the tractors in the fields of state farms and collective farms, with the Sturmschritt the battalions of the Red Army sparked the land of Red October in the Hearts of the workers of all countries the flame of proletarian struggle will for Socialism. The example of the Russian revolution, the example of the victorious socialist construction, the successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan is to lever for the revolutionary class struggle in all capitalist countries. The Red October 1917 unfolded at the same time the storm banner of the next World October! The German working class, the capitalist mass misery of the Young-slavery endured looks with glowing enthusiasm of the Soviet Union. The million unemployed in Germany, where capitalism starvation for men, women and children brought, understand from the example of the Soviet Union that a coming Soviet Germany also them work and bread by the seven-full will provide wage compensation and the five-day week. The hundreds of thousands of homeless in Germany, the millions of children, rich proletarian families in unhealthy caves herded live have to, while the capitalists Luxury apartments, villas and palaces inhabit see that the victory of the proletarian Revolution will bring them all at once humane living conditions. The Workers and the proletarian youth, today in the capitalist farms represent, recognize that special object of exploitation for the greed of entrepreneurs Only a Soviet Germany them equal pay for equal work and those for protection Young workers, can give those comprehensive care for mother and child in the Soviet Union are realized. Soviet Germany is the way out for all professionals from disaster! The thirteenth anniversary of Red October, which, in the place of bloody tsarism the place of the capitalist Kerensky government the state of the proletarian dictatorship sat - which is also just for the German proletariat anew the confirmation and Hardening the doctrine that the working class can not win without the leader of the proletarian revolution, without Bolshevik Party! In the 12 years since. 9 November 1918 since the end of Wilhelmine Germany, have the revolutionary workers of Germany this iron vanguard, this leader of her Freedom struggle, the Communist Party, created. Today, on the thirteenth anniversary the Soviet Union, grouted the German proletariat a revolutionary party, the armed is and decided to develop the red banner of socialism in Germany. The thirteenth anniversary of Red October comes at a time of the most severe Great Depression that the in Germany at a rapid pace in the political crisis capitalist system turns - in a situation where the new revolutionary
has used upturn, given the resurgence of the Chinese revolution,
in view of the freedom struggle of Indian workers and peasants, a few days after the
powerful strike of the Berlin metal workers, on the eve of bitter class struggles
the coming winter of starvation in capitalist Germany must bring.
Not for nothing enhances the world bourgeoisie, especially now that the capitalist
Class rule is threatened seriously in a number of countries, their agitation against the
Soviet Union. The workers of all countries are the socialist fatherland of
The world proletariat, the Soviet regime, together with the Red Army in every hour and up
know how to defend to the last drop of blood and protect!
Against the war plans of imperialism against hunger rate of capitalism against
terror of fascism there is only one way for the proletariat: the way the
October Revolution the Russian workers and peasants has shown us. Why is our
Slogan on November 7: Empor the banner of the proletarian revolution! Unfolded the
Storm graphic world October!

by: Ernst Thalmann,
History and politics, articles and speeches 1925-1933;
Dietz Verlag 1973
We lead the people to victory
over the fascist dictatorship!

_Only communism saves the toiling masses
before famine_

Where today is the German people? As in 1924 with the market-stabilization and Adoption of the Dawes Plan, the German bourgeoisie of the "fraternal" aid the foreign finance capital at the expense of the masses of the working Germany Inflation Crisis and Inflation Annual quit as proclaimed civil and Socialist prophets of capitalism that now the post-war crisis Capitalism and the period of revolutionary ferment "finally overcome" were. Those prophecies about the "normal" expected, "healthy" development of capitalist system and the capitalist world economy, such as those of the theorists German Social Democracy, Hilferding, announced at the Kiel Congress of the SPD, are now exposed by the historical facts in all its absurdity. The "silver lining" like him, then the leader of the German bourgeoisie Stresemann, expected by the Dawes Plan, the golden rays of the "Dollar sun" that the "Forward" at the beginning of the Dawes era the German workers promised - everything has proven lies and deceit. There is not yet a year since the adoption of the Young Plan the masses again "Relief, peace and freedom" were prophesied. We need to meet with the hypocrical arguments of the defense of the predatory Young Plan from that period no longer deal. The language of the real facts, the class reality is clearly, too cruel, but that also only one of those mendacious phrases could endure.

"Crisis of hardly ever experienced severity"

The capitalist system and the capitalist economy are in a crisis of such an extent that even the bourgeois whitewashing the craft is placed. Even the official "Institute of Economic Research" must admit that "the current Economic setback in the world as well as in Germany of a modern in the Economic development hardly ever experienced gravity "is. Nowhere were "symptoms rapid improvement in the economic situation recognizable ". The number of unemployed in Germany for the upcoming winter months is estimated at 4½ million. The Deficit in the public finances of the Reich, the states and municipalities estimated the Economic Institute of the second interim accounting period 1930 on a total of 700 Million marks. Thus it is clear that with despite all the recent predatory financial policy all millions and billions burdens on the working people that in spite of the attacks Unemployed, factory workers, employees and officials, the raid on the sick, the
Plundering of the middle class and the working peasantry in no way even partly a consolidation of public finances has succeeded but still with the progressive worsening of the crisis and the bankruptcy of the capitalist State apparatus and its fiscal policy increasingly approaching.

In what pace, to what extent this enormous crisis of capitalism for masses disaster, hunger, the unbearable misery evokes the hardly needs a more detailed description. Already today, even after civil Estimates at least one-sixth of workers and employees from the Production process off. The misery of the unemployed, the need for all

Workers' housing, the malnutrition of children, the desperate plight of the elderly, the unbearable plundering of the workers and the youth - all these are facts which the overwhelming majority of the population make life a misery. The whip of Misery whizzes on the backs of the proletariat, of the non-performing medium-sized businesses and toiling rural population down.

Meanwhile opened the propertied class their winter season with balls, revelries, Luxury and abundance. If the unemployed from the North or East Berlin once in advised Western luxury district of the bourgeoisie, they believe in an alien world added. Of the hundreds of thousands of proletarians, men and women of the Berlin Weddings certainly has a large number is not a single time in her life to Kurfürstendamm get with its exclusive eating places just outside in mind.

What the mass feels and experiences that can not be better formulated than with this set a hungry proletariat in the last great demonstration of Red Berlin: "In This year there is no Christmas tree ornaments. should, where at the Christmas trees it was up to the bourgeoisie, the unemployed hang! " The rope, the Berlin Police moved in the last Reichstag meetings at the Parliament building in order for men "People's representatives" would be protected from the wrath of the masses, in a sense is a symbol for those other knitting, to the Republic of the outsorted, the starving victims of capitalist chaos, present next to the gas tap as a last "resort".

"It ferments in the masses"

But this "solution" is not. The unemployed who outsorad that from Monopoly capitalism destroyed existences of distressed middle class, by the Tax collectors and bailiffs oppressed peasants - they all want to live. It fermenting in the masses. It grows the will to fight for a different order than the barbarism the capitalist disaster policy. The hunger whip of exploiters brings the people to think about. The anger of the masses over their tormentors, their hatred of a system - the millions destroyed by unbridled cruelty to the profit of a small, being able to save small minority - and beyond the mortal enmity, from of the liberating act of millions against this system sooner or later has to adult - all this is the downside of capitalist decline, which is the echo, as the Campaign of destruction of capitalism against the working people from the dull rumble the revolutionary upsurge contrary drowned!

Long before the parliamentary elections of 14 September provided the Communist Party Germany laid the fact that the economic crisis of the capitalist system Germany had begun to turn into a political crisis. Today, every new brings
Day a new aggravation of the crisis. The parliamentary system, bourgeois democracy is, finally bankrupt. The Reichstag, brutally eliminated by the Brüning government, has with the majority decision for the emergency regulations even their own death certificate displayed. Almost in all key German cities are the Local parliaments from established under the purely dictatorial rule Staatskomissare dissolved. With police violence in the Berlin Parliament, the Group of the strongest party Berlin population to the last man dragged out of the hall. The example of the Finnish Lippo-fascists found in the Socialist Berlin police enthusiastic Imitation.

*Underestimation of fascism the greatest danger!*

These are hard facts. The central organ of the SPD but dares his readers in vorzuschwindeln conscious deception, what is happening in Germany since the summer, have . "nothing to do with fascism" Yes, the "forward" insured cynical:

"Constitutionally seen it means nothing more than a shift of power from Reichstag President of the Reich. "

What is that supposed to mean? The "Next" presents itself, albeit in eccentric Form solid, that the bourgeoisie bankrupt parliamentarism liquidated with kicks and his Place the dictatorship has set. So he stated himself that the Weimar Republic with its parliamentary democratic facade is completed by a cold method. But given a Situation in which it is for the working class of tremendous importance, the whole seriousness of the Situation and the further consequences of the development of the fascist dictatorship of their to comprehend initial phase to the higher levels of the fascist reign of terror in of any underestimation of fascism as the main enemy of the working class is extremely dangerous - in a situation adds the Socialist Central Organ his own admissions with assumed naivete added: " with fascism has nothing to do. "

*SPD deceiving the proletariat*

In reality, just the attempts of social democracy, the establishment of denying fascist dictatorship at low temperature to the bourgeoisie, the role of to whitewash Brüning government and therefore the fighting spirit of the proletarian masses lame to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and confuse the working class, a no less hostile to workers and dangerous for the proletariat of the support Fascism as the direct parliamentary and extra-parliamentary Liebesdienste of Social fascism for the fascist course and the fascist rule of the German Bourgeoisie.

What has evolved to forms of rule of the capitalist class in Germany, is the inevitable culmination of a development process, its driving forces of the crisis capitalist system, the heavy vibration of the bourgeois order and the
capitalist profit economy. This process took a year before his visible Expression in the former offensive of the big bourgeoisie, led by the former Reichsbank President Schacht, against the Hermann-Müller-government of the Grand Coalition. The kick with which the bourgeoisie three months later the Social Democrats from the Minister chairs conveyed the Reich Government, was continuing. The bourgeoisie went this over, immediately exercise its dictatorship over the people, without getting in the realm scale their social-fascist minions as "reigning" middlemen to operate. The first semi-fascist Brüning Pegierung, which replaced the Hermann-Müller-Pegierung, sat by first days of their regime the way of new fascist methods of rule to fascist dictatorship continues.

The role of the Brüning government

Today the Brüning government is self-government for the fascist dictatorship in their become the initial stage. For the question of the fascist dictatorship is for the Marxists no personal question, not a problem that a Mussolini or a Hitler into power must come, but rather a question of class-role of a regime. The Program of the Communist International, this Communist Manifesto the 20th century. Century, says about fascism:

"To secure their power greater continuity and strength, is the bourgeoisie increasingly obliged to move from the parliamentary system to the fascist method of is relationships and combinations between the parties independently. Fascism is a Method of direct dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, ideologically disguised with the idea of "National community" and the representation by "professions" ... " meet all these conditions at the present role of the Brüning government. The "To bring need for all victims" demagogic phrases about the growing Trends and practical steps, instead of bankrupt Parliament, which no longer seriously, always improve awareness about the Reichsrat as "first chamber" in the foreground, the renunciation of the previous methods of coalition politics, that is the "Combinations between the parties" for the preparation of a parliamentary majority, the hypocritical slogan "Against the interested groups", - all these phenomena of present system corresponding to the character of a fascist dictatorship, like him describes the program of the Comintern. The Social Democrats, in their endeavor, the compositions of the Brüning government as "the "To make them palatable," lesser evil missed "the utter illegality of the proletarian Movement, is surprised that the fascist dictatorship prevail in Germany, although the Communist Party is still legal. The SPD only reveals so how much it hurts the legality of the communists and also reveals her perfect historical ignorance. has in the history of the last twelve years since the war ended Only in the rarest cases the fascist rule in any country with the complete suppression of the workers' movement began. Right says the Program of the Communist International on here:

"The main task of fascism is the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, ie the Communist sections of the proletariat and its leading cadres."
The object of the fascist dictatorship, the aim of this dictatorship in the interests of capitalist system quell revolutionary proletariat, so can only be a result of fascist rule, if you successfully against the proletariat to argue and solve their task vermöchte. The fact that the Brüning government with their social fascist accomplices task of counterrevolutionary suppression the proletariat and its party has set a target, in view of terror, of Day assumes sharper forms, be doubtful for not thinking workers.

If the SPD dares today, all sorts of "freedoms" enumerate the working class and the Communist Party allegedly enjoy in Germany, while at the same time on the Streets the truncheon of the Social Democratic police Garden against starving Unemployed rage, popping the Parabellum pistols the policeman, the spotlight enable raid cars entire neighborhoods in an atmosphere of civil war, while SPD Erzesinski in Berlin and SPD Schoenfelder adopted in Hamburg bans on demonstrations, so mocks the SPD with such "arguments" aware the workers.

**Stages of the fascist dictatorship**

It is understood that the fascist dictatorship not fixed, rigid, further Developments not subject shape. What we have today in Germany, is the The initial stage of the fascist dictatorship, which, if it according to the will of the bourgeoisie goes further stages due to the extra-parliamentary development of reactionary Class forces - of course, not on the basis of some parliamentary Voters - to follow. How far this the Nazis of the method of "Coup cold way", the legal seizure of power by the replacement of the Brüning government use in the exercise of fascist dictatorship, depends on the general development of the crisis and the worsening from the class relationships. Naturally is not excluded as a complementary method, a military coup. It is in any case clear that the fascist terror - on the current methods of both the capitalist state power and the Nazi gangs beyond - with a further Development of the fascist dictatorship much crueler and more brutal forms would accept. It is clear that the bloodlust of the fascist executioners of the proletariat a higher level of fascist dictatorship even more barbaric orgy of White Terror would unleash. But it is equally clear that these dangers are not averted may, by denying or glossed over the initial stage of the fascist dictatorship. Who lulling the working masses today, reduces the seriousness of the situation, the clear confused knowledge of fascism as the main enemy, who vorlügt the workers who Support for the fascist government was a defense against Fascism, which helps itself with the development of the fascist dictatorship to its highest, most cruel stages evoke.

**The SPD as auxiliary police of fascism**

Today's role of the SPD is an auxiliary police for fascism. This applies to their Police chief, not for the actions of a Severing or Erzesinski but also less for the social-fascist Schlichter and scabbing agitators, for
social fascist trade union bureaucracy, the wage robbery of fascist dictatorship with by crops and decompose the defensive struggle of the proletariat helps. Here too in turn gives us the program of the Communist International with the tools to the show shabby role of the social democracy of the masses in full clarity. There is it [called:

"According to the respective political economy, the bourgeoisie uses both the fascist methods and the methods of the coalition with the Social Democrats, said Social Democracy itself, particularly in critical for capitalism hours, not infrequently plays fascist role."

The SPD has not only paved the way for fascism, but also proves to be today as a loyal support of the fascist dictatorship. They compete with the Nazis around the Priority will be given to the preservation, defense and expansion of the fascist dictatorship directly involved may be. About his own role fascist addition, the Social Democracy to the lever for the development of extra-parliamentary fascist Mass organizations, to Zutreiberin for Hitler Party. The anti-people Verräterpolitik the SPD hunts hundreds of thousands of disillusioned employees and SMEs, yes, even backward workers layers Nazism in the Networks. The counter-revolutionary policy of the SPD is the bourgeoisie and the Hitlerite party as Support for the fraudulent trick to discredit "Marxism" of the masses. The Social Democratic corruption scandals of the bourgeoisie and the fascists hypocritical as "arguments" for insulting the workers' movement exploited. Another chapter is the destruction of all workers' organizations by the Social fascism, the transformation of the unions into organizations to carry the strike break, the price of the reformist trade union bureaucracy as the Berlin Metalworkers strike or the last Chemnitzer streetcar strike a new crowning of Betrayal experienced. The union policy of social fascism tried the German Unions on the path of Mussolinischen syndicates, on the path of to urge organizations of fascist dictatorship. The chairman of the German Metalworkers' Federation, fire, put example still on the Berlin Verbandstag the following confession:

"Despite all the bad experiences we stand still for arbitration beings; the state has the right to intervene in the conflict between labor and capital."

Is this a new theory? Mussolini has in the grounds of the Carta del Lavoro, the Fascist Labour Constitution, almost literally said the same thing:

"Just as the state as a carrier of the legal system for centuries the Self Defense has banned individuals and replaced by state justice, he must now finally the prohibit self defense classes and replace them with state justice. In the higher interest social peace, and the production of national wealth."

This agreement between the Italian fascist leader and the German Reformists in the issues of trade union policy reveals the role of Social Democracy
Division of labor between the SPD and the Nazis

Today the Social Democracy supports inside and outside Parliament, with especially Help the Prussian government and its functionaries throughout the capitalist state apparatus, boundlessly the Brüning government of fascist dictatorship, today it strives whose Role of the masses euphemistically re lying, and trying these unscrupulous betrayal to excuse the "statesmanlike" declaration, thereby it prevents the engagement the National Socialists in the German government. Also is sheer dizziness. In reality provides precisely this auxiliary position of social democracy for the Brüning government to Nazis with the necessary scope to an apparent independence of the System of the fascist dictatorship, the most important extra-parliamentary support and Einpeitscher Hitler and Goebbels are in truth. It allows social democracy the extra-parliamentary group head of fascism, before the masses an alleged miming opposition to the anti-people policies of the fascist dictatorship and characterized the rebellion among the petty-bourgeois masses and sections of workers catch against this policy in favor of fascism.

The "struggle between Social Democrats and Nazis is serious, so far as it a competition for the mangers of the capitalist state apparatus represents; in the Moreover Hitler Party and SPD are working in each other's hands. Between parliamentary assistance services to the SPD for the fascist dictatorship and the extraparliamentary concentration of the Nazis is a direct interaction and cross-fertilization.

The policy of the Nazis has since September 14, since the parliamentary elections, which manifold changes undergone. First, the big race started at the Ministerial chair. The language of Nazi agitation was tame and temperate, as befits a "ruling party" is fitting. In foreign policy, Hitler was in his various interviews for the foreign press all nationalist phrases of previous fascist agitation about smashing the Young Plan, the fight against Versailles, etc. award.

Young - Hitler fulfillment Party

The Nazi Party as a reliable "fulfillment Party" that the confidence of foreign countries deserve being exhibited. This was followed by the shameless Anbiederungsversuche the Nazis at the foreign imperialists, the correspondence between Hitler and the French German eaters Hervé on a Franco-German military alliance against the Soviet Union, after earlier Lord Rothermere, the British warmongers against Germany and Jewish newspaper magnate, in the columns of the Nazi press because of his advocacy of a Hitler regime in Germany in disgusting-fawning had been courted and glorified nature. In those weeks, the Nazi turned
Party, at least in their own view, in a gentle and well-behaved
Flock of lambs.

Scarcely had been found, however, that the time for a government takeover
is not given by the Hitler party that today the other faction in the camp of
German fascism under the leadership of the Centre maintains the power and turn the
built fascist dictatorship and exercises, as also the image of the changed
Nazi policy. The limitless defending capitalism against the
Working people, as in the last days of Hitler banquet at Hamburger million club
clearly revealed, is again trimmed with "anti-capitalist" demagogy, the total
Betrayal of the national liberation struggle of the German people and the pivoting into the
League policy of the German bourgeoisie and social democracy by Hitler to
are again hiding behind nationalistic phrases. Also in the outer appearance of the
Nazis takes the wheel opposition "against" the current system again a larger space
on.

But all this is only the concealment of those active outside parliament
Mercenary services that the Hitler bands in fact the fascist dictatorship of the German
Big bourgeoisie best efforts and in full competition with the Social Democrats
afford. Again, the wave of fascist terror increases. Again, there are increasing bloody
Raids Nazis to revolutionary workers. It goes literally barely
a day later, on the not at any point in Germany a proletarian among
Shots and stabbed the fascist counterrevolution bled. It is
Of course, that against the organized murder and the open
Civil War actions of fascism the working class the answer not guilty
remains.

Two fractions of fascism

If today ruled out the Nazis in the realm scale from power
are so springs the the fact that German fascism present in two
clearly divorced fractional stock is divided. On one side the Bruening-block,
of the fascist dictatorship under the strongest utilization and discrediting
perform social democracy seeks. On the other side of the block Hugenberg-Hitler,
the Social Democracy completely from all upper and lower positions of the state apparatus
wants to eliminate and replace them with Nazis.

When the current stage of the fascist dictatorship in which the center of the
Catholic clericalism, plays a leading role, through the Hitler-Hugenberg block
will be replaced if this detachment a dictatorship Reichswehr with the Major General v.
Hammerstein or the former Defence Minister Gessler, a dictatorship
Utilization of the person of the current President of the Reichsbank Luther or his predecessor,
Schacht, perhaps of General v. Seeckt precedes, can not presently
decide.

All listed forms of fascist dictatorship within the range of possibility. Because
the fascist dictatorship's not a form of government, but a form of government
capitalist class rule, under which quite diverse
Government variations are possible.
For the proletariat and all other sections of the working population is the clear recognition of this crucial turning point in the historical situation and the further possibilities of development of the fascist dictatorship necessary requirement. But no less important is the clear consciousness of the masses that it was suicide, to wait until the bourgeoisie and capitalism all forms and ways of maintaining their class rule have exhausted the fascist dictatorship, but that all their strength and capacity for action, their self-preservation, their revolutionary energy and their desire for freedom on the goal of eradicating the fascist dictatorship must be set!

_Fascism is intensified threat of war!_

With the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Germany the danger of war is tremendously grown. A new period of military, adventure and war policy of German imperialism begins. On one hand, threatens new conflict between the imperialist powers in sharper form than before, on the other hand arises as the main danger of the war anti-Bolshevik intervention front, which in the reign of fascism Germany is completely closed. The baiting of the Soviet Union, which lies about a alleged dumping of the Soviet economy in the world market because the country of to produce cheaper socialism capable than the bankrupt capitalist profit system, the hateful solidarity of the Nazis, the bourgeoisie and the SPD with the sentenced pests and counterrevolutionaries occasion of the Moscow trial - the All this shows how happy fascist Germany the campaign of world imperialism would welcome to the land of the proletarian dictatorship. Fascism and its lackeys torment the people. The bankrupt capitalist system is no longer capable, the vast masses of even the barest existence, the barest decent existence guarantee. GREAT BIG grows the nameless misery in all layers of the working people. The hunger marches through the streets of cities. Of the Hunger prevails like the plague in the desolate tenement. The hunger stretches its choking Hand for the children of the proletariat. Hunger finds its way into the employee and lower officials. Hunger forces the masses of the middle class and the needy small farmers in its spell. The Communist Party, the struggles of working people in all fields the proletarian everyday life organized so upgraded at the same time a counter-offensive against the attacks of the fascist dictatorship and the struggle for its overthrow.

_We call the proletariat!_

The unemployed starve, are driven, their begging pennies are degraded. The Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition organize forge hunger demonstrations of the unemployed to support and winter aid the united front of the unemployed and factory workers in the fight for the seven-hour without loss of pay, which can create millions unemployed bread and work! The operating working men and women are afflicted by the scourge of wage robbery. The Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition organize defensive struggles, the strikes by workers against every penny wage robbery and for higher wage. You hammer the masses the political nature of the economic struggles in the
present situation of capitalist crisis and of the revolutionary upsurge as the example of the Russian Revolution of 1905 showed. The women and the youth of the proletariat, that of unbridled plunder expire capitalist profiteers particularly are, have only one protection, only one Party that decided their interests within the general class struggle and tough defended - that is the Communist Party that the masses of the working class for the Slogan: "Same pay for equal work" mobilized!

We call the middle class!

With exorbitant taxes and duties Hunger drives the fascist dictatorship prices up and allows the capitalist monopolies in Germany, despite the rapid decline in the World prices maintain control or to exacerbate. The Communist Party leads the only struggle for a real price reduction, no demagogic agitation against the small traders of the middle class, but a tenacious struggle against the real sources of inflation, against monopoly capitalism and his exorbitant profits and against the customs predatory policies of the government, but also for the Retail trade, by the depression of the purchasing power of the proletariat and capitalist profiteering tax is crushed. Down with the prices! - The Communists are the only ones that adopt this solution with real authority and the masses the working class and the middle class can collect under this slogan!

Wide parts of the middle class are today by the predatory monopoly capitalism strangled and down into misery. If in 1930 the purchasing power of workers, Employees and officials by unemployment, short-time working and wage robbery by approximately 15 billion, ie by almost 45 per cent of the total income of the German people to wage and content was depressed, so it is clear that this is also the ruin of large layers the middle class evokes. Here are not already in the past five years less a half million independent existences even after the bourgeois statistics been destroyed. The place of non-performing SMEs is therefore on the side of Working class whose victory alone also opens some way for them: classification in the mighty process of socialist construction, which in only the development of all skills Services of general permits and manages the fittest free rein!

We call the creative country folk!

While the government of fascist dictatorship the Agrarian Party with gifts of love showered, starves the creative country people, the small farmer, the small farmers or Crofters crushed by the avalanche of capitalist misery. Only in alliance with the Working class can also use these working people a better future, a dignified life under the banner of socialism fight!
The working class, the industrial proletariat is called by history, at the top Vast masses of all working people under the leadership of its revolutionary party, the Communist Party, the struggle for the destruction of the fascist dictatorship, the Struggle for bread, work, freedom victorious to lead.

In the Soviet Union there is no fascism

While the capitalist profit system in Germany their stark decline disclosed during the still capitalist five-sixths of the world crisis rages while fascist Italy heading towards disaster, growing in Soviet Union under the proletarian dictatorship, the gigantic world of new socialist
Order inexorably upwards. There is no fascism, no daily
Workers murder as in Germany. There is no capitalist exploitation. Over there
no unemployment. There is no imperialist oppression. Why there?
The Communist Party calls on the masses of the German people to fight against the
fascist dictatorship. While prevail in all other parties crisis and decomposition, is
the KPD today as consistent as ever. Even comrades who in the past
Party fought from the standpoint of compromisism, have today in the revolutionary
Work of party queued on the class line of our policy. The unprecedented internal
Unity of the Communist Party is only a reflection of the collection
proletarian class forces for united front in the camp of the revolution.

*The need of the hour: Proletarian United Front!*

In this hour, in which every worker must understand the seriousness of the situation, turns the
to all working people, to all proletarians with an appeal to the Communist Party
Manufacture of the proletarian united front against the fascist dictatorship!
Divided you into the storm-tested battalions of the KPD and the Communist
Youth League! Trust the revolutionary party, the indefatigable and bold all forces
the fight against famine, for all enemies of Niederzwingung
Working class and organized for the victory of the proletariat. If the vast masses of the
starving, enslaved people in town and country under the leadership of communism
marching, then the hour will soon strike, where the need and misery of capitalism
and the oppression of the fascist dictatorship comes to an end!
Creates antifascist in Germany worker delegates conferences of elected
Representatives of all strata of the working people. Maps the action committees against the
Fascism! Strengthens the mass organizations of the proletariat, joins you in the
Kampfbund against fascism!
We call upon the Communists: Each one of you must henceforth tirelessly on the
Post Stand and every day its full duty as a leader of the working class, as a
Agitator of the revolutionary class struggle fulfill among the masses of the proletariat!
We offer the Social Democratic workers, the proletarians in Reichsbanner, the
Young proletarians in the ranks of the SAJ fraternal against the hand for the common fight
fascism as the main enemy of the working class, which needs to be destroyed.
We appeal to the Christian workers, not as support for the fascist
to be misused and dictatorship, with the center, the Brüning party of big business
to break.
We appeal especially resolutely anti-capitalist minded toilers
in the camp of National Socialism, the misguided workers, employees, small
Officials and SMEs to that of the deceptive phrases and promises
Hitler and Goebbels have fallen inside. We also show them to the class fronts we shake
also it for the freedom struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, who alone
the present system of capitalist plunder and predatory Young-
can eliminate slavery.
We forge the weapon of mass political strikes as the ultimate weaponry
the working class against fascism in the heutigen period. We drums for battle
against the fascist dictatorship! The vast masses of the people have against the
raise fascism. You are omnipotent when all the wheels are and some people under
the banner of socialism fights. The Communist Party is the leader in this
Freedom struggle of millions. Her to us! With us the people with us the victory! Closes
Series! Chin strap down!

Brothers, in one's hands now!
Brothers, dying ridiculed!
Eternally the Sklav'rei an end!
Heilig the final battle!

The Red flag,
12/12/1930
Comrade Thalmann about Ruhrkampf

A speech to the Hamburg party functionaries

The outbreak of fighting in the Ruhr was like a thunderclap in Young Germany

A political struggle is of paramount importance in the struggle of the proletariat

On the Delegates Conference of the Great Hamburger organization of the Communist Party, which was held on Sunday and was visited more than 800 delegates, Comrade Ernst Thalmann seized at the beginning of the discussion the word and talked about the situation in the Ruhr area and the importance of there flared struggle. Delegates demonstrated their practical solidarity with the striking Ruhr buddies by a disk Collection, which resulted in the amount of 73 marks.

The significance of the strike of the Ruhr miners

Comrade Thalmann, welcomed by the delegates with a triple red front and great acclaim, explained:

The importance of the Ruhr struggle is not a strike at all, but this fight is from the outset a political struggle of paramount importance in the liberation struggle of Proletariat. The worsening of the overall situation is taking on ever more blatant forms, and the Communist front, the front of the revolutionary toiling proletariat, always occurs aggressive, always attacking joyful in the foreground. The intensification of the crisis Young brings more and more coming into the fore tightening the inner and outer Location, brings ever greater mass loading, but also brings an elementary Rise of the revolutionary movement. Therefore all have today carried out fighting great political, revolutionary significance.

Brutal police terror is to prevent the struggle of the miners

55000-60000 miners of the Ruhr area are led by the RGO in combat. With tried every means the SPD, the reformist and Christian trade union bureaucracy, To prevent this fight of the miners. But when everything did not help the fight anyway broke out, looked beaten the union bureaucracy as the government intervened to with brutal police terror to break the tremendous battlefront of the miners. The Residential colonies of miners in Duisburg, Hamborn etc. same true army camps Riot police. But nothing could stop this revolutionary movement. A special role in this battle played by women and young people, which with the first row of the battle front standing. Heroic are also incipient the immediate Solidarity Actions of the unemployed. So is this fight is not an action of
Miners alone, but an extremely important survey with revolutionary character that is supported by the broad masses of the working people. Two dead and four seriously injured, which have so far remained as victims of police terror on the track, witness it, with what bitterness the capitalists and their henchmen against the Ruhr population proceed.

On Sunday met in Bochum a convened by the RGO fight conference, 1500 Delegates participated. The activity of the combatants is reflected by the fact that these 1500 delegates were summoned in the time of 24 hours. All possible Terrorist acts were against these delegates, who came mostly from abroad, perpetrated. In meeting local are 15 to 20 detectives present, the direct police surveillance of a conference.

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Nazis reveal themselves as the worst enemies of workers

Comrade Thalmann leads on to say that the mood in the Ruhr area is very low, proletarian Mass struggle front against fascism marched. Four Social-Democratic workers are in While hundreds more are present as delegates Bureau of struggle Conference of RGO. The Nazis debunk here as laborers enemies of the purest water. Make the scabs, in many cases Costumes with the brown murderer uniform. And so is also noted that more and more workers, which were deceived by the Nazis, to turn away from these Naziverrätern and the front of their Connect revolutionary liberation fighting workers. Apprentices, compared with severest measures The procedure, in solidarity with the strikers and not go into the factories. Even the middle class proves the combatants again his great sympathy.

Under the motto: "Enlightenment Assembly" organized the SPD for Monday throughout the combat zone size reared meetings to the workers against the revolutionary struggle, for their strike-breaking tactics to win.

Comrade Thalmann then points to the enormous importance of the port workers' struggle, which all Betrayals of the social fascists organized in defiance of the RGO. The social fascists wanted with their last betrayal achieve especially the fragmentation of the battlefront, because everywhere else throughout Germany would break out at the same time the fight. With all the intensity of this struggle must February to get prepared.

Proves the solidarity with the Ruhr miners!

How meaningful the bourgeoisie just assesses the struggle of the Ruhr workers, showing the journey that the Social fascist Severing wants to undertake his "orientation". This is a further tightening of the Police terror announced. Already be day and night, the residential area of the workers of the Police of the strongest control subject.

Comrade Thalmann then cites an article of the Nazi newspaper "Hamburger Tageblatt", in which the true Location is obscured in the Ruhr. Demagogically researching this leaflet to make it appear as support the NSDAP the strikers, while in reality the Nazi hordes as strikebreakers in activity are.

The heroic struggle of the miners, led by the RGO must in all factories and Stamp Set discussed and supported in the most active form. Everywhere the working people need their solidarity to the prove battling Ruhr proletariat everywhere has the betrayal policy of national and social fascists denounces relentlessly. The outbreak of fighting acts like a thunderclap in Young-Germany. Throughout the coming battles of the working class must be organized.

Long live the victory of the miners!
People's Revolution on Germany

Speech of Comrade Ernst Thalmann
at the plenum of the Central Committee of the KPD
15th-17th January 1931

A. Analysis of the situation and prospects of development

Comrades At the beginning of my speech I would like to the great importance of today notice ZK session. If we take a brief historical look back at the time the 6th World Congress today, we see that the Comintern at major meetings in the meantime, for example, at the 10th plenary session of the Ekki in the autumn of 1929, or at the meeting the enlarged Bureau in February v. J., based on the analysis of the situation, to provide forms of struggle and tactical methods always at a higher level again could. Take for example the most recent meeting of the enlarged Bureau and the report of that meeting that we had in March v. J. in the Central Committee. At that time we realized that the pace of revolutionary upsurge in Germany accelerated takes character. According to the decisions of the enlarged Bureau we tried to hand a number of situations in the history of the Revolution show that no rigid boundary between the stage of development of the revolutionary Recovery and the addition tires can be made in a revolutionary situation. In today's Central Committee meeting in front of us the important question of which phenomena have so far shown that the economic political crisis in Germany already triggered trends of the revolutionary crisis. This important problem and the resulting tasks are the main line of today's lecture. If we in this Central Committee meeting the changes of June plenary last year
check until today, it is clear that it was expedient not been more of a DC-convene meeting. Today ZK has much larger possibilities, a new analysis of current situation and provide a politically clear perspective what or before two three months to that extent already been possible in any way. Suppose some special Features of the Development of June plenary today. In the Great Depression, which developed based on the intensification of the crisis of the whole capitalist system has, we see that the hopes of the bourgeoisie to a recovery from the crisis America and at the same time a stimulation of the economy on a world scale, or even on a Revolution were completely refuted in the Depression through the whole development. In Germany we are experiencing at the moment a crisis over which the official economic institution with full had to explain to law that it is hardly ever experienced gravity. If we factor the of turning the economic crisis in Germany in a shock of political superstructure and the emergence of tendencies of the revolutionary crisis consider, so we have the clearest as the outbreak of revolutionary upsurge Reichstag elections of 14 September, the metal workers' strike in Berlin and now, with a completely new, political, offensive character, the Ruhr struggle with the Upper Silesian Strike; to the mass political strike against the aided by the Nazis in Government Danzig. Finally, the rising mass wave of anti-fascist struggle and fermentation phenomena and decomposition factors in social democracy and particularly in the Socialist Workers' Youth. These are all new factors of revolutionary Upswing. On the other hand, we notice how the efforts of the bourgeoisie grow, a way out of the capitalist crisis through new methods of find fascism. Another world significant fact is the fact that the Soviet Union in the course of implementation of the Five-Year Plan in the period of socialism occurred. In a world scale a massive struggle between the structure of the start

socialist system and the decline of the capitalist system. This rings is also for Germany and all other capitalist countries in the presence and Future have the greatest importance.

The most important thing in this Central Committee Plenum seems to be:

1. an accurate analysis of the current situation and the perspective of development.
2. Based on this analysis the problem and task for the policy of the party.
   In the first part of Unit I'll try the development of the Great Depression outlines and contrast to show the development of the Soviet Union. It will then be a matter of the specific characteristics of the current crisis and the attempts the bourgeoisie to explain to overcome them. Finally, the problem is the capitalist way out and on the other hand, the prospect of achieving a revolutionary crisis. In this context, we will detail with the issue the fascist dictatorship have to employ.
   In the second main part of the unit the following items are available:
   1. The problem of the people's revolution and the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship, or to the implementation of the fascist dictatorship.
   2. The question of the united front policy and of winning over the decisive layers of Proletariat and the working people.
   3. The RGO as the central problem in the present stage of development for the Daily struggle of the party and the proletariat.
   4. Progress and shortcomings in our Party work and
5. The tasks of the militarization of the proletariat.
These are the main issues that we have to deal with today.

I. The Great Depression

And now, comrades, to the questions of the present situation. I already pointed out that the bourgeois and socialist economists nor in the previous summer
Overcoming the crisis announced. The economic facts have the hopes of Bourgeoisie smashed. Today we find that even the bourgeois "scientists" the
no longer dare to deny sharpness of the crisis. Such admissions are the bourgeois
course valuable for us. On the other hand, we must not fall into the mistake with us these bourgeois admissions to settle, and even on a theoretical,
to renounce scientific, Marxist analysis. The bourgeois economists settle for best playback of external phenomena. Our task is contrast, the deeper connections and backgrounds in the Marxist show analysis. I would like in this context to a word of Comrade Stalin remember when he points at the necessity, with the methods of Marxist Science to explore the new problems. Comrade Stalin says there:

"The importance of these issues is primarily in the fact that their Marxist editing the is possibility all and any kind of bourgeois theory that sometimes - to our shame - of our communist comrades will spread, and confuses the minds of our practitioners with Root and branch root out."

Also, we need to question the theoretical deepening in the party and among the masses focus. Because we need a really clear and thorough orientation
Masses, a state where one can say that almost every contemporary of us when he in Operation, on the street, everywhere, our political opponents confronts the consciousness has to have this clear Marxist orientation. But the analysis of the real economic contexts and backgrounds, we can create a proper perspective
to derive.

Therefore, at first some crucial facts about the history of the Great Depression and their status. What are the main features?
1. The huge decline in production in all industrial countries, the Non-utilization of the means of production and the consequent difficulty for the Capitalism, to find a new basis on which the capital is recyclable. For this purpose only some of the key numbers and facts. The production in the United States of America to face the last peak in the 3rd quarter of 1930 28.3% decreased. In Germany, this decline was 26%, in England 17.1%. Of the Average expected already be about 25% for the 3rd quarter 1930's.
2. This extraordinary drop in production compared with the previous boom However, the under-utilization of production capacity by no means entirely reproduced. Thus, German industry is only 53.4% of their capacity per hour and only to 59% of its room capacity been busy. These numbers correspond to a stand by 3½ million unemployed, while now the figure for Germany already on has increased over 4½ million. The number of unemployed in the world was already due to the too low official figures of the economic research institute 15 to 18
3. The third important fact that results when considering the global economic crisis, is the mass of accumulated goods. Compared to the lowest level of Vorratsstauung on world commodity markets arises already for September 1930 an incredible increase. It amounts for wheat, an increase of about 3½ million to nearly 15 million tons. Hard coal of nearly 3 million to over 16 million tons in cotton by half a million to 1½ million in sugar from 1.6 million to 3.6 million, at Coffee from 0.3 to 1.6 million tonnes. Here the growth in inventories also keeps in December 1930 despite the further sinking of the production is still on.

4. A fourth main fact is the interweaving of the industrial crisis with the agrarian crisis, which increase and intensify industrial crisis and agrarian crisis mutually. An important Publication of the agrarian crisis is the widening gap between the world market prices of agricultural products, for example for plant foods a decline of 70 to 80%, for animal foodstuff 20 to 30%, for textile raw materials 50 to 70%, for Skins 50%, comprise sugar 80%, and the prices of industrial production, which in Inputs at only 5 to 16% and manufactured consumer goods to 8 to 16% the world market have fallen. It is clear that just present in the application of Engineering, electricity and chemistry in the service of agriculture, the ruin of less well-off economies, the small and medium farmers and farmer economies America, Australia, Canada through this gap between agricultural and industrial prices is accelerated. In addition, agriculture remains ever increasingly behind industry back, which enhances the crisis.

5. A fifth main fact is in the range of so-called "geography of the crisis". It is the unprecedented fact that the crisis is really over the whole capitalist World spreads. Not only no recovery of the US crisis, but crucial participated in triggering the global economic crisis, but also France, the last Country a certain prosperity, a favorable economic will, from the beginning of Crisis detected.

6. The sixth, particularly significant fact that would have resulted from the observation Depression arises, is the problem of pricing. We already saw the Difference between the agricultural and industrial prices, which naturally increase the presents difficulties. Not much more is respect in prices the difference between the monopolistic domestic prices and those of the free World market the event. So is the decline of pig iron from October 1929 to October 1930 the world market price of 25%, on the German market on the other hand, only 2%, in the United States 14%, in England 12%, in Poland 0%, while in France even a Price increase of 3% was present. A similar disparity is at all prices available. For Germany, the difference between domestic prices and certain the foreign specific prices for industrial raw materials and semi-finished goods in September 1929 to October 1930 increased by nearly 300%. In all of these facts, expresses the monopolistic character of the capitalist economy in its current Development stage of: with high protective tariffs and cartel bonds prices are on the domestic market artificially high in almost all countries. trying in this way the bourgeoisie, the monopoly profits extract in all countries in the internal market, simultaneously to the world market a sharper so dumping of the imperialist
be able to operate its competitors.

7. A seventh main fact, the gold and currency problems. We can for example already point to the drain of gold from England to France, of such a adopted an extent that the British currency is threatened. So France can it already in the Anglo-French negotiations on the limitation of Gold runoff allow England the return of gold in the form of corporate bonds offer, which in turn only the unevenness of the imperialist Development, one of the main factors of the crisis, according to Lenin, reflects.

8. After the world is divided, essentially new export opportunities not without military solution can be developed, but the paragraph question at the center of Crisis is, is related to the global economic crisis is also a kind of Young crisis, a crisis of imperialist peace treaties and so on. The Germans Reparations are to be a lever for artificially forcing the German exports. Only by a surplus in the trade balance can Germany its oppressive reparations to fulfill. Thus, the export of Germany in is Relative to the other countries affected by the crisis the least diminished. Thus have in the wake of the crisis, the conditions under which the Young Plan by Position of the individual imperialist powers at that time came about, significantly changed. Finally, according to the difficulties at all a basis for find recoverability of capital, and the new problem of how far the Reparations at all have an interest in the payment of reparations.

Naturally, there is this very different interests, some of which are contradictory. Of the latter aspect difference for France, which spared until the end of the crisis remained out naturally.

9. With the general intensification of the struggle for markets, with the dumping Policy of the imperialist states, with the forced, in spite of the division of the world new Markets for products and new investment opportunities for the excess capital search, aggravated tremendously the danger of war. It beat the imperialist Conflicts among themselves especially in an increase of the main opposition between the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union to.

Thus the consideration of the state of the world economic crisis at the turn of the year 1931 gives a grim picture of world capitalism. The well-known British Liberal Norman Angell has itself in its monthly magazine on Foreign Affairs from January 1931 following under the title "Economic chaos and international future" hazy image to paint:

"The economic hurricane that has devastated the world, with its universality and intensity Fact of the past year, behind the back are all the others. History knows no Fact of this kind. In the three major industrial countries of the world are not less than 10 Million - probably an even larger number - workers unemployed. In the golden America that before to embody 10 years in the eyes of Europeans a higher type of economic creation appeared in this Eldorado are the workers to hundreds of thousands on the street, make banks 

its payments, bankers shoot himself, fortune, that seemed to be so firmly established as Gibraltar verflüchten in nothing. And still ongoing depression. The economic crisis is accompanied by certain political phenomena ... An observer remarked recently that Democracy in Europe is in decline. Another observer said: let the drop prices by another 20 points and Europe will be torn between fascist and Communist dictatorship. "
Comrades, I think this quote shows just how even bourgeois economists, the current situation estimate. A year ago the bourgeoisie all over the world saw the entire development hopeful to. For example, at the outbreak of the crisis in America it was Hoover, who said that they would succeed in overcoming the crisis in the shortest possible time. Even before recently declared English capitalists and "economists" of the (Social Democratic Party, that they from the cheapening of loan capital "in Europe, as a result of the American Stock market crash, an improvement in the economic situation in Europe hope. Today, there are Economists of the bourgeoisie and theorists of social democracy crisis uncomprehendingly over and we have not only the fact of the uncomprehending 'Opposite standing to recorded, but some of them are forced, albeit unconsciously, the utter inability of capitalism admit. A "light of economics" in England, Lord Keynes, wrote in "service economy" from November 19, 1930, inter alia:

"Today we have maneuvered us into a hopeless muddle, because we have in the handling of a delicate machine (the capitalist economic machine) whose laws we do not understand grossly provided."

And one of the greatest leaders of American finance capital, TW Lamont, the Partner of Morgan explains in Neuyorker "Times" from November 15, 1930 following:

"All our economic studies have been showing in the efforts of the world, how they might prevent the exaggerated sentiments of the industrial cycle, has failed."

I think, these two quotes that even the capitalists - I say unconsciously - are forced to the inability of the whole system at any real solution admit.

II. The position of the Soviet Union

The higher level throughout the historical development at the present session the Central Committee since the last plenary last July reflects right especially in the bold advance of socialism in the Soviet Union. The last plenary session the Central Committee of our party Bolshevik brother, to which the delegation from could participate Polbüros, has the control figures for the economy in 1931 decided. We want to determine the most gigantic facts in a nutshell, the arise in the implementation and overhaul of the five-year plan. I refer here on the last article of Comrade Heinz Neumann in the party press. What brought the first two years of the five-year plan?

1. In the production of means of production alone last year, an increase of 40% compared to 24% who had provided the five-year plan. So exaggerated by 16%. In the Steel production in two years 10.2 million tonnes instead of 9.9 million tonnes. Due to the five-year plan. In the electrical industry 781 million rubles in products instead of 588 Million rubles. In the oil production 30.6m tonnes instead of 28 million tons. Throughout the industry doubling of pre-war levels during the last two years.
2. In agriculture increase in acreage in 1930 of 113 million hectares to EUR 127.7 million hectares. The grain harvest rose from 71.7 million tons in 1929 to 86.5 Million tonnes in 1930, ie by 20.6%. 21.5% of all peasant households were already on. 1 October collectivized. 36 million hectares have already been cultivated collectively, while the five-year plan for the last year (1933) had provided only 20.6 million.

3. The successes allow an incredible increase in the task. The total production of the socialist state industry is one year (1931) by 45% increased. This is a world record. In the last four years, the increase was average 23.6%, while in Germany the average for the past 16 years, 5-6 was 7%. For agriculture in the crucial grain districts will Collectivization of 80% of all peasant households, in the second group Cereal areas collectivization carried out by 50%. In the tractor manufacturing will take the measures provided for in the Five-Year Plan 6500 tractors in 1931 almost produces twenty times, more than 120,000 tractors.

4. The million unemployed in all capitalist countries are in the Soviet Union Zero unemployed over. In 1931, the number of the proletariat in the will Soviet Union by the inclusion of new 2 million people in the Production process further.

5. With the building of socialism hand in hand, the raising of the social takes Level of the masses. This applies to the working class, from the October 1, 1930 already 43.5% compared to 19.1% in 1929 had the seven-hour day and the end of 1931 92% will possess. Real wages rose during the first 2 years of the five-year plan by 12.1% per person. Social policy is marked by the increase in expenditure of proletarian State for this purpose in all areas.

The raising of the social level concerns but as much the toiling peasant masses who through the collectivization of the primitive and inhumane working methods be redeemed and lifted throughout their life level.

What is clear from all the facts? The complete victory of the general line. Earlier we said against Trotsky: Nep means no renewal of capitalism, but the successful Race of the socialist elements in industry and economy as a whole with the private elements. Today this race is in the industry for a long time decided.

Previously presented Bukharin on the thesis to make the kulaks growing into socialism. Today the elimination of the kulaks as a class is far advanced. Earlier warned Bukharin against a rapid pace and before the general line of the party. Heue we are approaching the point where even in agriculture, the socialist elements the private sector displace.

At the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin said: As we walked to power, we knew only the general line of socialism in its broad outlines. We knew that. But - as he continued:

"Neither the forms of transformation, yet the pace, speed of development, concrete organization, we have known."

And today? Fully justified Stalin could find in his concluding remarks at the 16th Congress:

"We have already occurred in the period of socialism!"

*Nep: New Economic Policy
Two systems are facing each other in the world: The bankrupt system of capitalism in its profit economy on the one hand. The bold vorwärtsmarschierende, victorious Socialism on the other side. The dumping baiting the bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union and its export is only the fear of the imperialists before the advance of socialism. The warmongering against the Soviet Union goes hand in hand with the intensification of the Crisis in the capitalist countries, with the fear of their own proletariat. writes the leading British institution, the "Times", from January 2, under the title: the "Europe Crossroads":

"In this moment, when the 1930 turns into 1931, prevails on the continent without Doubt a general feeling of anxiety and expectation, a nervous hope for a turn and the conviction of its inevitability ... In the German Parliament has the Communist Party 77 seats and with the recent elections to the Parliament Danziger doubled the Communists their votes. It is a fact that communism itself grows as far away as Bulgaria and Spain ... The followers of Marx and Lenin are - It would be foolish to underestimate the - animated by a great zeal for the propaganda of their ideas and they strive for an extra-parliamentary form of government based on the Soviets. Between them and the fascists advised the center parties in Europe's largest distress."

Even more clearly expresses the leading journal of the French bourgeoisie, "Temps":

"The 1930 was a disappointment in every way ... Although no immediate danger is given, commands the turn in the international situation but the greater vigilance than no doubt the Soviet Union is determined, all misunderstandings and all abuses and exploit international complications. The Russian wound in the body of Europe remains the greatest misfortune of our time and as long as this wound is not burned out, is the world continue to live in a tangled Salen and unrest."

III. The economic situation in Germany

In the entire teachings of the world press, on the occasion of the turn of the year, from which the above quotations of the "Times" and the "Temps" represent only a sample, the position plays in Germany the lead role. The unfolding of the crisis in Germany has also claimed the civil expositions a particularly high degree accepted. Before one of the general presentation of the current state of crisis for the investigation of their specific nature and thus proceeds to a forecast of its further development, it is still necessary, some of the most important facts of the economic situation Germany to lead:

1. It has already been mentioned in the international consideration to the fact that the Non-utilization of production capacity in Germany already such a degree has assumed that the entire industry of only 53.4 percent after the report "Institute of Economic Research", which ends with October 1930 is concerned. in the individual were anticipated following facts: The level of employment measured in Number of hours worked as a percentage of the working-hour capacity, is in the Intermediate industries 56.2%, in the consumer goods industry 62%. In Food & Stimulants 69.9%, textiles 59.4%, in residential, luxury and cultural production 56.1%, 52.8% in raw materials, in constructions even only 42%. The pace of Decline in employment in the individual months of 1930, resulting in a fall January to September from 62.2% to 56%. From September to October is the Decline then alone in one month 2.6%. If one takes into consideration that the number of the October was 3½ million in terms of unemployment and now even after the official statistics, over 5 million unemployed has grown, so results from such...
far the non-utilization of the means of production in Germany m ever-increasing pace has increased.

The mass unemployment with its reduction of the consumption power of the working class as well as the direct wage robbery causes a permanent narrowing of the inner Sales market.

2. As a world scale is also in Germany the same enduring nature of Agrarian crisis. The high protective tariffs, constitute an experiment, the gap between industrialized and close agricultural prices, are for the farmers, for the smallholding, completely ineffective made. While rising prices of commodities of agriculture, but also be the Production costs, especially feed, fertilizers, machinery, equipment, tools extremely expensive. On the other hand presses the fall in demand due to the Consumption throttling by unemployment, etc. just the price level of the peasant "Livestock farming" (meat, dairy products, eggs, fruit, wine, vegetables). in addition there is the contradiction between this peasant "livestock farming" and the großagrarischen recycling economy. (Feed and food grain, high fruit.) Another problem is the great mass of dwarf and small farmers, about 4 million Farms that are largely dependent on an additional income through wage labor. The mass unemployment is also true in Germany this semi-proletarian elements and aggravated the agrarian crisis. The bottom of this hunger minke and smallholder elements grows and also increases so that the leasing costs for parcels. On the one hand so declining revenues, higher on the other side lease burden. The debt and Interest burden is growing constantly. They rose by bourgeois details of 8 billion end 1925 to 11.7 billion end 1930. The government loans get the big landowners almost all of the peasant smallholding almost nothing or only minimal amounts.

3. For industrial and agricultural crisis, the permanent fiscal crisis occurs. All attempts plug up the always new holes in the budget of the capitalist state apparatus result, the crisis will always be thwarted again by various factors. Once the mass unemployment pushes with its burden on public finances and throws all calculations to the winds, as it turned out several times in the past year. Add to this the tremendous burden of reparations and other foreign capital debt. Due to the gold clause of the Young Plan increase German reparations in relation to the gold value increase by about 15%. The borrowing requirement for Reich, states and communities in the second interim accounting period 1930 even on conservative, bourgeois estimates of 700 million marks recognized.

4. The crisis in money and banking, which in particular in the September October learned after the parliamentary elections, an enormous intensification and to a Remittance of around 1.6 billion marks led, remains due to the Young Plan permanently exist. But for reparations is a monthly foreign currency requirements of around 240 million marks, of exclusively either by capital imports and new can be covered debt or surplus in the trade balance. The Surpluses in the trade balance last year, which in the first ten months 1,325 Million, respectively, are in large part not only to a restriction on imports volume due, but also to the different evolution of prices. The prices are significantly stronger than in lower imports in the export. The relatively favorable situation of German exports, compared to other countries in
recent years, depends even with the very low level of wages of the German Workers, secondly, with a certain projection of German industry towards the competing imperialist powers, with the exception of the United States, in the Question of technical rationalization, and thirdly with the fact that the German exports at a crucial part went to France, the most by the crisis longest spared. The impact of the economic crisis on the political Superstructure, the so-called crisis of confidence, in turn, has economic repercussions. If

e.g. German capital goes abroad and as from there back to Germany Foreign capital is borrowed, as for example due to the flight of capital in September-October in particularly violent forms, but otherwise throughout the year 1930 prior was going, so that means an extraordinary burden on the German capital market. After bourgeois estimate are annually by 1.2 billion Reichsmarks Loss of interest suffered by the German capital market. The abroad brought capital there interest at approximately 4% and by foreign mediators again at interest rates of 7½ to 11% invested in Germany. Also all civic financial experts are to realize that each new vibration in the nature of the crisis in the German monetary and Banking in the September October last year not only a perfect transfer Crisis, that is, the inability to transfer the reparation payments in foreign Value, but a collapse of the entire banking system and thus a complete stoppage of the whole economic life well beyond the state of the current Crisis addition would bring.

IV. The position of the German working class and the working people

What are the social implications of the economic crisis for working people zeitigt, is clearly due to the facts described. It is no coincidence that Silverberg, the known large capitalist, a few weeks ago asked the question, the provisions of Young Plan are only carried out if it is possible for German industry, the wages of depress German workers to the level of the Chinese coolies and peasants. If Considering that the German bourgeoisie to some 1.6 billion marks in interest foreign capital, to an average of about 2 billion mark due to the has to pay the Young Plan, the result is the extraordinary threat to the entire Economy, the constriction of capital accumulation and thus the drive for Capitalists to new attacks on the living standards of the masses. Today has Germany short- abroad and long-term bonds from 8.8 to 10.8 billion marks, while pure debt to foreign countries amounted to 26.1 to 27.1 billion marks. There results maintaining the two counterpart a debt of Germany 16-17 Billion marks. The industrial Duisberg speaks as of 6 billion marks yearly Accumulation of the German capital. This is definitely too little expected, but even if it is estimated that over 8 billion will be accumulated, yet would one third of accumulated capital on reparations and interest on capital it. Naturally therefore occurs an extraordinary intensification of class antagonisms. We want very briefly the main features of the social impact of the crisis Germany enumerate. What is it about?
1. The huge mass unemployment represents a permanent indirect wage robbery at
Entirety represents the working class, to the still contributing significantly reduced working hours.
2. The enormous wage cuts employers' offensive, supported by the reformists and Christians and the state apparatus, moreover, a direct wage robbery, the mid brings 1930 to April 1931 is an average of 15%.
3. Added to this is the reduction in real wages due to the artificial inflation using the Customs and monopoly policy. The relatively slight drop in price within the Domestic market, particularly in all the goods of the masses, in comparison to the World market prices due to the customs usury or using the cartel fixed prices, By its nature a permanent devaluation of nominal wages, an indirect wage robbery, an indirect reduction represents real wage. A bourgeois journalist wrote for example in the "New Leipzig newspaper" Nr. 142 an article entitled "Germany Kartelltribute, total loading probably higher than the reparations ", in which it, inter alia, called:

"Germany, which has to apply the tremendous burden of reparations must also to the Monopolist afford its toll, the can dictate due to their organized power. Digit default can be estimated only with a minimum sum this tribute performance ... The Tribute that Germany pays its cartels will be to quantify annually to 1.7 billion. one will be able to put forward the thesis that Germany annually on its cartels least ... well lot, probably much more than paying tribute to former enemy powers."

4. The reduction in social policy in all areas, on the issue of unemployment, the Sick, the retired and the disabled, with a simultaneous increase in social security contributions of Operating workers in permanent tightening of control usury, represents a further Fact that contributes to the reduction in the living standards of the masses. Today one can indicate what the RGO is of utmost importance, that in proportion as the period the wage cuts offensive reaches the conclusion - which of course is not the case today - a new offensive on the social services takes place. One can already say today, that the bourgeoisie is trying to 30-40 per cent of all social services that the capitalist state for these layers applied to reduce in the near future. Unless, that the resistance and rebellion of the masses will be so strong that the bourgeoisie might not be able to perform this degradation.
5. The position of the middle classes in town and country is not from the proletariat separate. The reward robbery of the workers, employees, officials suppressed by the Reduction of the consumption power of the masses directly on the existence of Small tradesmen and craftsmen in the city and the rural Small producers. Take for example the impact of the Ruhr struggle on the urban Mittelstand. Here the strikers had in many places full of sympathy Middle class. Or take the strike of 40 farms in the Lower Rhine. Here too expressed the sympathy of the middle classes, the strikers against, everywhere very strong out. What is the reason? The middle class sees the offensive Entrepreneurs his own existence threatened. One can of an incipient Class consciousness speak of a certain approach to the proletariat. have here we enhance our work enormously and improve. In the present Price reduction campaign, this dizziness that to deceive the mass wage robbery is driven, the financial capital depends of course the attack never on the Monopoly prices, but solely on the retail and craft sectors. In order to fight prices only makes the struggle for shares in the profit from which
naturally small producers being overwhelmed. The total impoverishment of the working population of Germany, which in itself the
general decline in consumption expresses, is also one of the causes mentioned earlier Decline in imports, which in the past year alone an export surplus and thus the
made possible the fulfillment of the Young Plan. This reflects the insoluble link
between the Young Politics of the German bourgeoisie and the increasing mass misery
is a condition of the Young Politics.

V. The specific characteristics of the current crisis

The entirety of the indicated main facts and factors of crises allows us to
crucial question to answer on the nature of the current crisis. The first question is: Is it in the current crisis to a "normal" so-called
cyclical crisis of the capitalist economy, as in prewar periodically every 5
would race up to 15 years? Or is it merely the general crisis of
Capitalism in the post-war period, with no special effects of the economic,
cyclical crisis? Or, thirdly, what character has the crisis, if we the first two
must deny questions? The bourgeoisie and social democracy are in the endeavor

agree the current crisis "normal" as an ordinary, albeit very serious
represent. The German "Institute of Economic Research", which in its last report
This question gives exceptional space, going up to the 70s of the last
Century back, to find a comparison for the present crisis. Of course, the
Social Democracy completely agree with this attitude of the bourgeoisie. you
Main theorist Hilferding increasingly being used instead, the former Civil
Exchange editor Naphtali, writes for example in its brochure on "Depression and
Unemployment "literally:

"Neither Young nor crisis rationalization crisis nor utter collapse of the capitalist
System as a harbinger of the world revolution, but typical crisis of the capitalist system, with
historical features, is unmatched by any crisis."

A section of the bourgeoisie does things Naphtali alludes, especially the Young Plan for
Crisis responsible. In order to refute the social democratic-bourgeois scams that the present crisis
simple "normal" cyclical crisis as in the prewar period was, it is necessary to first
briefly enumerate the specific features of the current crisis.
1. The general world-embracing nature of the crisis, which does not form part of the capitalist
World omits after the crisis now also France, Netherlands, Switzerland and the
Scandinavian countries inclusive. This is an entirely new fact.
2. The existence of the Soviet Union and its socialist advance. The fact that the
proletarian dictatorship due to the dominance of the commanding heights of the scheduled
construction of the socialist Economy, independently from of the capitalist
Great Depression, is able to perform.

Comrades, I want to illustrate the importance of also the part of the bourgeoisie
Fact of socialist construction of the Soviet Union is attached, some quotes from
the well-known products of the English Liberal leader Lloyd George over the five-year plan
lead on. Lloyd George also writes:

"The communist leaders have made to the implementation of a plan, the extent to
and meaning everything in the shade, what the history of bold and large
Things offers. The tasks of Peter the Great decline compared to Stalin's projects
into insignificance. Stalin undertakes, Russia, which is larger than the total
organized Europe and at the same time from all the European countries worst, with the
modern factories, machines and tools equip. The entire farming a
immense country where still reigns the most primitive form of cultivation is mechanized
and the cultivation of the soil should be socialized in a country where the usual distrust
of farmers is exacerbated by blatant transformation."

At the end of the article by Lloyd George says:

"In any case, Stalin makes history on a large scale. Did he failure, as is the
ruined communism for generations to come and dead. But if success granted him,
thus occurs communism in the circle of thoughts, their feasibility has been confirmed and the
therefore must be taken seriously by the national economy and social research. Perhaps the
main consequence would be that in this case Russia, with its enormous population - all
excellent combat material - one of the richest and therefore most powerful countries in the world are
would."

I believe that these quotes from the article a so exposed bourgeois politician - as
it is Lloyd George, clearly show the importance that the mere existence of
Soviet Union and the implementation of the Five-Year Plan for the revolutionary development and
is to the detriment of capitalism.

3. The fact that the character of monopoly capitalism, the crisis does not become a
general fall in prices of industrial products leads that always the prewar
regulating factor was who brought the revolution from crisis to depression with itself.
The current fall in prices on the world market is for. T. only a fictitious, because the imperialist
Customs Policy and Antitrust Policy, with its monopoly prices on the markets of the various
Countries the impact of the decline in world market prices more or less
makes illusory.
4. Even in the boom times, the production capacity was not fully
exploited and also was a period of unemployment.
5. The price of labor power is depressed for some time under the value.
Even in the boom wages rise not nearly as the value of the
Worker. Thus, the absolute impoverishment overlapping unemployment and short-time working
on more than full-time employees.
6. This creates a permanent reduction of the consumption power of the masses, a permanent
Limit the outlets.
7. The general impoverishment eliminated in the majority of countries the savings cushion
might be offset during the crisis.
8. The industrial crisis occurs in the closest ties to the agrarian crisis, both located
exacerbate symptoms mutually.
9. With the rapid technical development of the wear of constant capital is in
production accelerated, reducing the deadline for renewal of the constant capital.
Thus, the technical revolution under monopoly capitalism becomes a lever
the limits of the industrial cycle shortened the periods of rise narrowed over time. This shorter time limits of the previous stimulus is the prolonged period of Depression, as well as the longer duration of the preceding periods of depression opposite. But the long duration of the crisis caused an increased exhaustion of all means saving even in the countries with a stronger savings cushion.

All these facts prove how ridiculous the presentation of the reformists is that the Today's global economic crisis with the "normal" typical crises prewar easy want to put on an equal footing.

On the other hand, the theory of single red professors must be rejected, as we would now merely having the general structural crisis of the capitalist Systems postwar do. A certain cyclical nature of the current Crisis shall undeniable. This is true of America, which after a long period of Prosperity 1929/30 fell on the financial crisis in the general economic crisis and at the same time decisive contributed to tightening the Great Depression. That applies to France, which experienced a rise until the end, and only then to the economy in the Crisis passes. This applies to England, where there is a certain rise in in 1929 The course of the general depression of English capitalism was. That applies to Germany, where short climb periods and lasting crises around the post-war period alternated. After 1920 economic, then inflation crisis of 1922-23, on revival in 1924, then again in 1925-26 Depression. Then rapid rise in 1927/28, then in 1929 Depression, crisis phenomena and 1930, the heaviest and deepest crisis. So there are certain cyclical phenomena exist. On the other hand, a series of Factors that principle of from the phenomena of periodic pre-war crises Capitalism differ. What results from this?
The character of the present crisis is a cyclical crisis on the ground of general crisis of the capitalist system in the era of monopoly capitalism. Here we need the dialectical interaction between the general crisis and the periodic crisis understand. One hand, the periodic crisis fierce and never seen before in forms, because they are on the floor of the general crisis of capitalism accomplished because it is governed by the conditions of monopoly capitalism. On the other hand act in turn the destruction caused by the periodic crisis deepening and an accelerating effect on the general crisis of the capitalist system and call Phenomena apparent that the undoubtedly also not possible turnaround in Depression or any recovery could again be compensated. It must emphasized be that at present civil for such a revolution, even after all Findings no signs are present.

VI. The perspective of the development of the crisis

We come now to predict the future development. What prospects surrender? That is the essence of our Marxist analysis that we have the Description of the situation beyond a real analysis of the driving forces of the economy and can enter society and from this analysis are capable of the right prospects derive, which in turn is a prerequisite for a correct policy. With pride
we can see that compared to the bankruptcy of all bourgeois and reformist
Theories the Communist International has retained completely right in their predictions,
precisely because it alone is the only scientific method of Marxism-Leninism
anwandte. On the VI. World Congress, there were large variations on the part of
Rights and conciliators under the leadership of Bukharin, so that the analysis does not in all
Points was sufficient. The X. Plenum of the ECCI took the things which. On the VI
World Congress was insufficient in terms of analysis. The enlarged Bureau of the ECCI
in the February presented completely correct the perspective of the approaching
Depression in its entire extent, as we have now experienced. The
Perspectives as time Comrade Manuilsky pointed out, are fully covered by the historical
Development has been confirmed. If we, for example, the resolution of the Tenth Plenary in relation to the
consider Germany's situation and the impact of the reparations, we find
there the following passage:

"The reparations to lead within Germany to rapid aggravation of
Class struggle, the other hand on the one hand in the ruthless offensive of entrepreneurship,
in large mass actions of the proletariat is expressed. The double burden of
German proletariat by the reparations and by the pressure of their own
Bourgeoisie, accelerates the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in Germany."

Today we see as an already established fact that this prediction of the X. Plenum
is absolutely correct. The X. plenary with these few words the whole character of the
indicates current development. In today's resolution we can on the basis of
present concrete analysis go a step further. We say at one point our
Resolution following:

"Arise with the further aggravation of the economic and political crisis in Germany A
already tendencies of a revolutionary crisis in the country. How far these tendencies grow and
unfold depends primarily on the course of the class struggle, of the power delivery and
Mass activity of the revolutionary proletariat led by the Communist Party from."

We say there arise tendencies of the revolutionary crisis. One might even
Speaking of some elements of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. It is also
clear that in a few months, we in this issue turn more precise formulation
be able to choose, because the pace of development is very rapid.

What we now have to ask for a forecast?

1. For the most part it is clear from the cited specific characteristics of the current
Crisis such a perspective that the depression due to these features not yet
is achieved, but must enter a further tightening. But this prediction can be
still prove by a wealth of other facts. The reasons so far for Germany
a relatively favorable position on the issue of export revealed than for most
other capitalist countries (a slight decline in exports), falling increasingly
continued. Many factors that previously the German hunger exports benefited, in turn
Future from. Once is the German wage predatory offensive an international
boosted wage reduction shaft, so that in this way a certain advantage of the German
Bourgeoisie falls away. Second, the projection is in the technical rationalization, the German bourgeoisie has, in the near term capitalist in the industries of other Competitions are caught, the last rationalizing has the advantage on the to be based best experiences. Thirdly, the fact falls aggravating the weight, that German exports heavily to France in a far verschontes of the crisis Country went while with France's entry into the crisis, especially Germany Export will fall sharply to France. Fourth, the battle of Germany on the World market complicated by the difficulty of capital exports, which at the same time a Motor of goods exports is. This difficulty is even in the burden of German capitalism with reparations and a grant for the competition a represent reduction in the annual accumulation sums of German capitalism, on the other, in the interest burden, because the capitalist structure in Germany borrowed capital took place. Fifth, lack of the German bourgeoisie on the basis of lost world war that imperialist power means, such as liquor, etc., which in the capitalist world economy in the struggle for markets open constitute commercial factor. All these negative circumstances stands alone Reduction in commodity prices as a positive factor facilitating exports over. The increasing difficulties in exports bring not only likewise a Aggravation of unemployment, but also a deterioration in the Trade balance, thus strengthening the Young-crisis and new factors of a crisis the money market and the credit system, as in the September last October. A Increase in unemployment to 5 million by February is likely. This further growth of unemployment brings along with the cooperation of the permanent unemployment, a strengthening of financial difficulties for Empire, countries and Municipalities with itself. The January with the due date of tax, mortgage rates, rents, leases, etc. must together with the permanent reduction of mass consumption, a continued operation and a Intensification of agrarian crisis and increased difficulties for the working middle class entail. A rise in bankruptcies can be expected with certainty. 2. The majority of these present for Germany factors that further bring extraordinary aggravation of the economic crisis in Germany with themselves, have international validity. Especially the entry of France into crisis shows once again how the Lenin established law of uneven development in the era of imperialism to Detriment of capitalism affects. The uneven pace at which the individual capitalist countries are gathered from the Great Depression, just leads to a Increasing the difficulty on an international scale, once this "belated" Open out takes place in the overall development of the crisis. This was true at the time for America to and now for France.

The growing impact of the economic crisis on the political superstructure in turn produce a deepening crisis effect economic. This applies to the difficulties in the field of credit due to the political crisis of confidence. This is true in general for the Young-crisis. The international character of the tightening ahead
Depression occurs at the same time a certain bond of the bourgeoisie of the individual countries one in the class struggle. The conditions for a simultaneous recovery of labor movement in all decisive capitalist countries, albeit in different speeds are given. This is the situation for the proletariat in the countryside, where the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge are most advanced, objectively cheaper. On the other hand, the question of the capitalist way out of the crisis by the Fascism against their own proletariat and the imperialist war in international scale.

3. So what is the outlook for a turning of the Great Depression or the crisis in Germany in a revolutionary situation?

We need to examine the question here is what Lenin respect in various documents who said preconditions for the emergence of a revolutionary situation, when we eg the spelled in 1920. Brochure "Left-Wing, an Infantile Disorder Communism ", take, so it says, inter alia:

"Only when the lower layers 'no longer want and the upper layers' no longer live old way, only the revolution triumph. In other words, is this truth: the revolution is impossible without a general national (both Exploited and the exploiters touching) crisis. "

And in an article about the collapse of the II. International, which already from the 1915 comes, Lenin said the following about the revolutionary situation:

"What are at all the features of the revolutionary situation? We are not sure mistaken if we call the following three characteristics:
1. The inability of the ruling classes, their rule in the natural state to receive; one or the other of the crisis, the upper layers', a crisis of policy of the ruling Class that gives rise to a crack through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed Classes breaks. Thus, the revolution breaks out, it is generally sufficient to not that the lower Layers' can not live in the old way.
2. The tightening of the misery and distress of the oppressed classes over the usual level.
3. Significant increase in the activity of the masses due to the aforementioned reason, the masses in the peaceful 'epoch can plunder quiet, in turbulent times, through the whole situation of crises, as well as to independent through the 'upper classes' themselves be pushed past actions. "

And, comrades, the last quote on the objective and subjective characteristics revolutionary situation as it portrays Lenin, the following:

"Not out of any revolutionary situation arises a revolution, but only from such a Situation in which the above-enumerated objective changes still subjective added, namely: if the added ability of the revolutionary class to revolutionary Mass action that are sufficiently strong to overthrow the old government (or shake), the Never, not fall even in the era of crisis 'is, if you do not, it crashes'. "

These three quotes, sufficiently demonstrate that the critical issues in determining a revolutionary crisis. What, then, with this possibility in Germany? Here one has to ask questions in the last plenum of the Central Committee in July last year remember.
Even then we had Lenin's thesis, according to which it did the objective Factors alone can not be absolutely hopeless situation for capitalism. Of the Collapse of capitalism as it indicate Marx and Lenin, is a historic Collapse, no mechanical, no automatic. We have the situation make hopeless for capitalism!

Today it is much more clearly how necessary this Leninist question for us. We have on the one hand the desperate attempt of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the masses, by a monstrous impoverishment a capitalist way out of the crisis with the help fascist methods to force. We have on the other hand the growing revolutionary upsurge. Not all the objective conditions of the revolutionary Situation as it formulated Lenin, completely given. But the role of the subjective factor is becoming increasingly clear. And this is our answer to the question of the emergence of a revolutionary situation:

*We must organize the revolutionary situation!*

Even the Ruhr struggle has shown a tremendous as krisenverschärfender factor each Wage battle may be due to its present political importance when it the Proletariat under correct leadership sparked by the RGO. In offensive battles in the Counteroffensive, in mass revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is the key to revolutionary situation.

VII. The political impact of the crisis in Germany

We now come to the problem of the political impact of the crisis. In political Superstructure of the capitalist economy is particularly evident the dialectical process, in which the cyclical crisis is affected by the general crisis of capitalism and exacerbates this general crisis and drives to a higher level.

1. In the center of our considerations we have the revolutionary upsurge put. What are the main facts of the last time, in which he reflects? First there are the parliamentary elections of 14 September. An analysis of the Election results that we currently have made demonstratively shows the extraordinarily Intensification of the class situation, on the one hand, the collapse of the Communist Party into the camp of reformism. The conquest of the majority of workers in important proletarian districts. A process of aggregation of the proletarian Class forces under the leadership of the KPD. On the other side of fascism, the legacy the the old bourgeois parties competes, which run the masses in droves. The social and national demagogy of Hitler party proves to be a last line of defense to the Process of migration of these masses reside in the camp of the revolution. But the Rise of the Communist Party just on the main nodes of the Class struggle, the social and class unity in the constituency of Communism, the decline of the mass influence of reformism, which are important Facts 14 September to a huge success of the revolutionary class front made.

On September 14, the Berlin metalworkers strike followed. He brought the proof that the success of the Communists in the Reichstag elections no parliamentary, but a extraparliamentary success in the mass mobilization of the revolutionary was class struggle.

Leaving aside details, has the third most important fact of the occupation of the Ruhr and are called the Upper Silesian miners struggle that stayed in much higher, more mature
Form as the Berlin metalworkers strike the escalation of the revolutionary class struggle shows. We will return to the role of these struggles and their teachings still.

A fourth factor of revolutionary upsurge at all today, much significant role of the RGO, which, outwardly in the creation of red unions as the unit Federation of Metal Workers of Berlin or now the Association of Unit Miners of the Ruhr area is visible.

A fifth, more important factor is the huge wave of anti-fascist Mass struggle, unleashed in Germany.

In connection with this is the radicalization of the SPD-workers and the proletarian Members of the SAJ and even parts of the proletarian elements of the Reichsbanner. The organizational progress of the party, their rapid growth and also the successes the Communist Youth League also reflect the revolutionary upsurge resist.

2. As a counteraction of the revolutionary upsurge during the crisis is taking place the Crisis and fascist bourgeois parties, including the Social Democrats. These Fascism is the antithesis of the dialectical process, which in itself Class relationships takes. The process of fascism, which in recent Weeks has entered into a new, higher stage, has in more violent since more than one year Forms used. If we consider the history of the current fascist development Germany pursue something back, it is clear that even the split of German National Party, the migration of the so-called moderate wing that yes known installments took place, an important starting point represented. On the one hand formed the split-off, moderate German Nationalists under Westarp and Treviranus the bridge, on which the bourgeois parties, the center and People's Party of the grand coalition umformieren with the SPD away to the new biirgerblock front itself, from which the present Brüning block originated. On the other hand the development of the German national Hull party, a led Hugenberg, from a reactionary to fascist party crucial political process. One has the role Hugenberg once in all its class-meaning notice. The Hugenbergpolitik means nothing more than the Test the class-conscious extreme part of the German financial capital, even on Costs of destruction of the organism of the old German national party which until then was strongest bourgeois party, which Hitler party in the sense of financial capital to bring up. You must how recently expressed the German People's Party, be "channeled" to be able to govern in terms of finance capital. Class default is this process that the big bourgeoisie, relative parts of Big bourgeoisie in the Hitler party, directly or indirectly "go" to get here suitable political body to exercise the fascist dictatorship educate. Simultaneously with this process in a continuous interaction took place the fascist development of the other portion of the bourgeoisie represented by Brüning is and headed the center stands. We have stayed on the preceding Meetings of the Central Committee pointed out, why just the center in this period to Implementing the policy of the German bourgeoisie was particularly well qualified and the leading role has acquired within the bourgeoisie, which was for a time the People's Party. On certain turning point in this whole development was the kick of the bourgeoisie for the SPD in March last year, the completed the Hermann-Müller-government. Currently we now see that the entire process, the two camps of fascism course are schematically separated from each other, a certain higher level of development has reached.

3. If the German bourgeoisie today directly to the implementation of the fascist Dictatorship zoom goes, so this is not an expression of their strength, and not an expression of weakness
Of rule, they used fascism as a battering ram against the proletarian 
Revolution. This shows that historical process that the revolution with their 
_at the same time produces a higher level of counterrevolution higher development and when it 
overcomes this, can mature to the highest power delivery. Those process describes in 
similar form Karl Marx, in the "Class Struggles in France" where he performs that 
the revolutionary progress to "in the production of an opponent by the fighting 
only the party of revolution to a truly revolutionary party is maturing ", broken web have.

4. What are the most important facts, where to the transition of the bourgeoisie 
fascist methods of rule expresses? Here again the bankruptcy of 
Parliamentarism. The bourgeoisie governs only with emergency regulations. The 
Dictatorship measures due to the exception clause 48 are no exceptions, 
but the rule. The Reichstag is only allowed to meet with the occasional 
to sign his death certificate by the dictatorial prescribed laws 
subsequently its approval are.
The Imperial Council is already without formal constitutional amendment in practice 
Bourgeoisie to a first chamber in the sense of a fascist remodeling of 
State apparatus. In the same vein, the plans are with respect to the Reich Economic Council 
as a "Scores Parliament" and all the plans of the Reich and administrative reform. 
The "local democracy" is almost completely abolished. Instead of self 
Financial management of urban and other local councils are in almost all 
major cities came from used above state commissioners who dictorially without 
Regardless of the local majorities and parliamentary decisions to proceed. 
The police action against the whole communist Berlin city council faction 
along the lines of Lappo-fascism, the release of all Communist officials 
under impudent mockery of the Weimar "constitution", after the planned, partly already 
practically introduced compulsory labor service are further facts of fascism.

5. A special chapter is the foreign policy, in which the sign of 
exacerbate imperialist war tendencies extraordinary. The open announcement 
Need to revise the Young Plan to operate Germany's rearmament, the 
chauvinist agitation against Poland, the Oestreise Bruning, but by us 
was thwarted, the Nazi formations in Silesia and 
East Prussia, all featuring the martial course in foreign policy. In which 
Direction developed this war policy of German imperialism? The escalation 
the German-Polish antagonism and thus a certain pressure on France, some 
achieve financial concessions and economic agreements, as well as the entire 
Revanche Nazi slogans is not weakening but a 
Increasing the risk of intervention war against the Soviet Union. Such conflicts of 
imperialist powers with each other can easily turn. Man "agree" to the 
joint raid against the class-enemy of all imperialist powers, 
again the Soviet power. 
The fascist development of Germany closes the ring of imperialist 
Intervention front against the Soviet Union. How naughty this warmongering is already operated, 
is a quote from the "Hamburger Nachrichten", which states:
One can from the formation of a firmly established itself in the German-French block the future Europe addictive. And it is quite true that such a block the old, tired become continent of Europe once great creative power to both the direction Africa, could lend as in the direction of Asia. It is quite true that this block the drunken glance would offer tremendous economic opportunities. Before him, the Soviet government would dwindle in Moscow, the big, wide Russia, Russia with Siberia, would the colonial Aspirations open Franco-German economic initiatives. All that the madness of

Councils economy in the vast realm destroyed with its nearly 150 million people, could be conquered again in favor of the Central and Western European economy. "

VIII. The problem of the fascist dictatorship

1. The crucial factor for the development of fascist Germany is the diverse role, on the one hand the social fascism, on the other hand, fascism plays, and their relationship. We first see the alternate use of the two forces on the part of Finance capital, as reflected, on the one hand in the Prussian government with the Social Democrats On the other hand the Thuringia and Brunswick government shows with the Nazis. The Politics of Social Democracy has not only paved the Nazis the way, but today Role of social fascism is formally the one auxiliary police of fascism. For example, if the Social Democracy is the parliamentary support of the Brüning government, so they are straight with This support Bruning that is supposed to act against Hitler government in Reality the Nazis a margin, so that the latter in a certain appearance opposition certainly can create a broader mass base. The one thing about the current role of social fascism is its extra-parliamentary support of the Brüning dictatorship using the reformist trade unions in the implementation of the wage robbery and the degradation social services. On the other side, the Nazis in all aspects of Foreign policy, but also to the part in of the Domestic Policy, the crucial extra-parliamentary mass base for the bourgeoisie in the implementation of fascist politics. The best example is the role of the prohibition of Göbbelsbanden Remarque film. With the revolutionary aggravation the importance of the armed counter-revolution is growing, as a mass movement for the bourgeoisie. However, these can only the Nazis in make a decisive extent, not the social democracy, was even in the Noske-time Yes the then armed counterrevolution indeed politically from of the used Majority Socialists and led, in fact, but not of the social democratic organizations, but by the free corps, these germ cells of today's Nazi party, performed. With the intensification of the class struggle and on the other hand with the continuous decline of the mass influence of the SPD therefore growing Role of the Nazis. If present, the People's Party in part to the line of Hugenbergpolitik, the attraction and "channeling" the Nazis pivots while On the other hand the center, particularly Kaas, the against the current off Social Democracy turns and refusals addressed to the Nazis, so also reflect these contradictions only Zerklüfung In capitalist class stock due to the Crisis. 2. Undoubtedly provide the facts set of fascism a new higher phase
compared to that stage of development is, as in the first period of the Brüning government after kick for the SPD were present. If the party emerging, the new Problems with all boldness has tackled, so that's undoubtedly a merit which is also not diminished when we are at precise analyzing not outset were able to resolve all questions immediately.

3. What about the question of the fascist dictatorship? What is the class moderate content the term fascist dictatorship? When one examines this issue, it appears that the class content even a fascist dictatorship undoubtedly the dictatorship of Finance capital is, as in bourgeois democracy. So not about class content changes, but the methods. The change forms of government, not the Domination content, provided that the bourgeois democracy replaced by the fascist dictatorship becomes.

What the program of the Comintern says on the question of the fascist dictatorship? It states:

"Under certain historical conditions the process takes the offensive bourgeois-imperialist reaction to the form of fascism. Such conditions are: The instability of capitalist relationships; the presence of social declassed Elements in substantial numbers; the impoverishment of broad layers of the urban Petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia; the discontent of the rural petty bourgeoisie; Finally, the constant threat of proletarian mass action."

There can be no doubt that all these conditions are present in Germany. Now goes on to say in the program:

"To secure their power greater continuity and stability, the bourgeoisie is rising Dimensions obliged to move from the parliamentary system to the fascist method of is relationships and combinations between the parties independently. Fascism is a Method of direct dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, ideologically disguised with the idea of National community and the local representative professions. (That is actually representative of different groups of the ruling class.) It is a method that through a peculiar social demagogy (Anti-Semitism, occasional losses against the parliamentary Talking shop), the discontent of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and others exploits."

Again, we find various indications of the current situation in Germany. This applies both to the independence of the Brüning government of Relationships and combinations between the parties, as well as for immediate Exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and finally for facing this dictatorship with the ideas of the national community and professional association. The other Versions of the program that relate to the structure of the Fascist combat units etc. relate, although come to the Hitler party, but not for the present form of government the bourgeoisie by the Brüning government. Lastly, then in Program:

"The main task of fascism is the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, ie the Communist sections of the proletariat and its leading cadres. The amalgamation of social demagogy and corruption with the active white terror, and to the outermost increased imperialist aggression of foreign policy are characteristic traits in
Fascism."

Even in these sentences are evidence relating to the current situation in Germany and can apply the Brüning system.

Overall, the results from the explanations of the program evidence already today to speak in Germany of fascist forms of rule. On the other hand looks the program is not in front of such a state, where the bourgeoisie already fascist governed methods, the fascist mass party but still outside the government, is even in a apparent opposition. Finally, it is clear that in the industrial Germany, with its large working class and strong Communist Party of the full Development of fascist rule serious obstacles are opposed.

The result is after all a concrete analysis, what we also in Resolution pronounce:

In Germany we have the state of a maturing, albeit not yet mature fascist dictatorship. The Brüning government is in its present Development phase, the Government of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Against them, and all their assistants, we must lead the sharpest struggle of the masses!

B. Our policy and the tasks of the Party

A proper and concrete analysis of the situation must also be reflected in the find tasks of the party and its political slogans. Today stands as a central Action slogan of mass struggle against the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Here we need every step to every inch of the ground, conquer fascism wants to fight and the economic and political rights of the working class defend. Therefore we can not mechanically face the fall and the Preventing the fascist dictatorship.

The slogan of the people's revolution

What about the question of the people's revolution? In the present situation, where we tendencies see arise a revolutionary crisis in Germany, but all of these conditions are revolutionary crisis does not exist, the slogan of the people's revolution can not be used as a short-term action slogan. Today is the slogan of the people's revolution a central, summarizing propaganda slogan, the main strategic goal, we to the ahead lead the masses on the line of our social and national freedom program and collect. It is clear that for the revolutionary development a propaganda slogan can be immediate political task.

Does the slogan of the people's revolution, a blurring of the clear class-
The objective of our revolutionary tasks? Not at all! The slogan of the people's revolution is only a synonym for the proletarian revolution, a popular formulation, the case Lenin's doctrine contains in itself that the proletariat under the leadership of revolutionary party making the working people in town and country to ally have to be. I think, comrades, that in the party some ambiguity about the importance of Slogan made popular revolution. Therefore it is necessary, the position of Lenin in this
Marx himself uses the term people's revolution. In April 1871, when Marx in a letter Kugelmann wrote, he talked about the experience of the Paris Commune with the Formulation that the fracturing of bürokratischmilitärischen the state machinery Prerequisite to any real "people's revolution" fancy. Lenin linked thereto in his book "State and Revolution" and writes:

"Of particular note, the extremely profound remark by Marx, that the Destruction of the bureaucratic-military state machine the precondition for every real People's Revolution fancy. The Russian Plechanowisten and Mensheviks who are considered Marxists wish, could pose as false lilt at the end of this saying of Marx. they have made Marxism a paltry liberal caricature that for them except one Confrontation between proletarian and bourgeois revolution nothing else exists, and even this confrontation is taken incredibly rigid of them."

Lenin then treated further the idea of the people's revolution and rolls especially the Question to the proletariat and the peasantry. We especially want another Another quote from the article Lenin "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the democratic revolution "look, which was written in June 1905th It's Of course, that Lenin, when he generally speaks of social democrats who revolutionary Russian Social Democracy, ie the Bolshevik Party, so today Communists thus thinks. This article states:

"Whoever degrades the proletarian tasks in a democratic bourgeois revolution, the transforms the Social Democrats from the leader of the popular revolution in the head of a free Workers' Union. Yes, the people's revolution. The Social Democrats fought and is fighting justly against the bourgeois-democratic abuse of the word people. It requires that not with this word Incomprehension is cloaked for the class antagonisms within the people. she consists categorically that it is necessary for the party of the proletariat, its full to preserve class independence. but shares the 'people' not in, classes' one, so that the advanced class abkapselt be confined to a narrow measure and its activities through Considerations of the kind curtails that the economic rulers of the world just do not Swing out - but that the advanced class, unhindered by the Halbschlächtigkeit, Inconsistency and indecision of the middle class, with all the more energy, with all the greater enthusiasm at the top of all the people for the cause of all the people fighting."

And it states further in this article, which in a sense a practical embodiment the concept of popular revolution is:

"The proletariat must accomplish the democratic revolution by the peasant masses with them united to force to break the resistance of the autocracy and the instability of to paralyze the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must carry out the socialist revolution, by the masses of the semi-proletarian elements of the population connects to the resistance of the breaking bourgeoisie with violence and the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie to paralyze."

The people's revolution as a key strategic solution therefore is not only a popular
Formulation of the concept of socialist proletarian revolution, but to
the same time, a greater involvement of the broad middle classes in the
current situation in the revolutionary class front. The obligation arises for
to us, take this involvement of the working people with a determined initiative in attack.
This applies to the poor and middle peasants, the urban middle class, and not least
also for the work among the officials and employees.
Have we not weaknesses in this area? Yes, such weaknesses, there are even at
Questions where the class content is absolutely clear. Even with the inclusion of employees in
the revolutionary front is only in our ranks sometimes an ideology exists, the
Employees to be regarded as "better people". Even if the staff turn a
have such an ideology, we can not take it, but also need their
see class moderate role and make an attempt to bring them up to class fighters.

I. Our mass struggle against fascism

Comrades, I come now to the question of a precise specification of these political
Line. The main risk of deviations in the current situation is of course the
Right opportunism. Any weakening of our mass struggle, any loss of speed
against the revolutionary development, any underestimation of the revolutionary
Perspective would be the most serious political error. However, other errors could the party
going dangerous. For example, if the party excesses the task would allow,
could this lead that we and the provocative plans of the bourgeoisie
fall into social democrats and let provoke us to a premature battle
would. Such excesses are as described in the article of Comrade Sepp in
"International" which, at the end, in terms of organizational forms of our
Struggle, serious exaggerations brings. Although the misconceptions and
Excesses of Comrade Sepp already on an editor-conference by the

* This quotation from Lenin was the editor in the better translated version of LW 9, S. 101 f.
reproduced.

Comrade Heinz Neumann were firmly rejected, can be found in this article
Sepp's again the same excesses. It says, for example:

"... that the worker delegates conferences to their the executors
Action committees and the revolutionary shop stewards have, in the eyes of the widest
Masses to political representation, a political organ of the proletarian, the
be revolutionary camp."

In this context, there are some views that already a political
Delegates movement, want a certain extent in terms of germs of Soviets create.
This is incorrect. We need to mistakes of the past, we have recognized under
avoid all circumstances. I remember announced the following fact, which is not generally
is: When in 1924 in Germany after the October defeat of 1923, the question
was placed against the Comintern, whether it was right that works as a replacement organs
set up for the Soviets, there were fierce disagreements. In reality
it means of course a reduction and compromise the concept Soviets
If you spend in the ideology of the masses works as a substitute for soviets.
The same is the case when one of them speaks today that these new forms of
United Front germs of Soviets already had. This means a dilution of the issue of
Soviets, we must not allow under any circumstances.

Totally wrong is the view that it would have been right as the Ruhr struggle,
not convert the existing preparatory battle lines in strike committees,
but in its place delegate conferences and antifascist action committees
set. All these trends are reminiscent of the slogan of the Mensheviks in the Russian
Revolution, as they "general workers' committees against tsarism" in place of
wanted to put diverse organizational forms of proletarian class struggle.

What is it in reality in our new united front against the institutions
Fascism? We have a great wave of anti-fascist struggle will far beyond the
Setting out the party. Here there are the best conditions for the
proletarian front. We have a crucial mass bodies in the factories that
Operating weirs the Kampfbund against fascism, as we the youth scales and
to the punch has contacted the unemployed seasons. To the scope of
Kampfbund push out, both in the mobilization of the masses for the
antifascist front, as well as in the decomposition of the fascist front, we put the
Issue of election of delegates to antifascist delegates conferences and
Task at these conferences and local borough action committees against the
to form fascism. That is the nature and the objective of this new
Organizational form. If one raises the question of how far we with beyond the
no longer get along existing united front organs and organization so
would like I In contrast, thereon point, that eg of the revolutionary
Stewards body, as we called him on the Weddinger Congress, yet in practice
Unfortunately not expanded. Here we must immediately building in the premises
initiate. Similarly, few RGO operating groups still far from meeting the
Requirements of their duties. Instead these institutions really expand, there are comrades who
to devise new organs. It is clear that the party will not take this path.

Another issue is the need, in the mass mobilization against terrorism
the Nazis to carry out a determined turn to offensive tactics. There must be no
give terror of Nazi murderers more without the working class everywhere immediately
offensivestem, wehrhaftem mass struggle responds. What does this counter-action? they
means: 1. a political security in the proletariat; it means 2 that the
get Social Democratic workers to trust us because they realize we are there and
give an answer. 3. means that the front of fascism is decomposed and decimated.

4. that we equip our squad together with the ground front, forge and temper for
higher tasks in the revolution. Comrades, I think in this area is a really
serious turn necessary.

II. United Front and the struggle for the recovery of the workers

Comrades We come to the question of the united front policy and the struggle for
Winning over the decisive layers of the working class. We have this question in
treat this Central Committee in some detail, because we with the possibility
have expected that in a further aggravation of the situation and major battles
our party their work can not take place in the forms of legality. In a
such a case, there would a fortiori it to continue the ground course of the party and the
make anchor of the party among the masses as firm and inviolable, that all stops
be the class enemy ineffectual. It is now clear that the united front policy to
is crucial lever for the conquest of the majority of the working class. If we
approach to this question, it is necessary, and to the various fluctuations
Deviations to remember that there in the question of the united front policy in our ranks
has given. We had, for example, the Ruth Fischer-time with their heavy ultra-left errors
a rejection of the united front policy and isolating the party from the masses. Then
came the open letter from 1925, and if we take the time from then until now, so have
We recorded in this period large and bold progress. Later tried
Conciliators to shift the emphasis of the united front policy from the bottom up
and to revise the decisions of the Essen Party Congress. In the same line so was also
Ewerts question: "Forces the bigwigs" Later there was at last spring
our disputes with Comrade flag the opposite error to
fight, namely the lack of understanding of the methods of obtaining social democratic
Workers. existed even in our restricted circles then disagreements
through the passage in the resolution of our March plenary in 1930, where it follows
called:

"The plenum of the Central Committee stated the need, much more than before for the preparation of
revolutionary united front from below, for the isolation of social-fascist leadership and
broad involvement of the Social Democratic workers in the revolutionary battlefront to
act."

And now comes the point emerged on the disagreement:

"To fulfill these tasks, it is necessary to distinguish between the counter-revolutionary leadership of
SPD, the lower operating officials and the simple operation of the Social Democratic workers
and to distinguish unemployed."

Was that right? Of course, that was in the previous years and that is right today! Today, the
already for each a smooth granted.
What is the current situation? Also regarding the united front policy with the
Social Democratic workers, we now have a new and favorable situation. On the one hand
we find the full crisis of the reformist theory, on the other hand in the series of
SPD and SAJ membership numerous manifestations of an inner fermentation, decomposition
and rebellion. Therefore, we are now the bold task of liquidation
Mass influence of the SPD and the liquidation of the SAJ as a mass organization at all.
Why this sharp question? With the intensification of the class situation, the
Presence of elements of a revolutionary crisis, we need to think about where we
shall recognize, to drive the revolutionary development forward. Comrades It is

it is clear that although the main enemy of the proletariat under the class struggle against the
Bourgeoisie, against capitalism in Germany is fascism today, but that
at the same time the main obstacle to the proletarian revolution in the camp of the working class
SPD represents. Therefore, we must in the Publicity and recruitment of workers from the
opposing camp our main thrust just focus on this major obstacle,
which does not mean of course that we, our work especially among the unorganized
also among the Christian workers and anticapitalist toiling Nazi supporters can neglect. That was precisely the importance of the election victory on 14th September we broke then the camp of reformism and the SPD as a could decrease million votes. The Social Democracy loses today increasingly political respect. With the narrowing of the base of reformism arbeiteraristokratischen is taking place the permanent historical descent of the SPD. Here we have the successful continue offensive launched and millions of social democratic and in their Peripheral befindlicher workers win. Why ask this question so strong today? Does this mean a neglect of political work among the unorganized, which undoubtedly constitute the main reservoir, or about the Christian and Nazi workers? Not at all! Everything goes into the great river of ideological revolutionary treatment that we have to make intense. We must Here the political importance of recognizing breakout force even today Social Democratic Party, the reformist trade unions and other from Social fascism dominated mass organizations in the struggle against the proletarian representing revolution. On the other hand, in the Social Democratic Party and the Unions and in many mass organizations already some revolutionary elements. With them we must succeed to exacerbate the whole situation and the stock of proletarian revolution strengthened.

_The crisis of the reformist theory_

The best condition for intensification of our principled struggle against the SPD provides the theoretical crisis of social democracy and beyond the II. International. The question that we must roll much sharper today that today in Germany The agenda is: who in reality the front of Marxism represents. We know it, but millions do not know unfortunately. Vast masses are inspired daily and fed in the struggle against Marxism. This is an inherently dangerous base because by the vile, class treacherous policies of the Social Democratic and reformist leaders who consciously the "Marxism" pushes the bourgeoisie in the shoes, has been discredited in the eyes of many millions also Marxism. If we immense historical problem set that we organize the revolutionary situation need, then it is our job, primarily in the vast masses of confidence to the great mighty idea of Marxism to wake again. But this we can only if we reveal all the anti-Marxist theory of social democracy and reformism and their theoretical bankruptcy clarify. Remember, comrades, what new "theory" Social Democracy has invented instead of Marxism over the past years and what is left of it remain. As is known, produced Hilferding on the Kieler SPD party congress in May 1927, the theory of the current period as the time "a peaceful growing into socialism". A "transition period" is given on the basis of "organized capitalism, the means of monopoly capitalism, which gradually anarchy of capitalism of free Economic eliminated ". The proof should the United States continuous with its Prosperity deliver.
From this economic question of reformist theory arose the social Question, which likewise a whole "theoretical" building in the crudest contrast to representing the Marxist teachings. The position of the working class should be in the Transition Period evenly with the gigantic concentration of capital and the improve rationalization. While Marx the "General Law of Capitalist Accumulation "has established, after which the" accumulation of capital accumulation of misery corresponding ", declared the Socialist theorists, this Marxist Law is unfounded and disproved long ago by the history of capitalism. The "Capitalist rationalization must be supported by the working class, still more, it was a central task of trade unions of the transition period, since the Rationalization and the workers bring benefits. Added to this was that the wage theory of Marx through the so-called theory of the alleged Tarnow'sche usefulness of high Wages for the capitalists was replaced And finally, the splendid economic democracy - the co-management of the "representatives of the workers" to the capitalist economy is the "Road to socialism".

This whole theoretical system was also by the side of the political question expanded. Quite frankly told you that the democratic-capitalist state apparatus not more in the sense of Marx and Engels as "executive organ of the exploiting class to Suppression of the exploited "should be considered. Hilferding called "the Parliamentarism "still on the Magdeburg party the SPD in 1929" the only way the working class for the conquest of state power and to achieve Socialism leads. Therefore, the working class has the highest interest in the conservation parliamentarism, by temporary sacrifices, how big they may be. 

Of course, the reasons for the Coalition policy was also given with this theory, insofar represent coalition governments the necessary transition to socialism should.

Comrades, I ask: What is this whole theoretical structure of reformism left free? The "organized capitalism", which should withstand the crisis, has the Great Depression only exacerbated. The American "paradise" with the duration of stimulus no longer exists, the situation of the working class is by monopoly capitalism, by capitalist rationalization and despite all reformist "theories" as the "Tarnow'schen wage theory" or "economic democracy" monstrous deteriorated been. Today dares almost no reformist, warm these old theories. In your theoretical organs they say not a word more, that high wages the economy boost. You talk about wage cuts and babbling here only of the need to Price reduction. About the economic democracy that would lead to socialism, pays no losing word. No Reformist dares today on this issue to speak yet. The Rationalization has brought prosperity instead of mass poverty and unemployment million. Lastly, regarding the coalition politics, then can also Social Democratic workers no longer occlude the fact that the Coalition governments, such as the Prussian government, pacing of fascism. It So literally not half stone more of the theoretical structure of reformism left free.

Settlement with Kautsky

The whole theoretical crisis of the II. International, its ideological rot and their counterrevolutionary swamp express itself most clearly in its position towards the Soviet Union. Take for example Mr. Kautsky. Nevertheless, he himself in the ranks of his own friends is no longer taken seriously, he dared to publish a book a few months ago: "Bolshevism in the impasse". Significantly in this book is the stark fact
that Kautsky himself his own betrayal of his earlier theoretical assertions
decided therein. I want this to pick out just a quote from the book. It states:

"I was very surprised when towards me over recently a party member his enthusiasm
the socialization of agriculture gave expression, which is now being carried out in Russia. That was a
the grandest deeds of world history. And he thought he, I would have gigantic of these
be especially blessed revolution, but, as I have always been for the large company in agriculture
had occurred as a starting point for their socialization. This Congratulating I felt
myself somewhat compromised."

What does this passage in the book Kautsky? Once the effect of cracking
Development of socialist construction in the lower layers of the social democracy, as
This Kautsky here himself must admit, and at the same time shows this quote the deep
Betrayal Kautsky on his own theoretical insights from the past. He
ashamed of that past, although from the standpoint of consistent Marxism
is very loaded, since Kautsky for years before the war, the main representative of the
fluctuating centrisim was. But still he feels today compromised when he at
those prewar is remembered, where he is not in the camp of open counterrevolution
was standing.

What does the book of Kautsky in the rest? There is a single document the
anti-Bolshevik warmongering in the service of the imperialists. Mr. Kautsky calls so
open the violent overthrow of the Soviet power that even those sworn enemies of
Proletariat, such as the counterrevolutionaries Menschewistenfuhrer Abramovich or
Dan demagogic reasons to move away from him. Of course, Abramovich is not better
as Kautsky. We must not ask the question of who is the better or worse
Counterrevolutionary is, but we have to look at the fact why Abramovich against
Kautsky occurred on this issue. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union is one such
grandiose fact that even the most counter-revolutionaries and political crooks
are forced to maneuver carefully and demagogic on this issue to their
own front to provide reassurance. Therefore, the criticism of Abramovich and Dan
Kautsky and his warmongering. In this criticism now responds Kautsky in the January-
Number of "society", the theoretical organ of the SPD, in an article:
"Social Democracy and Bolshevism". There it says:

"Is it possible that in place of hell, which is the current Soviet Russia, something
Worse comes? Can a fall of the dictatorship otherwise bring as a mitigation of hell,
at least increased freedom of movement? For my imagination at least it is not possible, some
to devise more terrible than the present state of Soviet Russia. I find it highly
painful when the force of our attack against the inexorable horrors of dictatorship
is weakened by the fact that one can fear, it would be even worse possible if they
crashes ... Real are merely the aggravations our propaganda just when the ignorant, to
Communism prone youth, when one seriously nourished by the Communists Illusion
takes, that Bolshevism was still a revolutionary party, represent a state of
State and society, which every socialist revolutionary has to protect. Especially the
Destruction of this illusion is our job."

This is the counter-revolutionary Kautsky. Unless it is already with the II. International
come. The car itself is not even paid ink pens the bourgeoisie
write.

*Fermentation in the Social Democracy*

This counterrevolutionary stagnation of the leaders is the growing radicalization of
recorded? There is the participation of the Social-Democratic workers and also lower functionaries of the economic struggles. Side by side with the RGO against Scabbing and betrayal of their leaders.

Second, we have here the antifascist struggle will in the Social Democratic Workers reported. In smaller towns and even in large cities appear all Departments of the SPD, sometimes even the Reichsbanner our comrades or to the Comrades of the struggle against fascism Federal zoom, the common fight against the Nazis. Of course, in this case our strategic political turn has a large brought revival and alarming knitted into the vast masses.

A third crucial fact are the first organizational forms of Grouping in the SPD. We've got one in Wroclaw, where known, the SPD Members a Reichsbanner Rollkommando herausprügelten of their meeting, the called Socialist Combat League, all groups in which the now to us over came Comrade Muller played a role.

We have in the Ruhr area, the magazine "Red Fighter", published illegally and around which various opposition groups have formed in the kingdom. We have Finally, in Berlin the matter with the young folders that the SAJ had organized, where it came to the serious conflict with the Reich Banner and the district board. In general, the situation at the SAJ is already much more advanced. There we often recorded crossings entire local groups. On the whole, one can say that our party has too little knowledge of these processes in the social democratic camp.

The main risk from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution would now form a new USPD, on the Brandler people speculate. We have such a disastrous Development by our exposure and most offensive combat centrists who "Left" SPD leaders, as the most dangerous enemies within the Social Democracy prevent. Within the SPD enter the "left" tendencies among various Flag stronger everywhere in evidence. Here must politically our methods significantly be improved, especially in Saxony and where such new facts are known.

We need much more closer to the opposition Workers in Social Democracy.

What new methods were anticipated for us? The main thing is that we not simply left opposition Social Democratic workers themselves allowed. We need to perform a turn for mass discussion. The slogans: No SPD Assembly without KPD speakers! and No SPD general meeting without Communist influence! must necessarily be carried out in practice. The Forms are inherently different everywhere. In smaller towns you will be there even enforce that Communists speak in social-democratic general assemblies can. Another important issue is that we work our opponents no longer departmental standard, but must operate as a task of the whole party. We need it understand the main discussion issues, for example the question of the "lesser evil" Registered in elastic and flexible manner to come to the fore. And finally another crucial point: our language in the press and agitation much more must be supported by force consciousness and certainty of victory. An important problem is also the question of the comparison of the socialist economy of the Soviet Union and the capitalist profit system.
This brings me to the crucial problem: namely the offensive position of Marxism. The bourgeoisie constructed in a struggle against Marxism an alleged "Marxist front" of Communists and Social Democrats, which in reality is indeed non-existent. The SPD leaders are of course sworn enemies of Marxism. Unlike the Social Democratic workers. You have certainly no Marxist Consciousness, no Marxist clarity, but emotionally they are to Marxism. But we need to create the real mass Marxist front, by the flag develop Marxism stronger and more aggressive. That must also in our agitation better reflected.

What is that "Marxism", against rushing the bourgeoisie and the Nazis? What do you mean in order to? The starving unemployed, they rob support who plundered Factory workers, which they cut the wages, the working woman, who from the meat tables tear, youth, that they want to force them to compulsory labor service - these are all with "Marxism" meant when the capitalists speak of the struggle against Marxism! All this is our class front! **We are the party of the Marxist front!**

**Our struggle against the Hitler party**

I want at this point about the recovery of the Christian and unorganized workers nothing to say, because it mainly concerns also an object of the RGO. But a special opinion requires the treatment of the Nazi front. The Hitler party endured by the bankers and industrialists, tried to drive "opposition", but an "opposition" with phrases only in words, only in newspaper articles, etc. They expose always more than the agents of the German capital and the Anglo-Italian Imperialists. In practice, they organize the strike breaking. Support through its Murder terror, not against capitalists but against the German workers, the grass roots policy of the Brüning government. They are the open and cheerleader Supporters of the fascist policies of the German bourgeoisie. I've been on the Need to strengthen our defensive mass struggle against the SA-terror spoken. This can of course only on the basis of enhanced vonstatten ideological offensive for the recovery of the toiling followers of Hitler party go.

Let us briefly consider the policy of Hitler's party in recent months: their treachery in Things of the Young Plan, her swinging in the League policy, their servility against Mussolini, their anti Soviet propaganda that and practically a support Pilsudski Poland Mercenary services for the global financial capital equal to their confessions to Capitalism and private property, their agitation against the strike of the workers in The pay of the enterprise and their last fight against Bolshevism or as provocatively say against the "subhuman".

Due to this policy, it must be possible for us, a powerful intrusion into the front of the To achieve Nazism. Our task is, the penetration of the Nazis in the Working class, despite all socialist Liebesdienste for fascism, repulse and the anticapitalist tuned workers, employees,
SMEs that are in them to pull away. Here we need a resolute
Turn.
We must point out with all clarity that we are the party that the national liberation
of the German people, no war of conquest, without oppression of foreign nations, through the
may accomplish proletarian revolution. You, the Nazis, the party is the
Revenge, we are the party of peace! We drove the struggle against imperialist
Oppression of minorities, whether in Pilsudski Poland or Mussolini Italy or in
France; but we run it together and in the deepest solidarity with the Polish,
Italian and French workers. We need only the example of the bold
occurrence our comrades gravy, of the as German communist
Member of Parliament to Polish Upper Silesia went and there in dozens of mines
the workers said, to remember. Here we see the stark difference between

our policies and the Hitler party: you thresh phrases, we send our deputies
To fight after Poland Pilsudski Pilsudski-terrorism in their own country and the
demonstrate fraternisation between German and Polish workers. The
Resolution, which is present today's plenary session of the Central Committee, takes on this issue clear and
unambiguous position. It states:

"We lead the fight against fascism under the banner of our freedom with the program
Slogans of the struggle for social and national liberation. It is true, all the fundamental questions of
roll up German policy within the meaning of the proletarian revolution and the freedom program
according to the intensification of the class struggle to develop. We need the rampant
Kriegsrüstungs- and adventurous policy of German fascism, his murderous incitement to
War of intervention against the Soviet Union, as well as expose the war of revenge, before the masses
and in contrast, clear the banner of internationalism our party unroll. Among all
Working people, it is the ideology of solidarity with the French and Polish workers
actively to propagate. Against the chauvinist agitation of the fascists we offer
Slogans of the struggle against world imperialism, our claim that no nation
is to be suppressed. We are the only peace party, the only party that all fundamental questions
German and international politics without a war of conquest, enslavement and without threat
can solve foreign nations."

On the line of this policy, with the weapon of our freedom program that we always and
repeatedly to popularize, we will beat the fascists and
hundreds of thousands of followers of them detach.

III. The teachings of the strike struggles and the tasks of the RGO

The strengthening and expansion of the RGO is increasingly becoming a central task of the day
Party. Here is the most powerful method of obtaining the remote standing hitherto unorganized
given and organized working masses. Here we have the most important impact force for the
Fight against the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Because of course at any
Wage struggle today is a political struggle. We must put an end to the question
of the so-called politicization of economic struggles. It is rather a question
the political character, to bear the struggles already in itself, to be identified and
develop. Improperly is also the opinion that the political mass strike only
economic strikes could grow out. This is not true - as Danzig showed - but
it is clear that any wage struggle, any economic strike, the ground for the political

Mass strike loosens.
And now a few words about the first lessons of the Ruhr struggle and the Upper Silesian
Strikes. These strikes represent undoubtedly represents a fundamentally higher level of struggle,
whose importance far beyond the struggles of Mansfeld, the Berlin metalworkers strikes etc.
goes. Why is that? Once we have the masses completely independently and
brought out, although the reformist trade unions from the outset open in the front
were against the strike and not, as in Mansfeld and Berlin, in the course of
Struggle to break the strike went over. Thus these struggles represent a new success, the
the RGO has given careful when proletariat. The second is that we at
these struggles, new substantial experience regarding the date for the beginning of the strike
made. We were able to a surprise attack of the enemy enforce. the attacking
Berg mighty was the timely fast counterattack of miners
opposed. The working class is learning that it is not the law of action by the
Teams must be dictated.
Finally, the brilliant role of women and youth, as well as the unemployed in
these strikes. And finally the open exposure of the Nazis as armed
Scabs Garden, where they brought in places bloody heads of the workers

have. The Polbüro is these struggles still a special resolution in the near future
release.
On the other hand we can and must already detect some weaknesses. This is
Once the relationship between the party workers and our officials. Our
Comrades had focused on a number of fixed shafts, they absolutely
strike completed consideration. Later it turned out that these shafts in some not
went on strike, but probably others of which we had not expected. Another
Shortcoming is the insufficient political preparation of the strike. We have the
forthcoming police terror the masses not shown sufficiently that the
Defence force of the masses was not sufficiently developed to unscrupulous terror. A
Another question is an insufficient adjustment of the whole empire to the
Solidarity actions. In Wurmrevier, Waldenburg, central Germany, Saxony and
Saar there was no simultaneous battle. In Upper Silesia the strike began too late.
Another weakness is the defect in the formation of active strike leaders. It lacked
the real squad and fixed lines. The red works were insufficient to
Organization of the struggle involved. There was also in the political leadership of
District weaknesses after Comrade Florin was kept away by his illness.
An important point is the insufficient organizational preparation for the red
Miners' Union. Then more recently, the fact that in the combat zone itself no
sufficient solidarity movement of the other sections of workers, with the exception of
Dockers strike in Duisburg gave.
Despite these self-criticisms can of course the tremendous positive
Role of the Ruhr strikes be diminished in any way. This fight opened a new
Period in the revolutionary trade union movement. Compared with the previous
Fighting it corresponds to the higher task of V. RGI-Congress against the
IV. RGI-Congress. In this sense, the Berlin metalworkers strike was a certain
Precursor of dysentery. But Ruhr was an important fundamental step further.
Comrades, I would like in this connection to the famous words of Comrade Stalin remind the Bureau of the ECCI on 19 December 1928 where he, despite the howls of rights and conciliators already in a clear forward view, the perspective of the emergence of red Unions in Germany developed. Comrade Stalin said at the time:

"The fact that we have to work in the reformist trade unions - provided that these unions are actually mass organizations, still does not follow that we our mass work on the activities in the reformist trade unions limit that we slaves to the standards and demands of these organizations should be. If the reformist Guide with capitalism grows together (see the resolutions of the VI. AI Congress and the IV. Congress of RGI), and the working class drives a struggle against capitalism, one can assert that the struggle of the run by the Communist Party workers without a can take some blasting the existing reformist trade union framework? It it is clear that you can not claim such without falling into opportunism. would completely conceivable, therefore, such a situation in which it might be necessary, parallel to create mass organizations of the working class, against the wishes of at the Capitalists selling bigwigs. Such a situation we have in America. It is quite possible that the development is in that direction also in Germany."

At that time we ventured the Compromisers here in the Central Committee the question submitted: "How do you feel about? Stalin "We gave them a sharp response time and give it to them today: Result, the facts, the RGO work and the red organizations are our answer!

Of course it is clear that these occur only at a certain stage of development can, if the spin-off and strike-breaking policy of social fascism already particularly adopted blatant forms. Of crucial importance is self-evident still working on the internal union front of the reformist organizations, where there are still about 5 million organized workers. Here we need to learn and understand the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie in its de facto consortium with reformist trade union bureaucracy performs (taking the reformists sometimes even allow smaller strikes, like in Bielefeld or Hannover), before the masses more to expose. The communist faction working in the red unions must not be avoided. The facts in Czechoslovakia and France warn us. The red organizations must vigorously and aggressively everywhere help the workers and their support struggles, which their growth is accelerated. The members of the red Associations have made various reasons the opposition work in the systematically observe reformist trade unions and promoting most strongly.

Unemployed - employees - councils elections

A major chapter of RGO work is the issue of unemployment. As we are able, prevent depression and despair moods among these vast masses. We can not neglect our strong unemployed labor, with few District exceptions notice. Most importantly, the unemployed repeatedly in the involve political campaigns, they all also in the strikes, the political life participate to leave, so that the working class is divided into two parts. In this way intertwine increasingly the movements and struggles of unemployed with
standing million in operating workers. In this sense, we have to 25 February as international day of struggle of the unemployed together with the stationary during operation preparing workers powerful. Totally it is true, with the conciliatory ideology break, which in a certain underestimation of the revolutionary significance of the unemployed consists. For us they are in fact a decisive assault group for the proletarian revolution.

I turn now to the question of employees. In Germany there are about 4 million. Two-thirds have a monthly income below 200 marks. For female employees it is much lower, it is on average about 100 marks. These facts are forcing us to liquidate the great passivity in terms of employees working the party and with cleaning up the ideology, as if the "better people" would. The industrial and commercial offices, department stores and banks are now strong reservoir of Nazi. That's why zoom to the offices, to the department stores and banks! More courage and resilience of our work among these layers, in which the plight of often very large.

Some very brief comments on the works council elections. They are even stronger than ever political elections. Compared to the previous year, it is especially the united front policy in to bring greater extent for the implementation. Our main slogans must be: Against the Capitalist offensive! Creates red strongholds against fascism! Fight against Brüning dictatorship! The important thing is for the councils elections, opinion and Mobilizing the workforce for carrying out special, concrete, operational Fight programs. Actually, we have the elections were not in the sense of excessive schedule Election work, but as a real active mobilization of the workforce for the Economic struggle and all change issues through the immediate election of promote and revitalize preparatory red electoral committees. Everywhere the workforce has the denounce treachery of the reformist, Christian and yellow councils. The Reds Works must openly account for their actions in front of the total workforce store with open self-criticism can only increase our solidarity with the workers. The formation of new candidates will be required by the workforce and often be expedient. Take all the sharpest most aggressive rate against the stronger Nazi efforts to penetrate into the factory and workers' council functions. Cleanse Holdings by the fascists!

At the end some general remarks on the RGO: It is clear that as A whole lot more political must come to the fore. Where as the Battle of Reich Committee of RGO against fascism in the masses felt? Where it shows the central confrontation with the great betrayals of ADGB? The same applies here it push forward and up for lost time. The RGO has now the largest Opportunity for development and it must be a true movement of millions in Germany will.

IV. Progress and shortcomings in the party work

If we take stock of our work after September 14, we see a number of great successes of the Party: The extra-parliamentary mass struggles, the new Strikes, the antifascist mass struggle shaft, the organizational growth of the party and the youth, which we as the party from August to the end of November last year
had already achieved to settled members an increase of over 35 percent. in the December are the consigned results even better. In youth league is numerically growth also very satisfactory, only the settlement conditions are still badly. Also in the women's work, we have strong new successes, such as the kingdom of Congress working women has shown.

On the other hand there are also strong defects. Some elections after 14 September showed some loss of speed compared to our opponents. That could in most Cases be avoided. Further, we have an overly schematic application of the policy the party that circulars are schematically assumed, without sufficient Concretization and independent initiative of the districts and the lower organizations. We have what is going on in the life of the people, the thoughts and feelings of the working people much more watch and learn from it. Small and large problems more connected to our revolutionary ideology.

I will now give some examples of the type of specific deviations and Errors that have occurred in the party practice lately. Here, the fact indisputable that the right opportunism and opportunism in practice The main danger is. How express the right opportunist errors? We have since once Errors that bring an ideological opportunism expressed as a denial the revolutionary perspective of the development, in which expresses nothing but Depression moods opportunistic. Such situations arise, though very sporadically. A second example is the question of the opportunist retraction up before State violence and before the murder fascism. We know that, for example in Finland, such Estimations were expressed that the illegal Communist Party itself abkapselte so, that they lost contact with the masses. Therefore it is necessary, all trends a retraction up before the state power and their attacks on the revolutionary Movement, every capitulation policy, and any weakening of the defensive sweep out mass struggle against fascism from the outset with an iron broom. On third main point is the opportunism in strikes. Here I just want an example from the Ruhrkampf mention. In a pit the council chairman explained, one of the Party member was on the third day of the strike the miners, he realized that he so against the political line of his party in breach, but he recommended but the return to operation. The success was of course a crumbling the strike front.

On the other hand, there are of course in addition to the right opportunist errors also so-called "left" errors. Take, for example Prussia. There we see the press a not proper treatment in various articles on the issue of agricultural workers. Man set there for a time to isolated in the foreground, the organization of the Red Farm Worker Association and not the decisive preparation for the combat action of Agricultural workers against their exploiters. The East Prussian comrades ask conversely as it is right. They say only the creation of the association, then struggle of the farm workers. What for illusions! Especially in the strongest mobilization and the implementation of the fight the farm workers arises yes fortiori and far more the basis for the organization and expanding the red dressing.

particularly strong in Silesia was known that: Or take another question Flood disaster. The party reached a number of key proposals in Prussian Landtag. But how was the reflected in our Silesian Newspaper? It might have been more likely to conclude that the communist requests from the
Brüning government were taken into account, as we were the helpers. This question was Comrade apparently not "highly political" enough.

Or still another example. In Berlin, the fact of the Remarque film, wherein Occasion, the Nazis tried a great mobilization of their followers. Unfortunately we have occupied a weak and no offensive position on this issue. We have the Importance of such a relatively "apolitical" question from the viewpoint of life the masses simply underestimated.

Or take the Brüning-trip that was often disturbed by the masses, where known to be a council member, Comrade Becker, a member of our party, in an official meeting in Silesia suddenly stood up and against the hunger Government Brüning, in the presence of Brüning and his invited guests, took the floor and his Politics denounced vehemently. From our editors this thing was just a once and still unimportant illuminated. The Nazis had from such a unique matter, long time lived, we are content with the "modest" Reproduction. And yet it was a really interesting and rare fact: Brüning says it is not correct if the assertion is situated in the German people, his Cabinet was a hunger government - at these words suddenly a Communist gets up and keeps a sharp indictment of the hunger Brüning government until police from the is dragged out under the leadership of an officer there. But our editors do not feel the reverberations of this incident with the masses and they renounce therefore the Popularization of this case.

These examples could be multiplied at will yet. If we for example our press at hand take, we find sometimes, fortunately rare, incredible gaffes, also in ideologically, where a direct bourgeoisification at isolated comrades unfortunately makes noticeable.

Still some concluding remarks about the nature of opportunistic Deviations. I have already mentioned the present significant deviation, the Retreat before the murder-fascism. The second is the still strong Gewerkschaftslegalismus and insufficient independent role of red works.

A third question is our work in the parliaments, where we much more revolutionary must take account of development. And finally, the problem that we the certain internal overcome passivity and false modesty in the face of our major tasks and stronger and more passionate appear as the party of the approaching victory.

New cadre new officials!

Some still the question of the organizational issues that stand in front of the party. which are the main shortcomings? Of crucial importance for the implementation of our policy the operating cells. The fastest addressing the creation of new operating groups, Erection and the expansion of our operating cells by new revolutionary elements from the factories and the political revival of the work of our operating cells and their Lines is the first and most essential task in front of the whole party. The expansion of Stewards body and the functionaries of the RGO in the factories must vigorously in Attack be taken. A second problem is to slow growth and even always insufficient strength of the RGO and the new red Associations. A third question the
very unsatisfactory circulation figures of our party press. Fourth, the doubling of our Membership from August 1930 to April 1, 1931 with the strongest focus on the Attracting new members from the major establishments throughout Germany. In all these points we must undoubtedly open Bolshevik self-criticism, the discover causes to liquidate these weaknesses as quickly and intensively.

On the other hand there is also the question of our official apparatus, improving Lines in the whole party. Here is a very important problem, the composition the party with respect to the anchor in the decisive large farms. the general low rise of the party is a completely inadequate number of our Operating cells and a lack of political life over to the operating cells. one must the all questions as openly and as crass, if we want to go seriously thinking finally this great weakness to overcome in our party.

With the growing demands and the increasing demands that are placed on us, we come up with the current squad, with the former leading functionaries of our Party no longer sufficient. We must ensure that every comrade recognizes his duty when next to him appears another, more active comrade who perhaps even stronger possesses skills Himself, these comrades individually in its development promote and not to withhold as unfortunately happens often. Our comrades have much get more ideological and even individual help from our lines.

With the raising of the general theoretical level, we are a stronger growth get to new, more mature elements.

In addition, there is a practical question. We have at key points, though not everywhere, the system that the new members still get no party membership, but only Cards. Only after a year, the new member receives his party card. Is this method correct? I am convinced that it is a serious mistake. Such external Identification of new members, a real political control not yet replace, but dividing the party characterized in two types of party comrades. Of course, the new comrades feel the need that the year quickly as possible is around, so they can get their party membership books. It is essential, with this to make use outdated immediately conclusion. Otherwise we are also the tasks of mass advertising that stand before us, not able to solve.

We have before us the task of doubling the number of members of the party and the Communist Youth League, while overcoming the fluctuation, Increasing the total circulation of the Press, strongest promoting operating newspapers and the revolutionary trade union press. I am sure that the party is strong enough, this task to solve!

*Political mass strike*

The political mass strike is for the present stage of development the decisive Method of struggle of the proletariat. For whatever reason unleashed a political mass strike is, but no standards and strict rules let up. It may consist of economic strikes adult. But it can just as well a directly political have occasion, as the Danziger For now, the strike after the Kapp Putsch of his time and much else teaches. Economic strikes whose political character we into consciousness

the masses must lift, prepare the ground in front for great political mass strikes. We
must do everything possible to the masses for this massive, today decisive weapon educate mass political strikes.

A key issue is, of course, the current situation and the Perspectives of revolutionary development, the militarization of the proletariat. Here are the greatest and new tasks before the party. Our class enemies help us thereby. If the Severing his words from the "tougher weapons" as a threat to Working class spin when Hitler and Goebbels announce that they roll 'heads want to leave, 'said show these statements to the proletariat best what it blooms when not fortified to protect itself and is able to overcome his mortal enemies. The Workers declare today: We can no longer be beat! This mood is particularly strong against the murder fascism. The KPD creates a safety and Strength of the workers in the struggle against fascism and comes across the consent the broadest masses. Today the outrage in the proletariat is already so great that it almost can say that if the KPD was neglecting this struggle, the masses would in turn pass spontaneously, on each new fascist murder of antifascist respond to punitive expeditions.

Comrades, the great historical tasks that stand before us, burden us with enormous Responsibility. One must listen to the voice of the KPD everywhere! But not enough alone a correct policy, not only the unprecedented uniform unity of our Party, but also the greater responsibility of individual Communists in proletarian Masses is gaining in importance. The internal political consolidation, the authority of Party from top to bottom also means political consolidation, trust and authority to outside among the masses. The acceleration of the revolutionary development depends first Line on us. It is not just about the interests of the German workers, but also to the questions of the Communist International and the defense of Soviet Union. The CPSU shows in rings and victories of socialist construction throughout World proletariat heroic achievements. Your historical work has a forward driving his example even when the internal mobilization of our ranks. We declare our unswerving solidarity with the meeting and the decisions of the CC and CCC of CPSU. We welcome their decisions against the rights as against the block Szyrzow-Lominadze. The unity of the WKP toughens our unit. Our success is also their Successes. Your grandiose socialist victory promotes our victory. This Leninist Bonding with the CPSU simply reflects our Bolshevik class line, the best guarantee and the essential prerequisite for the fulfillment of our victorious revolutionary tasks.

The concluding words of Comrade Thalmann

Comrades I want the last word first to the character of our present Notify ZK session on 3 points. Above all there is the fact of the presence various representatives of other sections of the Comintern on our Central Committee meeting. These Fact and the words of political solidarity, brotherhood and solidarity in all aspects of our general line, the leading contemporary of the French Communist Party has spoken, the best confirmation is the fact that the meeting of our Central Committee not only a German, but an international significance in the context of the Comintern Has. Such close connection of the German party with the other sections capitalist countries is also a prerequisite for a successful and international implementation of major actions and struggles that the Comintern in the world operates.
A second point to which I would like to point out is the fact of the lively discussion in the present meeting of the Central Committee. If only 51 speakers in the debate on the policy Problems and tasks have spoken, additions and improvements - some Ambiguity - arose in this discussion, it appears that the further progress of Total Party. I would point particularly to the discussion on this day, the lot has helped to deepen the political problem and the party forward to bring.

The third point relates to our resolution submitted to a series of Comrades have introduced various improvement proposals. There are in these applications some of which we will not go into. Well, comrades, some problems that should be dealt with in the concluding remarks. There is once the issue of Bolshevik self-criticism. Yesterday, where the majority of the Comrades have spoken secretaries of the districts, was in the discussion, Even criticism of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the work of the various districts in the Foreground asked. We have to welcome. But it is not enough. Because the Consequence of this finding the defects must be level, that the comrades about also indicate proposals for improving. About self-criticism lament without the to draw the consequences, that is still no self-criticism, which for the purposes of education and development of the party acts promoting. Moreover, it must be particularly draw the attention of the Central Committee that we can confine ourselves here not, each district problems to deal with, but that every comrade endeavors over reflect the great and serious problems more and thus of the whole party a greater political aid proves. I renounce, all raised district and enter into discussion questions. Only a few key points I want to answer. First, to the discussion of the speech Saxon comrades. Me reminding them of the following Image: A rider who lossteuert trotting on a hurdle and suddenly, once before Obstacle arrives incident, it is better to belabor the hurdle, because then you do not may fall. The Saxon Comrade itself is undamaged, but everything else is Opportunism. It is impossible, the weaknesses and shortcomings and single point of failure with the wanting to hide and apologize argument throughout Saxony reign of Opportunism. Thus one insults the officials and workers in Saxony. This ties one on to the most backward elements in the Party. Undoubtedly, the past for development in Saxony a certain hindering action. But that is also true for Thuringia, Württemberg, Halle-Merseburg, where it is still faster forward. I want to highlight just three issues where we a tempo loss in Saxony have recorded: Primarily it is the insufficient basic and methodological Fight against the "Left" SPD. In Leipzig as could the development process of so-called "left" SPD for the absolute and unconditional support of the official guide the SPD taking place without a major rebellion in membership occurred. The "Left" SPD leadership was their unconditional surrender to the party executive make, without much difficulty in their own ranks. The second question is that long too slowly to go forward in the work of the RGO and we have to realize great failings. The piled-up difficulties quickly eliminate. The third point, the real issue is the following: We used 3 districts Leipzig, Dresden, Chemnitz, we have merged into one district. While one is quite uniform structure throughout Saxony present, which significantly facilitated our step. But if there is no collective leadership, the leadership of the new large district in hand, then not a real welding together of 3 districts can completely be performed. That is why we are in Saxony, although our forces are very rare, in comradely manner must make a gain of the entire work.
The problem broached by another discussion speakers from the Saar was, is important and instructive for the whole party. What is our stance on the issue the ratio of Saar and Germany? How do we assess the Saar? at our principled stance against the Versailles Treaty, it is absolutely clear: this is for us not sliced from Germany land. Rather, it is occupied territory, the type of Instrumentation of the League of Nations power assumes special forms.

So it's not the same question as in the separate German Minority areas South Tyrol, Polish Upper Silesia or in the Polish Corridor. It is even to draw no comparison with Alsace-Lorraine. Our current solutions for the Saar must therefore clearly read: "Away with all repressive measures and barriers the Versailles peace treaty robbery! "and connect this solution to remove the League government with the task of building a Soviet-Germany. The comrades in the Saar, some from such a Leninist question to cringe national problem, have concerns, or in a united front with the SPD Bourgeoisie to come. But this is impossible if you in the Saar there before Proletariat the affairs of the revolutionary class struggle, as for all Germany are also rolled up with sufficient clarity and sharpness in all. The Concerns, as expressed a comrade from the Saar here recall the same Trends as compared to our program of national and social liberation occasionally expressed. Then, too, were the concerns in the same line of Incomprehension of the Leninist position on the national question and the Overall situation in Germany. It is clear that we still ideological weaknesses have noted, that must be overcome quickly. From the Bavarian comrades on the local particularly stringent methods talked counterrevolution, I want to say that here in part some have shown weakness, as if the comrades missed a little, the large living Strength and confidence in victory, all the trimmings and terrorist methods in spite of energetic yet to awaken the proletariat. The comrade from East Prussia said yesterday: no sufficient forces Man had there in District for training work and could only get through courses new functionaries. In contrast, I would say that not the courses, the crucial question for the Pre-formation of new functionaries are, but the attraction to party work; and only in asked the practical revolutionary work with ever new, larger tasks can develop a comrade to a useful and capable official. In revolutionary Struggle educates the masses were and develop their qualities. On the other hand is one of them a certain rationalization of our party work, so that our comrades and time get the opportunity to make their practical experience and their theoretical level to lift and to acquire more and more knowledge. This development is of course then involved the question of the courses, which include non-party related workers can be.

A few words on the question of the middle class to the last spoke several comrades. The Question of private property is the middle class, a main question. He feels and thinks, when the working class comes to power, then it is from individual to its existence, he believes he loses his chest, his dog, his wallet, etc. This is for him the Important. Here we need to drive a real, open, honest, revolutionary agitation
understand that continues in the peculiar ideology of these people. The monopole
Capitalism drives them to hundreds of thousands more and more to proletarianization. They form
today for the most part a that other circuits such as the fascists could save
by the so-called "Third Reich". They believe then it starts, it's out with the
"Marxism" and then it's your turn to be able to eke out a better life. You believe the
the more so because the fascists of eradicating corruption, the refraction of
chatter interest slavery, abolition of the department stores, etc. and talk. We must
begin to make it clear that the crisis of capitalism, which is also a fascist
Rule can never eliminate it even further in the proletarian masses in swells
into spin. We need them showing that they of by the continuing wage cuts
Million, through the chronic-million unemployment, the fall in
Mass consumption power and by increased fiscal spending in turn in their existence today
are already threatened, no longer have what they use to live and in
capitalist system perish. We finally have them identify the
Transition from the present bankrupt capitalist system to
Socialism, as the new powerful advance of human history the 20th century.
Century. We must say the middle class quite clear that we also in
Germany not at the first stage of the proletarian dictatorship to self
can pick up SME existences, but that of the progression
socialist development for them no throwback, but a liberal
Upward trend means that if they, rather than under capitalism with many worries
laboriously toil behind the counter, in the land of socialism in the large farms
and things, and in the highest state bodies through their own work and performance
a path. Because under socialism really is the way open and free to
To work up, so maybe from a small "independent" merchant who
just ekes his life, the general manager of a large Soviet enterprise can be.
Then decide not mammon as today, but the qualitative ability of
individual and of the whole people. The destruction of hundreds of thousands of small
Bauer existences by the agrarian crisis and by capitalism poses a
Similar revolutionary issue in the millions of small farmers.
Well, comrades, to the main questions in the debate political issues. I
want to send ahead a quote from yesterday's article by Professor Dr. Hoetzsch
in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung". There it says:

"But without doubt is widely used in the world's confidence wavered whether capitalism and
the capitalist states are finding ways out of the crisis. The deeper it eats, the more
is the psychological readiness for (one may imagine including the variety) the
Socialism."

I would next make a second quotation from a statement of the Archbishop in Kordak
Prague. He says:

"The poor man is now in the hands of the exploiters who do not want it to recognize that
even the poorest revive the right has on bread, on clothing and on the family. Who can
today safeguard the poor that their children have something to eat, that they do not just hunger
suffer as the poor go hungry today? We live in the time of historic change, as they
since the time of the migration, the Greco-Roman world was shattered, not
revolutionary ideology and passionate with a sufficient offensive initiative and bolder approach to the masses.
Some remarks on the question of fascism. In the discussion about this issue, arose some ambiguities. I therefore want from our resolution, the two crucial points aloud. It states:

"The dictatorship of capital leads her toward the ever stronger and more stubborn, more massive and more bitter resistance of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party, which already in the present moment, a major obstacle in the way of achieving the fascist dictatorship."

And at a different location states:

"The Brüning government, which mined the last revolutionary achievements of 1918, the Weimar constitution piece by piece are abrogated, Parliament off and on Executive organ of angry employers' offensive to the living of the proletariat, the Employees, officers and all the toiling masses makes is to the government the implementation of become fascist dictatorship."

These are the official main formulations that we want to define. It is clear that We thus arrive at a concrete and correct analysis of the current situation. I have already said in the speech that the special characteristic present at the Situation in Germany regarding the fascist development is that on the one hand, the government, which represents the decisive sections of finance capital and is led by the center, more and more fascist forms of rule applies, on the other hand, the actual fascist mass party, the Nazis and Hugenberg, outside the government, indeed in a certain more or less "radical" Sham opposition to the government is. This apparent opposition can perhaps in the take months to even sharper shapes, because undoubtedly needs Bourgeoisie presently because of the tariffs for six million workers from 1 alone. expire February to 31 March, and reasons of foreign policy, with a view to Franco-German understanding and loans of France for Germany, a far stronger attraction and support of the SPD. That includes a certain Waiver, albeit temporarily, on the official bond of the Nazis to the Government in itself. Does this mean, comrades, that the National Socialists in practice
Brüning government, the government of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship about serious fight? On the contrary, your permanently stricter bloody terror against the revolutionary workers' movement is an immediate relief for the Brüning dictatorship and the offensive of capital in the current Young Germany. But outside, in their Agitation and propaganda, in their appearance in parliament and outside in meetings allowed themselves the fascists oppositional words allow. Of course, hidden behind the operations of mutual exploitation the Nazis and Social Democracy on the part of the bourgeoisie and certain trends in Stock of financial capital that operate up to today. It is well known that those decisive sections of finance capital, speculating on French arms contracts and is now just rave about the Franco-German understanding, under the leadership the Lord Bosch of IG Farben, but also with the participation of Vogler and other Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry against any of the Nazis in Into the Reich government and therefore currently not very strong push for a Bursting Prussia coalition. On the other hand we know that the industrialist Fritz Thyssen, the steel helmet man, the strongest supporters of the overthrow of the Brüning government and its Replacement by a Hugenberg government with Nazi ministers, where possibly Brüning to participate as a minister in this government.

However, at present prevail naturally those flows before that the Brüning dictatorship would like to expand and reinforce, without making the Nazis greater concessions. In this context, one must also understand why in Prussia by the Right parties not Hitler Party, but the helmet when petition for Parliament resolution is sent forward. Our position in relation to such a Petition is clear: We can not of course a with the fascists against the Prussians Government joint petition perform. We can not tolerate any more than that at the Workers illusions about the Prussian government as a "lesser evil" exist, or that also make the workers lift a single finger to the Braun-Severing government, these Hort the dark reaction, to obtain in Germany. We let us not in a pushing auxiliary position for the Braun-Severing, nor for the Hugenberg-Hitler. And we can thirdly operate at the very least a policy of passivity. These are all Self-evident. It is necessary, therefore, that we have a clear offensive front position stand against fascism and against the coalition policy. A battle-front position against fascist reaction and their petition on the one hand and against the Prussia government of Braun and Severing other. On this line, we have the take the initiative in our hands and us at the forefront of a massive popular movement put. Such popular movement against fascism and Prussia government will also be for the entire practice of our party work the thread to which we in all questions and have to orient in all fields. In a way, the overall plan for our revolutionary work. Thus we find practically the concrete link to fulfill our revolutionary tasks in accordance with today's resolution and the to promote development. We provide in the resolution, the solution "People's Revolution" as a key strategic solution. If we such a strategic have orientation, we also need to practice certain concrete actions that this strategic orientation match that will bring us forward in the development, so that we are approaching the point where the main strategic solution can be on the campaign task.
This is the relationship, in which we and these people's movement against fascism must bring strategic tasks.

If you have complete clarity about the fact that the slogan of the people's revolution today no way can already be an action slogan, it must be some views oppose, as expressed in the discussion of Comrade Kr.. I have already the Unit with the article of Comrade Sepp in the "International" explained.

A certain uniform treatment with this product is also in yesterday's Versions of Comrade Kr. Determine. It says according to the protocol:

"In this context, we ask the question of the people's revolution, the production of a Alliance with all working people and exploited sections of the issue of new Fighting forms and combat organizations that the increased revolutionary movement meet ... I believe that the issue of delegates movement not in this context is made sufficiently sharp. Delegates Conference here is to be in new Of the proletarian united front, where the question is to promote the decomposition the SPD. In my opinion, the question should be asked at the main tasks of the Party where we are talking about the people's revolution and the rise of the mass strike movement. I think that the political movement delegates should have the meaning that individual actions of all layers under the leadership of the proletariat for revolutionary mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship summarize. "

Comrades, here is a wrong question exists and we must try to complete to provide clarity. The resolution we have an absolutely exact and clear Formulation, and one can perhaps say that Comrade Kr. The political line of wants to postpone resolution by a few degrees. It is certainly permitted in such matters comment on-the opposite view. Because if that would not be permitted, it would mean that we would choke the whole theoretical level of the party. Here has a some leeway be present for the discussion. But on the other hand, it is necessary that right line secured against distortions. comes from the reasoning of Comrade Kr. show that the anti-fascist delegates conferences policy even as a general Delegates Conferences should assume the character of organs of the people's revolution. That is not our view. Why not?

1. What are the bodies of the people's revolution? There are the Soviets - and may in this issue there would be no dilution.
2. Today we have not yet fully developed the revolutionary crisis in which the conditions made to the Soviets or any part of soviets as organs of the people's revolution create.
3. Today, if you still want to create such institutions, so that means a Discrediting these organs. Have not we already in the revolutionary history experienced? Absolute! I want to remember only the works that take the place of the 1923-24 should occur Soviets, or u to the so-called A.-. 'councils in the first year of the revolution, the even the real Soviets discredited.
4. Do we need this new institutions or where the existing organs of struggle still out? We have the operating cells of the party, the revolutionary shop stewards body that Operating groups of the RGO and the operating weirs of the struggle against fascism. We have the other temporary institutions of various kinds. Of these, the supplied direct spitz Forms of development, the preparatory struggle committees and strike committees. For...
special tasks of the reinforcement of the anti-fascist struggle, the mass antifascist delegates conferences and there elected action committees. To is to say that it was the most important organizational forms, such as the operating weirs and especially the revolutionary shop stewards body time being not were sufficiently developed in practice. But one can not say that certain forms of organization are already outdated, as long as we do not yet have nearly exhausted and applied. Do we have enough active operating weirs, Erwerbslosen- and youth scales? Are they really fighting and mass organs? Is the Kampfbund against fascism today as a mass organization with its 100000 developed members to the highest level? It is clear that all that is not true. We have a great work to do. And what about the revolutionary Stewards body at the premises? Comrades, we all, the whole Central Committee, must pass the admission that we here since Weddinger Congress severe neglect one of the most important decisions of the Congress have committed. today are the revolutionary stewards partly simultaneously the functionaries of RGO in Operation. That's impossible. The revolutionary shop stewards are organs of political his struggle of operating cell beyond the scope of the operation cell addition all operating weld together and influence. Here, too, we must from this perform Central Committee made a decisive turn. Of course we do not fall into the opposite extreme. If we on the one hand see the intensification of the crisis and ask the question that already tendencies revolutionary crisis arise, so it is on the other hand clear that by tightening Situation with the implementation of major political mass strike new Organs of struggle can emerge, whose character will be broader than today Organs of revolutionary class struggle. Now to the question of our official body in operation. Comrade M. presented the claim on, the revolutionary shop stewards are the basis of the RGO in the factories. The is incorrect. We need to be clear that we in addition to the Party cell two have main official body in operation. One is the political center to carry out our policy, the party cell and the cell, the revolutionary shop stewards body. On the other hand we need an official body of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition. Unfortunately, it is in the Farms not yet such that the RGO has built up its own official body, but we have such false revelations that simply at the premises existing revolutionary stewards of the party now suddenly stewards of RGO, should be made to its operation functionaries. This is of course inadmissible. In between the official bodies of the RGO operation and the revolutionary Stewards body, there is a similar difference as between the Reich Committee the RGO and the Party Central Committee. Any other rule would a mean weakening the role of our operating cells in the factories. Complementing and increase their ability to influence the work force are precisely the revolutionary stewards provided. For all these reasons is a completely clear this organizational problems the party an absolute necessary wedge. Now some words about the RGO and the question of the emergence of parallel red
Comrade Stalin pointed at the December meeting of the Presidium of the ECCI 1928th. The Decisive in this quote was the thought that in Germany a development may, where revolutionary unions arise as in America. Today, we have this situation. And we must say that this farsighted perspective for us not only an extraordinary political satisfaction, but also of great practical importance. Has. In the discussion, the question was rolled up, whether red Associations only in connection may arise with economic struggles, or whether they are even without such a can create special occasion? I want to say that there is certainly no fixed are rules that in connection with the economic struggle, in which the reformist bureaucracy unmasked as an organization of strike breaking, particularly the masses strong urge to create red trade unions, but that for us quite other situations are conceivable in which the only answer to the splitting tactics of the reformists creating red Associations is. Our course must be subject to the prior Mass mobilization. Therefore, at a fixed rate depends, according to the line of V. RGI-Congress closely together with a reinforcement of our work on the internal union front of the reformist organizations.

But apart from the question of red organizations we have the formulation of our implement today's resolution into action, stating that the strengthening and expansion of RGO is the central task of the day of the party. The modesty of a comrade who in the debate called for the doubling of the number of members of the RGO, adjacent to everything. The Central Committee has to confront instead the task of three- and four times as much Membership of the RGO to obtain the active support of the party and the youth!

And now for the conclusion of this meeting of the Central Committee has a large inner and external political revitalization of our work out. The great historical tasks standing in front of us, forcing us out of this meeting of the Central Committee of the party as a whole and the proletarian masses, the basic issues and tasks of the working class much sharper and clearer than before rolling up and enforce the general line of the party anywhere. At one point of our resolution states that we the workers revolutionary way must demonstrate to the crisis. The revolutionary way - this is the victory of the proletarian Revolution. If we fight for this victory, if we consider the great historical task we have dealt with at this meeting, want to solve our power, through our Mass struggle to organize the revolutionary situation, then we have the necessary provide political and organizational prerequisites. So alone we are those reach historical phase in which our strength is strong enough and the Positions of our class enemies so shaken that we and the part receivable can go sub-actions in the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, to fight for the victory of the German proletarian revolution!

Brochure, issued by the Central Committee of the KPD, Berlin 1931
The KPD in advance

For the last plenary session of the Central Committee
the Communist Party of Germany
from 15 to 17 January 1931
From 15 to 17 January was held in Berlin, the plenum of the Central Committee of the KPD. Since the last Plenary Sessions of the German party has the development in Germany a number of Changes in the class situation spawned the current party in their central meeting the possibility of a higher task and politically more serious decisions gave as at the previous sessions of the Central Committee. What changes were z. B. over the last plenary, the end of July 1930 occurred? Broadly, there are the following facts: the Great Depression has intensified on the basis of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The Hopes of the bourgeoisie to the US economic recovery and thus a new boost the economy on a world scale, or at least to a reversal the crisis to depression, have not confirmed. Germany is currently experiencing a Crisis, over which the official economic institute rightly says they "hardly ever of experienced gravity "was. Shown themselves to civil confessions "no Factors of a new economic upturn ". The factors of a turning up of the economic crisis in Germany in a Vibration of the political superstructure, as at the time of the July plenum of the Central Committee KPD 1930 already showed, have grown extraordinarily. This fact resulted particularly evident already in the Reichstag elections, two months after the last plenary of the Central Committee. We see today a number of factors of the crisis of the capitalist system in politically. On one hand, they are reflected in the extraordinary revolutionary Boom resist as in the Reichstag elections, the Berlin metalworkers strike at Ruhrkampf and Upper Silesian miners' strike, the political mass strike in Gdansk against the Nazis aided by Government or in the wave of anti-fascist mass struggles found expression, on the other hand in the antithesis of this revolutionary upsurge, in the desperate efforts of the bourgeoisie a capitalist way out of the to force crisis. Here, the fascism has been certain development stages achieved, leading to a new monstrous intensification of the class struggle. Another world-changing new fact that in the revolutionary class struggle all capitalist countries affects crucial results from the development of Soviet Union, which in the course of implementation of the Five-Year Plan in the period of Socialism has occurred. On a world scale, the huge rings takes place between the rise of socialism and the bankrupt capitalist system Profit economy. Also this struggle affected naturally to an extraordinary degree the class struggle in Germany. Summarizing all these issues together, so it is clear from this brief overview that Meaning of the last meeting of the Central Committee of the KPD. From the standpoint of revolutionary development is the decisive political character of our last ZK session even on the last two meetings of the German party leadership in recent years. Even those two plenary sessions would naturally for general development of the party and the revolutionary class struggle in Germany a great importance. In March 1930, following the enlarged Bureau of the ECCI, used the party leadership, the Central Committee meeting to deal with serious and comprehensive Bolshevik self-criticism of a number of weaknesses and shortcomings in the
Party work, and some serious political mistakes to go so to the body, which in itself
Contradiction with the line of the Wedding Party Congress in the practical work of the Party
had emerged. Overcoming these weaknesses was a prerequisite for
that the party with the worsening of the crisis in Germany and the incipient
keep revolutionary upsurge step and a certain loss of tempo, the TO
had emerged some areas of revolutionary work, to level. The
following July Plenum of the CC of the CP took place a day before the dissolution of the old Reichstag
by the Brüning government instead. The revolutionary mass mobilization in the struggle for
social and national liberation of the German people, in the fight against the shackles of
predatory Young Plan, the one in the former plenary session of the Central Committee
got powerful opener, then led to that election campaign of the party, of the first
Moment in revolutionary offensive mind as a clear and deliberate
extra-parliamentary mass campaign for the overthrow of capitalist Germany and
the establishment of Soviet Germany was conducted.
The major changes in the situation, both in terms of the intensification of the crisis
and the escalation between the revolutionary upsurge and the fascism that
have occurred up to the current January 1931 meeting of the Central Committee of the German party,
applied of course also to the decisions of this House and for those on the
Meeting to be resolved problems a higher level of requirements with them. We want
this fact initially very brief reference to the totality of the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum
discuss before we go into more detail on individual major problems at the meeting
played a decisive role.

II.

In the resolution, which was presented to the plenary by the Polbüros and unanimous
found acceptance, it's about the current classes ^ situation in Germany:

"Arise with the further aggravation of the economic and political crisis in Germany
already tendencies of a revolutionary crisis in the country. How far these tendencies grow and
unfold depends primarily on the course of the class struggle, of the power delivery and
Mass activity of the revolutionary proletariat led by the Communist Party from. "

It is understood that such an analysis of the situation with law "tendencies
a revolutionary crisis "in Germany acknowledged in the political task
must follow the appropriate consequences. And so it is, because in the second part of the
Resolution, which deals with the main tasks of the Party, at the beginning:

"Given the growing escalation of the class situation and threat of famine
for the broadest masses there is the task of the party, on the line of our
Freedom program to propagate the revolutionary way out of the crisis. This is the slogan
the people's revolution strategic party to the main solution . The people's revolution is only a synonym
the proletarian, socialist revolution. The application of this solution can not in the sense
a short-term action slogan, but must existing as a summary of all
Movements take place, as a strategic objective, the days and all battles, part Actions
Partial demands are subordinate. With the aggravation of the situation, the development of
Tendency of a revolutionary crisis, the political mass strike for main weaponry is
in this situation. The party must among the broadest masses of the character of the proletarian
socialist revolution as a real people's revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat
clarify and anchor within the meaning of Marx and Lenin. "

This question, after which the solution of the people's revolution in the sense of Marx and Lenin
is strategic to the party to the main solution, corresponding to the aggravation of the situation. The
Party treated at the plenary session of the Central Committee extensively and thoroughly the Problem, the conditions under which the present tendencies of a revolutionary crisis itself completely unfold and the full turning of the economic and political crisis of capitalist system in the revolutionary crisis as a prerequisite for the victorious can bring about proletarian revolution in Germany. The answer, the party leadership, gives to this question is: we have the revolutionary situation organize! Of the "Subjective factor", the revolutionary party, its policies, so that under her leadership right continuous mass actions and struggles of the proletariat and the working people are, also in terms of the emergence of all the objective conditions for the proletarian Revolution crucial. In what ways is this overall experience the revolutionary class struggle just today and just under the conditions of Development in Germany in particular increased emphasis? The results from striking the higher, added pointedly direct forms, in which the class struggle in Germany already happening. Already on the Weddinger Congress we made the determination that then by the 10th Plenum of the Comintern was still much more worked out and pointed out that since the barricades in Berlin in May 1929 for the class struggle in Germany Such higher level is given to the almost every action, every strike and every demonstration the working class and a novel about the Past far beyond Meaning receives. In this sense, we designated the Berlin barricades to May as a historic Turning point. Galt this characterization with respect to the higher role of all forms of Class struggle in Germany already for the entire period since that turning point of the first May 1929 it is clear that with the worsening economic and political crisis and with the emergence of tendencies of a revolutionary crisis in Germany all these Phenomena an increasingly stronger need to get impact. In this sense speaks the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the present session in January of the "new and higher forms "of revolutionary upsurge:

"In particular, three main directions of the ascending mass revolutionary initiative determine: of the mass struggle of the factory workers and unemployed against the Employers' offensive, the mass struggle of the workers against the implementation of the fascist Dictatorship by the Brüning government, the stormy wave of anti-fascist mass struggle against the murders and threats of the Nazis. The party has in these three Main directions of mass struggle recorded a number of the greatest advances, and fighting with increasing success to the leadership of all of this growing movement. The most important Link of the proletarian revolution is undoubtedly under the present conditions the real organizing and successful leadership of the proletarian economy struggles, especially the Mass strike against wage cuts and layoffs by the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition ... All such movements, especially industrial action, have the greatest political Importance. In the current situation is any economic struggle a pronounced political Struggle whose implications with the number of combatants, the strength of warfare by the RGO and the maturity level of political consciousness of the struggling masses is growing."

These findings about the enormous political importance of all proletarian give mass actions, in particular the industrial action in the current situation at the same time the key for that set which of the focus of the plenary session Central Committee was that we, the revolutionary situation organize must. Each strike, to the party and the RGO under the present conditions of the class struggle in trigger Germany, lead and can bring to the wider development, is at the same time a significant factor in the escalation of the crisis and therefore supports those tendencies a revolutionary crisis in the country, of their occurrence, the resolution of the Central Committee is talking. The bourgeoisie appreciates this revolutionary and political character of Strike struggles perfectly correct one. She answers all economy struggles with a
such unleashing police terror against the striking workers, as before

a few years would have been almost unimaginable. The economic struggles of the factory workers require the closest connection with the mass struggle of the unemployed. At all economic struggles and political actions of the party and the RGO is the inclusion of the unemployed, their firm connection with the operation of workers a main task. Even with the implementation of the International unemployed Day on 25th February is the party all their forces in order to fight this day against Unemployment solidarity of total workforce for the unemployed to mobilize. Of greatest importance in terms of mobilization of masses on the dates of battles are naturally also the forthcoming councils elections.

The decisive role of the current stage of revolutionary development strengthening and expansion of the RGO falls, is also echoed in the camp of Bourgeoisie. While the bourgeois press one year ago the RGO as a power factor denying at all or tried to hush, found recently increasingly in the leading blades of the bourgeois very serious ratings the growing role and importance of the RGO as a source of danger to the capitalist plans. there we must undoubtedly not be misled about to the very significant weaknesses in the work and especially the organizational structure of the RGO to overlook.

Now, if the meeting of the Central Committee of the German party in its resolution the strengthening and expansion of the RGO as important central task of the day was designated, the necessary complement and consequence to the concrete daily politics of the party drawing up the slogan of the people's revolution as the main strategic slogan, as the strategic goal, the company is part fighting, are attributable. The party is not only the target on their current struggles: the preconditions for the proletarian revolution to produce, but they also show the way to this goal and concrete that link, the need to take the party and the proletariat under the present conditions, the to control entire chain to the development direction with the aim of impose proletarian revolution to.

Of course, due to such a higher task as regards the general political actions of the party and the mass struggles, the proletariat immediately before and the working people of Germany are also a higher level in terms of intra-organizational tasks of the revolutionary movement and in the organizational Evaluation of all successes that gains the party in battle with their opponents. these to bolder development, increased tasks found in the deliberations and decisions the January Plenum of the Central Committee reflected.

The struggle of the party takes place in the struggle for the previous trailer enemy parties especially in two main directions. The main enemy in the class struggle against the Bourgeoisie against the Party must lead the proletariat, is in Germany today Fascism. Opposite the fascist mass party, the Nazis, made the Plenum of the Central Committee of the German party following solution to:

"Before the party is the task to prevent Nazism in the working class penetrates, and beyond the task of breaking away and recovering the anti-capitalist tuned Nazi workers, employees and laborers."

In this context, of course, the extraordinary gain our fortified mass struggle against the fascist terror murder a crucial
Prerequisite for our ideological struggle against the Nazis ever successfully and fascism can be beaten. On the other hand requires our Work among the employees a generous improvement because here among other things, main reservoir of the Nazis are present.

On the other side is still the Social Democrats, especially the "left" SPD, the Main obstacle for the revolutionary liberation struggle of the German proletariat. Without to beat this major obstacle, this most dangerous enemy in the camp of the working class to destroy the party and the working class is impossible in the fight against fascism and against the capitalist system ever be victorious. The resolution of the January Plenum of our Central Committee is therefore in the question of the fight against Social fascism further than the party which succeeded a significant step until then. The Resolution states:

"Given this ferment among the Social Democratic supporters, given the crisis of reformist theory arises for us in all its magnitude the crucial task of Liquidation of the mass influence of the SPD and the liquidation of the SAJ as a mass organization, the task of the united front with the Social Democratic workers and proletarian Reichsbanner Mitgliedern produce."

We will more fully address the conditions that so bold a Task are given in the fight against social fascism today. The United front policy towards the SPD-workers is critical from the standpoint of Winning over the decisive sections of the proletariat. What is clear is that the party only in a situation where they, due to the general factors of class development pursue an offensive and revolutionary course can, at the same time is able to Liquidation of the mass influence of the SPD and the liquidation of the Social Democratic to provide youth organization as a mass organization on the agenda. In conjunction with this slogan the Central Committee presented at the same time the slogan of Doubling the party membership at the same time overcome the fluctuation on. The great successes in recent weeks, both immediately before the party the recorded Plenum of the CC and especially after the meeting in all these fields had already provide evidence that the bold task, as the Central Committee has taken place, the terms of the revolutionary upswing in Germany corresponds. Undoubtedly there are doing a large amount of inhibitions and difficulties for the Party that only generally struggle the party under truly Bolshevik self-criticism will go to overcome. But it expresses itself also only the worsening Class situation, the same time as the higher tasks of the revolutionary movement increased pressure against them in all fields and on all fronts of Class struggle itself. Of particular importance in terms of the main shortcomings of Party work is once the insufficient number and the weak political life of Operating cells, on the other hand the already mentioned fluctuation and eventually the insufficient Circulation figures of the party press. An improvement in the political lines within the party and the RGO and the creation of new cadres of the growing tasks of revolutionary class struggle is also on the agenda. The work under the Youth and women has improved, but requires still a large increase. Yet much more true that for our work in the countryside, where we quite a specialized processing of farmers and farm workers to operate, on all
these areas is the Central Committee meeting of the starting point for a thorough review of the
his party work to remedy the weaknesses.
Subtracting from the previously described in its main Broad decisive
Decisions of the last plenary session of the German Central Committee, the balance sheet, as confirmed
what we initially on the high political importance of this conference for the German
said party and for the German proletariat.
The party grew in strength, matured to political and organizational experience,
recognizes the seriousness of the situation and the enormous importance of those fights, which the
German proletariat is approaching. She is aware of the historical responsibility which
resting on her. And she meets with cold-blooded determination those measures that
are suitable for accelerating the revolutionary development in .Deutschland and

deepen and therefore the hour for the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany
zoom out.

III.

As part of the overall policy work of the German Central Committee meeting, both
regarding the analysis of the situation and the prospects of development as well as
concerning the clear elaboration of the political line of the party and the main
Tasks, there were some very crucial issues discussed in more detail
were. The most important of these problems will be outlined briefly below.
The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party dealt thoroughly with the character of the
current crisis. The goal was the with the false and baseless theories about
Depression deal as part of social democracy and the
Bourgeoisie championed. The reformist "theoreticians" Peretz Naftali, a former
bourgeois Börse editor who now increasingly Hilferding as "scientific
Light "replaces in the German Social Democracy, z wrote. B. in a brochure
"Economic crisis and unemployment" literally:

"Neither Young Crisis still rationalization crisis still utter collapse of
capitalist system as a harbinger of the world revolution, but typical crisis of the capitalist
Systems with historical features as every crisis can boast."

This specious assertion that it is present in the
Depression is a "normal" cyclical crisis of capitalism handle as in
pream, we have our Marxist study of the peculiarities of
current crisis oppose. What are the main symptoms of this particular
Nature of the crisis?
1. The general world-embracing nature of the crisis, an entirely new fact. No part of
the capitalist world is more spared by the crisis, since then France,
Netherlands, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries are involved.
2. The existence of the Soviet Union and its socialist advance; the fact that the
proletarian dictatorship due to the dominance of the commanding heights of the scheduled
Construction of socialist economy independent of the capitalist world economy
can perform.
3. The close integration of the industrial crisis with the simultaneous, deep and lasting
Agrarian crisis, which worsens both phenomena mutually. Millions of small Peasant farms perish in the capitalist world.

4. The fact that the character of monopoly capitalism, the crisis does not become a general fall in prices of industrial products leads, as always in the prewar period as regulatory factor brought the revolution from crisis to depression with itself. Of the current fall in prices on the world market is mainly for consumer goods in part only a fictitious because the imperialist customs and antitrust policy, with its monopoly prices and tax burdens, etc., in the markets of individual countries, but especially in Germany, the impact of the decline in world market prices more or less illusory do.

5. Even in the boom times, the production capacity was not fully utilized and was already a period of unemployment. The price of labor power was already constantly depressed below their value. Thus, the absolute impoverishment overlapping Unemployment and short-time working beyond on full-time employees.

6. Based on the above facts results in a permanent reduction of Consumption power of the masses and thus a permanent contraction of the markets. With the general impoverishment eliminated simultaneously in the majority of countries that savings cushion otherwise might be offset during the crisis.

7. With the rapid technical development of the wear of constant capital is in production accelerated, reducing the deadline for renewal of the constant capital. Thus, the technical revolution under monopoly capitalism is partly a Lever which shortened the deadlines of the industry cycle and the periods of rise time narrowed. This shorter time limits of the previous stimulus is prolonged Time duration of the crisis, as well as the longer duration of the earlier periods of depression opposite to.

All these facts that the course is not an exhaustive presentation of the special features account current crisis, however, prove this unequivocally how ridiculous the Representation of the reformists is what it is currently only a normal cyclical Crisis concerns.

On the other hand must also theorized as advocated by individual red professors, be rejected, as we would now merely having the general structural do crisis of the capitalist system of the post-war period. A certain economic Nature of the crisis there is indisputable. This is true of America, which long after Period of prosperity now in the years 1929 and 1930 in the general Depression came and also to strengthen the global economic crisis decisive contributed. This is true of France, which experienced a rise until the end and only now beginning to move from the economy into crisis. This applies to England, where in 1929 a certain rise in the course of the general depression of the English Capitalism gave. This applies to Germany, where short climbs and continuous crisis periods in the whole post-war period alternated: after 1920 economy, the inflation crisis 1922/23, on revival in 1924, then again in 1925-26 depression, it quickly Rise in 1927/28, then, in 1929 depression, crisis phenomena and 1930, the most serious and deepest crisis.

So there are certain cyclical phenomena exist. On the other hand a number of Factors principle of the appearances of periodic pre-war crises
Capitalism differ. What results from this? The role of today's crisis is a cyclical crisis in the framework of the general crisis in the capitalist system in the era of monopoly capitalism. Here we have the dialectical interaction between the general crisis and the periodic crisis understood. On the one hand, the periodic crisis entirely new, more violent and never takes seen before in forms because they ruled by the conditions of monopoly capitalism is and is taking place on the ground of the general crisis of capitalism. On the other hand in turn, affects the cyclical crisis exacerbating the general crisis of capitalism and causes phenomena which undoubtedly also not possible turnaround in depression could be re-balanced. It is clear that present themselves after all bourgeois findings no sign of such a revolution available.

On the contrary, already yield the previously mentioned special features of the current crisis Yes, such a perspective of development that the worst of the crisis by no means has been reached, but a further tightening should occur. In Germany, for. Example, we have recorded the phenomenon that the storage in spite of production restrictions still increasing, the Warenstauung growing and therefore redundancies and short-time work will rise. Another factor on the basis of which one the prospect of even greater tightening the crisis can especially develop in Germany, the difficulties for export. So far, the decline of German exports was compared to the other countries relatively low because some facts for Germany a relatively favorable position resulted in the issue of the export. These facts soon fall away increasingly. Once is the German wage predatory offensive an international wage reduction shaft boosted, so that here a certain, still existing advantage of German Bourgeoisie falls away. Secondly, the German bourgeoisie had been a certain Projection in the technical rationalization relative to the most industrialized countries. This Projection, however in the future of the industries of capitalist competitors be reversed, with the last rationalizing has the advantage on the best Experience of being able to rest other. Thirdly, the fact falls continued in the future that the German exports, as far as he went to an appreciable extent to France, so far in one of the crisis verschontes country led, during the current entry of France into crisis will meet naturally especially Germany and its export. Fourth, the battle Germany to the markets by the difficulties of capital exports (due to the effects of the Reparationstribute etc. etc.) difficult. It is clear that the export of capital to the same Time an engine of exports of goods is. Fifth, lack of the German bourgeoisie due the lost World War such imperialist power such as liquor, etc., which in the capitalist economy in the battle for sales markets a real economic represent factor.

These increasing difficulties of export bring a further tightening unemployment and at the same time a deterioration in the trade balance Germany with what to enhanced Young's crisis and an inevitable Credit crisis, as in September / October last year after the parliamentary elections result, have to be. Also, the financial difficulties of the Reich, the states and municipalities
which increased again. The forecast, which can thus be put to the crisis in Germany and the generally also applies to the development of the world economic crisis, should read thus: the Development of the next few months, the crisis does not soften, not an early Swing open the way, but on the contrary a further deepening and Tightening all crises bring. How far in Germany, where we - as mentioned - already can speak of tendencies of the revolutionary crisis, this Development can be promoted to the revolutionary situation, which depends naturally subjective the struggle of the working class from, from the effect of "Factor "of revolutionary development, on its crucial role and importance some observations were made in the first section of this article.

IV.

Another major issue with which the plenary session of the German Central Committee employed, was the problem of fascist development of Germany . Here was the ZK build on those problems which in March last year due in part to the former Plenary Session of the Central Committee, partly a few weeks later in the CC for Polbüro Have been treating. The question of the foot Ritts the bourgeoisie against the Social Democrats who did the coalition government Hermann Müller-Severing and the Brüning era ushered in, then had known some variations in individual Comrades (flags, etc.) caused. Today there is no longer any doubt give that party the then development einschätzte absolutely right that it is in the Fall of Hermann Müller government, not to a social-democratic maneuvers but indeed a kick of the bourgeoisie, the period of the Coalition politics in the kingdom of scale and completed as a certain turning point in Fascist Germany's development had to be evaluated.

Meanwhile, the ongoing crisis, the growing revolutionary upsurge and the vibration of the political superstructure of capitalist class rule such made progress in that, in the dialectical antithesis of revolutionary development in the process of fascist bourgeois rule methods, a higher Stage of development has been reached. In early December last year, there were a number of Phenomena in the political life of Germany, who provided the party with the task of the previous analysis of the situation to develop. You could at this time again speak of a certain turning point in the political development. indeed did not change the composition of personnel of the government, but it was the old Brüning government occurred at the helm, but in their methods and forms of rule certain envelope , an extraordinary tightening a. A number of facts expressed the stronger transition of the bourgeoisie to fascist rule method. The bankruptcy of parliamentarism came open in appearance. The bourgeoisie reigned even with emergency regulations. The dictatorship measures due to the exception clause 48 form no longer the exception, but the rule. The Reichstag may only meet to occasionally sign his death certificate by the dictatorially decreed laws subsequently gives its consent. The Imperial Council is even without formal constitutional amendment in practice of the bourgeoisie to a first
Appeal within the meaning of fascist remodeling of the state apparatus. On the same line are the plans of the German bourgeoisie with respect to the reform of the Empire, and the structure the Reich Economic Council as a "Scores Parliament". The "local democracy" is almost completely abolished. In almost all major cities there are used from above State commissioners who regardless of the local majorities and their parliamentary decisions proceed dictatorially. The systematic police terror against the revolutionary workers' movement has taken on an unprecedented scale and occurs in close association with the murder of the terrorist fascist gangs. The Dismissal of all Communist officials under impudent mockery of so-called Weimar Constitution and finally the already practically introduced in part, some of them only planned labor conscription supplement the register of these facts of fascism.

A special chapter in this context the imperialist foreign policy Germany. The open announcement of the need for a revision Young, the purposeful armament propaganda, the chauvinist agitation against Poland, the Ostreise Bruning, the preparation of the National Socialist black formations in Silesia and East Prussia - all showing the military course of German Foreign policy.

In what direction this war policy of German imperialism developed? The Intensification of German-Polish antagonism and even the revenge of incitement Nazis and large parts of the entire bourgeois camp again showing general imperialist threat of war and mean on the other hand no attenuation, but rather a substantial increase in the risk of imperialist Intervention war against the Soviet Union!

A few weeks ago published General Ludendorff a book "World War threatened". In This book has besides completely deranged fantasies about Freemasons, way of Zion and similar "secret powers" very serious military representations concerning a coming war. It follows that the imperialist Germany's view to a war on the side of Italy against France and Poland is not to think. Before a rearmament of Germany even in the most modest dimensions would performed, the country would be long occupied. Ludendorff is the depth with military scientific arguments that are plausible. But what results from a such question? The simple fact that any worsening of the imperialist War atmosphere by conflict of Germany with Poland or France in the final analysis the direction must lead to an explosion in which the capitalist Germany lightest unfolding possibility of his aggressive tendencies and expansionism conceivable appears: namely, against the Soviet Union!

Just the sharpening of antagonisms between the imperialist powers among themselves increases the risk of intervention war. Such imperialist conflicts easily turn. Man "agree" on a joint raid against the class-enemy of all imperialist powers, the Soviet power. In this sense includes the development fascist Germany the ring of imperialist Intervention front against the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party treated due to the facts outlined above, the present state of the development of fascism in Germany. To ensure proper policy to enable the party, it was necessary to have a precise and concrete to determine which stage
Fascism cites that he "is a method of direct dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" was, the "relationships and combinations between the parties is independent", as are the characteristic phenomena for the present system of government of the German Bourgeoisie. The difficulties for the German party in the concrete analysis of present situation existed in certain specific features of the fascist development in Germany, by which they do not differ from the previous historical examples insignificantly.

Especially here is the problem of the relationship between the Brüning government, which increasingly going using fascist methods of rule, and the fascist mass party in Germany, the Nazis. The program of Comintern characterized already in great detail the role and importance of such fascist mass movement, and his performance is also true of the Hitler party in Germany to. A condition, however, where the bourgeoisie is already fascist Methods of rule operated, on the other hand the fascist mass party not only outside the government, but at the time directly in a certain bill opposition remains is quite novel and meets the very specific conditions under which fascism Germany grows.

Here is the role of social fascism and especially the "left" above all, SPD from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie is an important factor. If one considers that For example, in just the two months of February 1 to 31 March more than 5.5 Millions of workers in Germany due to the expiration of the collective agreements immediately in a tapered combat situation towards entrepreneurship and its wages degrading offensive advised, it is clear that the role of social fascism by its reformist trade unions on the extra-parliamentary support of the Brüning dictatorship this area is a very crucial. Other hand, the National Socialists both in the field of foreign policy such as armed counterrevolution for the bourgeoisie decisive extra-parliamentary mass force is trying continued that provoking revolutionary class front, to thereby from the main distract class tasks.

Thus, a state of a certain instability results in terms of the reciprocal Pre-coating the Nazis and Social Democracy on the part of the ruling Bourgeoisie. Naturally, reinforce this trend in the ever broader layers of finance capital, the National Socialist Party to take immediate effect, as Hugenberg did with the German National Party against the Nazis to "Channeling" this fascist mass party, ie capable of governing within the meaning of Financial capital to make. This process does not rule out that currently the bearing strata of finance capital, represented mainly by the center, which the has replaced People's Party as the leading force of the bourgeoisie, a government community with the Nazis dismissed. It naturally also play foreign policy Motive no subordinate role. Summarizing all these facts together, it results in analyzing the current State that, in Germany at present of a maturing, though still immature fascist dictatorship must speak. The Brüning government is to Government implementing the fascist dictatorship become. It is clear that a
Such a function change is not a change of the class content of bourgeois rule represents. Because the class content of the fascist dictatorship is of course exactly the Dictatorship of finance capital, as in the bourgeois democracy that also only a Trim the dictatorship of finance capital is. The dictatorship of capital remains, because the Domination of fascism does not mean a change in the class-character, but only a change in the forms of rule, the methods of rule due a special new stage in the game of class forces.

Of crucial importance is that these fascist development in Germany - unlike in Italian history - not because of a took defeat of the proletariat, but only born out of the crisis test representing the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary advance of the proletariat a last RAMPART oppose, fascism as a battering ram against the revolutionary to operate upswing. Here also is where the task of the party. Of the mass revolutionary struggle in all areas is the decisive factor, from which it depends, can ripen extent the fascist dictatorship in Germany, to what extent the Bourgeoisie can exploit the opportunity in the defense of their class rule. Consciousness, on for this crucial role of our mass struggles in view the development of fascism in Germany is one of the main findings of Plenary session of the Central Committee.

V.

A third main question at the plenum of the Central Committee was the problem of the specific conditions and methods in which the German party present their struggle for the conquest the majority of the working class has to lead. As we mentioned in the consideration of highlighted the gross volume of the Central Committee meeting, was above all the question of liquidation the mass influence of the SPD. What particularly favorable conditions exist for such a bold task? In addition to the general radicalization of Social Democratic workers in the context of the entire revolutionary upsurge in Germany and the danger of the left SPD as a barrier of this revolution, the We will not go into detail here, it is above all the utter bankruptcy of the reformist theory that the best conditions for the intensification principled struggle of the Communist Party of Germany against social fascism supplies.

One must realize that once new "theory" the II. International and especially the German Social Democracy during the last years instead of Marxism "Invented" was and what the facts of the historical reality of this class Theory have left over. On the Kieler SPD party congress in May 1927 built Hilferding known that theoretical building of the current "transition period", in the "Organized capitalism", ie, monopoly capitalism, gradually anarchy of Capitalism of free economic eliminated. The proof should the United provide States in their lasting prosperity. This transformation period put the time "A peaceful growing into socialism" represents.
The position of the working class should be uniform in the transformation period with the improve concentration of capital and rationalization. The "general law of capitalist accumulation ", as it has set up Marx, according to which the" accumulation of corresponds to the capital accumulation of misery "was supported by the Social Democratic Theorists called obsolete. That is why the capitalist should rationalization of the working class to support every effort, even this support was to central role of trade unions declared as the rationalization and the workers will benefit. In place of the Marxist theory of wages at the same time joined the so-called "Tarnowsche wage theory" of the alleged usefulness of high wages for Capitalists. The coronation was the famous "economic democracy as a way to Socialism".

After the side of the political question this theoretical system found its complement in the liquidation of the Marxist theory of the state. Open has been expressed that the Formulations of Marx and Engels on the capitalist state apparatus as reject "executive organ of the exploiting class for oppressing the exploited" be. Still on the Magdeburg party the SPD in 1929 called Hilferding for Preservation of parliamentarism "victims, how big they may be." Because of Parliamentarianism was the "only way to bring about socialism."

Coalition governments were thus a necessary transition to socialism, and the Coalition politics in general was canonized as a "socialist principle". If you ask today, what of all this theoretical structure of reformism is left, so the answer can only be that it is literally in a Transformed rubble has. The "organized capitalism", off the crises "Should the global economic crisis has only exacerbated. The American "paradise" with the Duration economy no longer exists. The situation of the working class through the Rationalization deteriorated tremendously. The Tarnowsche wage theory and the Economic democracy are among the brutal beatings of employers' offensive to nowhere vanished. The coalition governments have proved to be pacemaker of fascism. In other words, the whole theoretical system of reformism is in such a Dimensions bankrupt that the reformists themselves the majority of their famous theories today looking to forget complete silence. It is clear that here the principle struggle Communist Party may establish stronger and more successful than ever. ever determined the party the banner of Marxism unfolds, the bolder they against the Bankruptcy of the reformist "theories" the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist Science and Policy announced, the easier it is to beat the social fascism, thus the main obstacle to the proletarian revolution in the camp of the working class can wrestle and win the SPD-workers just under the banner of Marxism. On this area, the meeting of the Central Committee, no doubt a prelude represents, by which a large increase in our political activity and the lively initiative Party will turn out.

VI.

We have above from the various political problems that the DC-Meeting of the KPD concerned, singled out some key questions. It is, of course, that a very wide space within the work of the Central Committee the specific teachings and experiences of the last great strike struggles, especially the miners' strike in Ruhr and Upper Silesia, revenue. On hand of the Ruhr struggle could especially those offensive tactics are explained, which in the past the party ahead
must use campaign period to get the law of action is not the enemy
to be dictated, but also turn the enemy to a certain extent the
to dictate decisions. In mass revolutionary struggle in all fields of
Defense of political, economic and cultural rights of the working class and
the working people is the key to the revolutionary situation. This thesis, which in
standing of the political work of the Central Committee meeting, and must be the entire practice
dominate the revolutionary movement in Germany in the coming months.
The character of our plenary session was reflected among other things in the
courage participation of the neighboring sections of the Comintern. In her name, spoke
Contemporary of the French party. The international solidarity of our struggle and the
Will, in all forthcoming class conflicts the band of international
socialize solidarity in practice and more firmly, thus found at the meeting of the German
Central Committee a demonstrative expression.
Most showed course this spirit of proletarian internationalism
in relation to the German Party of the Soviet Union and its problems of socialist
Advance, in relation to the leading party of the Communist International, the
CPSU. Here not only sees the question of complete solidarity with the German party
the decisions of the last plenum of the CC and CCC of CPSU in all political
Issues, as well as on innerparteilichem area in the fight against the main danger of the Right
and against the treacherous block of Syrtsov-Lominadze but is here especially
the correct political assessment of the immense world-revolutionary importance that the
Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and their entry into the period of socialism for
has the revolutionary liberation struggle of the proletarians of all capitalist countries. The
counterrevolutionary attacks of Trotsky on the general line of the CPSU have long since
been so completely exposed and struck by the story that she hardly the
Mention should. On the other hand the enormous success of the socialist
Advance also Bukharin's "arguments" of the kulaks "in socialism
wanted to grow ", heimgeleuchtet thorough enough.
The building blocks of socialism in the Soviet Union are both dynamite against the rotten
Building of world capitalism. Each hammer blow of socialist construction in the
USSR is both a powerful attack on the capitalist class rule in all
other countries. The victims and the heroism, the proletariat of the Soviet Union in
applying fight for his socialist construction, is also the best proletarian
Solidarity for the workers of Germany and of all capitalist countries. The German
Proletariat and its revolutionary party know that. And they also know what
historic duties at the same time the German working class and its leader, the
KPD, fall. Our victory, the establishment of Soviet Germany, is not only the working
Germany's population from the yoke of the capitalist profit system and the
predatory Young Plan liberate, but also the peace of the Soviet Union and its
socialist construction secure. The awareness of this bond dominated the
Plenary session of our Central Committee and is a massive drive for more German
Party to exert all forces to the revolutionary resolutions of our Central Committee meeting in the
implement action and as essential prerequisites for the victory of the German
to create working class.

Communist International,
Issue 05/06/1930
Thalmann battle cry against fascism

12000 Workers on the grave of assassinated by police comrades Geick form trellis - The Hamburger Proletariat is on the side of the communist struggles against fascism

Hamburg, February 2. Huge crowds demonstrated today against fascism and police terror in Funeral of assassinated by police in Geesthacht comrades Geick. An immense train was formed behind the coffin, between about 100 red flags and countless wreath delegations. The streets were tightly crowded people. Thousands expected to train at the Ohlsdorf cemetery, where in the hall a short Commemoration took place, imaginary in contemporary Gundelach the dead. At the open grave to the far above 12000 proletarians were to prove the class fighters a final proletarian ceremony, held the Leader of the German proletariat, Comrade Thalmann, a keynote speech.

Comrade Ernst Thalmann

Thousands of workers have been released to the dead comrades Geick the last proletarian to honor. Comrade Geick has with in the front ranks in the red class struggle stood. From his parents, and especially his mother, who dwells here at the grave, Comrade Geick was brought to a proletarian class fighters. If the party and his comrades called him, he was always available. Not far from here is his brother buried, who participated in the October fighting in 1923 and was then shot dead. With Comrade Geick was in Geesthacht the 18 year old Comrade Benthin shot down. The bourgeois press dares our brave comrades as criminals to call. We say from this spot, Criminals are those who plunder the vast masses and starvation deliver him.

The entire working class and the working people are the exploiters and their lackeys the answer does not owe.

The huge mass rally on this day is the bourgeoisie that the masses have recognized where the criminals are to be sought. The toiling masses always recognize more that they in the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party to bread have to fight and freedom. The bourgeoisie is trying by brute force of arms this to prevent the fight, so you have shot our comrades, because they fight for the liberation of the entire working people.

Millions have understood the importance of the struggle of the Ruhr miners. you will be also understand the struggle in Geesthacht.

Our answer we give the bourgeoisie and its armed guards, has a historical meaning. Karl Marx has already pointed out that with the concentration the reaction at the same time grow the revolutionary class forces, and we see in always more noticeable extent. If the bourgeoisie and with the means of brute force be the ruthless dictatorship tried to stop the struggle of the working class, we know how to respond to it in due course.

The workers will never tolerate that, and in the red strongholds that politically strategically are of paramount importance, the fascist murder troops using police organs penetrate.

The attempt has been made in Geesthacht. An open provocation means it when red in the Geesthacht Nazi bandits were able to penetrate when the
Meeting all meeting participants were searched for weapons, while the murder gangs unmolested remained. An outrageous provocation means it further if the Workers entry to the meeting was closed and the police in the retreating amount was shot into.

The operations in Geesthacht clearly show that the bourgeoisie is trying by all means to keep starving masses using brutal force of arms.

This system is also rotting and rotten inside, against the massive onslaught of inflation capitalist economy shocked.

The situation today is similar to that of 1923, where inflation capitalist economy shocked.

If we do not have inflation in the proportions today, we see but a ever-increasing decay of the capitalist economy, while the in the Soviet Union enormous building of socialism takes, a massive growth of the revolutionary Class forces put an end to capitalist rule.

Here at the grave we swear that we in terms of our dead comrades Geick and Benthin will continue to fight against the murderous fascism and capitalist Exploitation. Once the day comes, when the proletariat, together with the entire working people the exploiters rule and build a Soviet Germany becomes.

With the singing of the "Internationale" the struggle rally was decided.

Red flag,
02/03/1931
Excerpt from a speech by Comrade Thalmann in Braunschweig - Our People's Action against fascism and Prussian government - increase the fight against Frick and Franzen

Braunschweig, 28 February. In the huge rally of the KPD to the Braunschweig municipal held Comrade Ernst Thalmann an image shot with the utmost enthusiasm Unit, in which he, inter alia, stated:

"Without exaggeration, one could make the assertion that neither party so much to Demagogy, committed so much to unscrupulous fraud is how the Nazis. If the Nazis currently in Prussia at the steel helmet referendum against the Braun-Severing participate, so we say Communists them:
We will do not lift a finger for the Conservation of Brown-Severing-rule, Prussia has made a stronghold of the dark reaction, but neither and only certainly not, we will not tolerate that the Nazis their anti-people enforce fascist plans in Prussia. We are the people, the working people in town and country shake to a huge popular campaign against fascism and Prussian government.

The so-called battle between Nazis and SPD is not a principled fight. Because the Social Democratic Party and its leaders and the National Socialist Party and their leaders are both on the floor of the capitalist system and defend it against the revolutionary working class. Their fight among themselves is only one competition to the ministerial chair and other mangers of the Republic.
The Communist Party has decided, as in Thuringia against the local Frick regime, also here in Braunschweig against the Franzen-rule a Referendum to pass in the way. I think that this decision of the Communists will find most applause even all SPD-workers and all working people, who are willing participate in the fight against fascism. We Communists do not want give rise to parliamentary illusions, say openly that this referendum only be meaningful if it serves the masses to extraparliamentary struggle against the Franzen-rule shake, they together into an action that is not discharged with the ballots, but with the means of the class struggle: with demonstrations and strikes and Finally, with the mass political strike as the decisive battle method among
Comrade Thalmann revolutionary prosecution

It is a shocking reason brings us together here today. Ernst Henning, a
our best and most faithful, has been shot down by Nazi murderers.
The liberation struggle of the workers has called for a new victim. It will not be the last
his sacrifice in the struggle for freedom and socialism. But our brothers do not fall in vain.
As you fight, so even her death the future is doomed.
The shots of Nazi murderers blazing throughout Germany hatred and deepest indignation triggered. Keep them always awake.
The life of a fighter is completed. Ernst Henning spoke the language of the party, he grew
with the life and development of our party.
Henning was a loyal soldier of the revolution.
Today, when the March sun shining over us, where the call to fight in the world sounds,
where workers in Hamburg entered a Battle vow in the protest strike, say:
The retribution will bring the story. We are our comrades and all
Murdered brothers avenge.
The bourgeoisie and its accomplices, the Social Democrats, did not go around against the
Nazi murderers before they answered with the prohibition of the press,
Demonstrations and gatherings of the KPD.
With prohibitions and pistol shots can not stop our movement. Who vigorously
is marching forward despite prohibition and repression.
Which fighting spirit the workers is animated, shows the 16-year-old daughter of
Comrade Henning that does its work in the youth league brave and dutiful.
As a detective asked: "Which Testament has left your father?"
she answered: "Revenge!"
That is the oath of millions. Our will to win is irresistible. Our future!
With us, the liberation of the working class and thus the liberation of Germany!
This revolutionary spirit always detected more layers not only the working class,
but also of the bourgeois intelligentsia. We are convinced that the best example of the
Thalmann Reputation: Into the RGO!

Only under the banners of RGO trade union unity of the German workers is restored - Only the RGO can and will create real free trade unions

We publish below the letter of Comrade Thalmann to the Administrator of General Association Hamburg. The letter is a reply of Comrade Thalmann to announcement his imminent expulsion from the Association. Comrade Thalmann is 27 years member of the free Trade Union of Transport Workers.

At the Hamburg district administration of the General Association, Hamburg. 
In your letter of March 18, 1931 Your reports on a decision of the A meeting of the Hamburg district administration, one at the Federation Board to provide exclusion request against me. The reasons for this exclusion request are in The letter stated:
"1. You are known to us as Director and Chairman of the Communist Party.
2. These Communist Party in an event in January 1931 their first National Conference of RGO (read: Red Trade Union Opposition) for port and Water Transport Workers established for the express purpose of the unit and Unity of the free trade unions, in particular the General Association, which also You're a member, to disturb."
Your invites me in writing to this letter my reply. I get to this call to my reasons that the reasons for the revolutionary Workers must be stated:
It is true that I belong to decades of Free Trade Union of Transport Workers. Just as thousands of my colleagues in this association, and tens of thousands in other Associations, I as an official in the course of many years for the free trade unions have worked that great through toil and sacrifice of millions of German workers and were strong.

The German working class was in the free trade unions a bulwark against the entrepreneurs who create a fighting organization for the defense of vital interests. She wanted moreover, true to the teachings of Marx, a powerful storm to block the crushing of the entire system of wage slavery.

More than 60 years of German trade unions, and now what? This question hammering since long in the minds of the class-conscious members of the free trade unions. History knows many examples of how progressive and revolutionary organizations and facilities were turned into the opposite. This also applies to the free Unions in Germany. Unions are from organizations of Class struggle to organizations supporting the capitalist economy and the become capitalist state power. This proves not only the daily practice of Union bureaucracy, but the programmatic decisions of Hamburg Trade Union Congress of economic democracy and the Stockholm Congress the Amsterdam International on the need for subordination of Workers' interests to the interests of the capitalist economy.

Over the course of decades, a bureaucracy in the trade unions has developed the Giant organizations of the German proletariat dominates and raped. A bureaucracy, viewed independently of the will of the general membership feels that their well-paid has secured functions for life itself, the the with capitalism, with capitalist state is connected at the mercy. German capitalism itself is now in the process of its putrefaction and Degeneration. Word of the "Communist Manifesto" that the slaveholders not are capable of feeding their slaves only makeshift, fact has now become.

Not only the more than five million unemployed, the "lucky ones" who are still in the Businesses are, be convinced every day and every hour from the bankruptcy of capitalist system. Wages, under the restoration costs of labor are, have become a permanent feature. The worker receives a wage that does not even enough for the necessities of life. The quintessential and most basic task of Unions - fight for higher wages and better working conditions, the fight itself to the defense of the existing poor working conditions - shakes the Foundations of rotten and decaying capitalism.

The strike struggle is therefore in the period of the general crisis of capitalism to Military action against the entire capitalist system. But who is not against the system wants to fight, which must also be against the economic strike, which has to Scabs on principle be, that is the iron logic of capitalist development.

That is the way of the German reformism. It is superfluous, here the strike-breaking politics of reformist to describe trade union apparatus. In report day after day, the colleagues in the Farms, the union members in the assemblies.

We live in a time where there are no intermediate positions. There are only two ways: the path of the revolutionary mass struggle or the way of support of
There are only two ways out: the way out for the hungry and starving millions of workers to socialism in the struggle for a Soviet Germany or the "way out" for the exploiters and their lackeys by attempting the rescue of German capitalism at the expense of increased exploitation, extortion multiplied. There is only one clear choice: Overthrow or preservation of the shameful regime of exploitation of man by man. Everyone has to decide in our time: for the red front, or on the front of Exploiters.

Now your verfahrt by the method: "Stop thief" by posting says the revolutionary Union opposition destroy the "free" trade unions. Who has the free trade unions of their contents robbed a fighting organization of the working class, they hollowed out and turned them into auxiliary organs of business organizations? The reformist trade union leaders, the union bureaucracy, the SPD. Who has the millions of German workers in the years of the imperialist war on the "Battlefield of honor" hunted? Who in the years of Weltgemetzels truce completed with the bourgeoisie, voluntarily renounced the strike to the immense not to interfere with mass murder in the fields of France and Russia? These were the German union leaders who capitalism proletarian before Revolution rescued the November revolution. These were the German Union leaders who in the following years with all sophisticated means of People fraud have retained the workers. These were the German Union leaders who in the past 5-6 years the murderous nationalization, the Million German workers made destitute, have made it possible to carry out. There are the union leaders that the fight every manifestation of the proletariat, any attempt exploited masses to rise up against their oppressors, each strike with all Brutality with all ruthlessness fight.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition arises as a force from the Union bureaucracy ruined bulwark against exploitation restores. From the establishments from the bays from the construction sites of the goods rises a new force up, the task arises, powerful organizations against entrepreneurship and to create fascism. The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, the best Traditions of more than 60 years of trade union class struggle in Germany restores she wants and needs - it's their duty to the German working class - the of you destroyed class front rebuild.

The conference had the port and sailors in Hamburg the task combat unit prepare workers against the shipowner capital after her by organized scabbing and by the police brutality of your Schoenfelder crush the working front and characterized have made possible the wage robbery. Therefore the creation of the Red Harbour Workers' Union was a vital necessity for the struggling proletariat harbor. Only under the banners of the RGO is the Trade union unity of the German working restored. Only the RGO can and will create truly independent trade unions.

I plead "guilty" to be chairman of the Communist Party.
This is the party in the last general election more than a million workers' votes won by the party of the workers betrayal of the SPD. That among these workers
not a little free trade union colleagues were about you are you certainly clear.

I plead "guilty", Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany
be the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the party of the proletarian Revolution.

This is the party that their duty towards the working class never for ministerial chair,
will sell living in capitalist state. This is the party that never for Groener Battleship, voted Schiele and Treviranus, for Brüning and Stegerwald.

I plead "guilty" that as chairman of the Communist Party

Revolutionary trade union opposition with all the powers supported to have.

I share this "debt" along with the hundreds of thousands of members of the Revolutionary Union opposition. This "debt" will share in a short time already millions.

You have the option of me, which I have worked decades for the association,
excluded. Do you still have tens of thousands of class-conscious workers of the free Unions kicked. Every democracy you have trampled, only with

Police methods can maintain their domination Eure. But you are no longer able to urge the German working class for self-preservation, the pursuit of

Millions of German workers for a decent life, the storm of proletarian battalions to the regime of exploitation withhold. At the 14th. September were well over a million proletarian SPD voters who for

Communist Party who cast their votes for the proletarian revolution. Today are already new million - itself does not doubt more to it.

Purposefulness is the Communist Party, the elite of the German working class,

revolutionary Sturmtrupp of toiling Germany the way the proletarian Revolution. New millions are flocking to the storm flags of the Communist Party. With a cardboard exclusions can not stop this rise. It can also be

not with rubber truncheons Social Democratic police and the assassinations delay Hitlerite protection Garden of capital.

We go forward! You go back! We are the army of dawn. you are the latest declining protecting their capital. The tremendous power of millions proletarian fighters, together with the exploiters even you, their lackeys, sweep.

That is what I you on your letter of 18 March 1931 "my justification"

have to say.

Hamburg, 23 March 1931 Ernst Thalmann

Respond to the exclusion of Gen. Thalmann from the general association with the collective entry into RGO!

The Red Flag, 04/05/1931

Ernst Thalmann shows the toiling peasants

Germany the way

The following letter from the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thalmann, was by him in response to a letter written the Eifel farmers. In the letter Thalmann shows the toiling Peasantry throughout Germany the fraud of the bourgeois parties and organizations, including the teasers National Socialists and Social Democrats to the peasantry, also the current struggle and
Dear Comrades

The me at the rally in Cologne passed through your delegation volition of Eifel farmers, your commitment to the alliance of workers and peasants to fight for the national and social liberation program of the KPD, has the vivid echo broadest masses the workers and toiling peasants Germany found.

Your cry is a harrowing indictment of the ruling system. Farmers in distress, Farmers are starving, farmers' children die of malnutrition! This is your accusatory Cry against the anti-farming policy of Schiele Brüning government and its satellites. Despite 14 to 15 hours of daily work you do not have the basic necessities of life.

Before the elections, have you peasants - as you noted rightly - all parties Help promised. Nothing but miserable Bauernfängerei exaggerated with their promises the Zentrümler, Socialists, German Nationalists and Nazis, the masters of Country Federal, the Christian peasant associations, the German peasantry and all the other Representatives of the capitalist system.

The people fraudster promised reduction of tax burdens. According to the example of Nazi Frick government in Thuringia dictated but the Brüning government with the approval of the Social Democrats, the infamous head tax, tobacco and beverages were even more taxed. The taxes the great capitalists were reduced, taxes the working people increased!

The people fraudster promised high debt and interest burdens of the farmers shoulder to take; but the debt and interest burdens of the peasantry grow day by day. The Peasant economy is largely pledged to the banks and money usurers, the farmer is the Debtor must, with his wife and children to exhaustion for these bloodsuckers toil. The from the Treasury to implement and debt reduction. agriculture provided billions - as in the capitalist Osthilfe - are from the Government pushed into the pockets of big farmers and Junker. The toiling farmer must to pay for the higher taxes.

The people fraudsters in the mouth were treated to the elections with social promises over. Now rebuked brutal expulsion of unemployed sons and daughters of the working Farmers from the unemployment benefit.

The people fraudster promised help for farmers' sons by settlement in the East Germany. In reality, the state funds only bankrupt big landowners the ground at high prices bought, the settlers are usurious purchase prices calculated; they can not exist, are bankrupt after a short time and as cheap Workers the landlords delivered.

Instead of helping the country poor use the big farmers and Junker as well as the landowning church and the state, the mass unemployment and the resulting increased Floor hunger by high coil of rents for farm lease allotments.

The plight of the people is for them a source of wealth.

The people fraudster promised aid by tariffs, by import certificate system, Rogge support etc. Big landowners and wholesalers made so shiny Speculation, increased the peasant economy, expenditure for feed, Seed, became more expensive the workers and employees and millions of small farmers bread,
restricted for the rural economy the market, aggravated the agrarian crisis. The people fraudster promised securing the outlet by standardizing the agricultural cooperatives. Secured so was the greater
Farmers' dependence on the capitalist cooperatives, with the farmers money organize the sales of standard products of large-scale farmers and Junker economies and farmers all press against the wall.
The Hitler and his associates promised reduction in prices for appliances, clothes, shoes, for all industrial supplies by fighting the trusts and corporations. In Reality they will contact the Social Democrats and the other bourgeois parties for the high industrial tariffs one, approved in the Reichstag 7 million mark for the Mansfeld Group of Jewish big bankers and millionaires 100X Wolff and Goldschmidt, supported the industrial price Wucherer.
The Social Democratic impostor promised you fight against the imperialist Armaments, against armored cruisers , but like all the other parties they professed the policy of the armored cruiser, the policy of armaments against the Soviet Union.
The Nazi and German national impostor promised you struggle to Rupture of the Young Plan, elimination of reparations, emerging from the League of Nations, but they do not even dare to the Reichstag for the Communist request Setting the reparations, exit to vote the League of Nations. Much more Hitler gave the international financial capital after the election in the press, the insurance, that even the "Third Reich" will afford the reparations payments. The Nazis supported the introduction of new and maintain existing Young taxes of the working people.
Increasing the suffering of the peasantry - this is the result of the promised "help". Garnishment, foreclosure, seizure of the last cow, expropriation, expulsion of plaise, beggary - that is for the farmers of the contents of the policy of the People of scammers the Social Democrats to the Nazis as well as the impoverishment of the means working masses and the ruin of the urban middle class.

The only help is in your struggle on the side of the revolutionary proletariat!

The working peasantry can from these parties, the bourgeois parliament and of the Brüning Schiele government expect any help . The KPD, the party of the revolutionary Marxism has the state and Empire Parliament repeatedly requests for tax exemption for the rural agricultural food, decree of peasant debt, eliminate the enemy bauer Duties, the high rent charges, etc. provided, and always has the front of the Social Democrats to the Nazis the proposals voted down. The Communists proved time and again as the only honest friends of working peasantry.
Farmers! Your help is in your common struggle on the side of the revolutionary Proletariat! The Communist Party will help you fight against this need, exploitation organize and expropriation, pioneers leader. Even were led by Communists in many locations in Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, Brandenburg Foreclosures of toiling peasants by the workers prevented. In South Mecklenburg have Bauer delegates under the leadership of the KPD, the common refusal decided the repayment of loans and organizing joint prevention of foreclosures. It is also fighting the leasehold interest and the fight against the tax charges against all forms of exploitation and plundering in wide front organize and lead. The Communist Party will help with all his force
to form unified battlefront of the working peasantry, by Bauerndelegierten-Conferences, peasant committees, strengthening of the revolutionary peasant organizations, antifascist people's congresses, etc., the common front of kampfgewillten forge peasantry in the closest alliance with the proletariat. Only the common battlefront can also imperialist warmongers in the Arm to fall, the fascist terror, the fascist Germany finally smash the capitalist system of plunder, hunger of the masses, the System of social and national bondage of the people by the socialist eliminate Revolution.

The socialist way

The people's revolution led by the Communist Party brings the toiling Farmers as immediate help:
Land by expropriation of large estates!
Cancellation of all debt burdens!
Abolition of usury!
Elimination of lease charges!
Exemption of small farmers from all taxes and fees!

Soviet Germany will burst the national chains of slavery, shaking the burden of Reparations from, like Soviet Russia from the clutches of the international Financial capital freed and at a stroke removed the imperialist shackles.

Soviet Germany is, having regard to its Red Army, on the whole mass of the working People in town and country, on the alliance with the Soviet Union and on supporting the of the Communist International led revolutionary workers and peasants of all Countries, the only guarantee of peace!

Soviet Germany, socialist construction, which means salvation from the crisis, eliminate mass unemployment, increase the demand for agricultural products through Raising the consumption power of the masses, utilization of modern technology for the Peasantry and thus reduce their workload, enabling the eight-hour Working day for the farmer and the farmer's wife, the six-hour day for the Peasant youth!

Soviet Germany, this means social and cultural advancement of the working masses and their children. All this shows us the heroic example of socialist construction work our Russian brothers and sisters.

Next, farmers on the side of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party!
Forward to fight the capitalist robbers against the People cheat, against the imperialist warmongers, against the capitalist state!
Forward to the national and social liberation!
Germany the workers and peasants!
Long live Soviet-Germany!

Hamburg, 25 March 1931st

With communist greetings
Ernst Thalmann, Chairman of the KPD

New German Bauernzeitung
No. 4/1931
Thalmann fight greeting to the youth

"The Youth League is growing in the fire of reactionary attacks"

At your 6th Reich Youth Day you the hottest revolutionary struggle Greetings!
Your Youth must be a day of great revolutionary mass mobilization against the
Implementation of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. Before you stands the
Task of organizing the masses of young proletariat in the revolutionary united front.
The youth league can be tempered only in combat. It grows in this fight and in
Fire the reactionary attacks and persecutions especially for iron and bold
Vanguard of the young German proletariat zoom.
The bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats want working class youth with brutal
Power hold down. Therefore, they rob the young proletariat, just like the adult
Workers, the right to the road. They threaten the organization of the young proletariat and
hope by force the collection of youth, of all working people in town and
preventing land in the camp of the proletarian revolution. The rulers, as agent
its capitalist backers believe by their prohibition measures the
Jung proletariat to the collection in the revolutionary united front and the fight against
To prevent growing fascist danger. The young proletariat and its
Organization, the Communist Youth League, march in spite of everything in the spirit
Liebknecht and Lenin forward.
Before youth organization the task of collection of the young proletariat is on the
revolutionary front advancing through the liquidation of the SAJ as
Mass organization. The Youth League must simultaneously a broad slump in the
organize civil and Catholic youth organizations to these youthful
involve workers in the class front. The 6th Reich Youth Day must be a prelude
for the further inexorable march.
Youth Comrades Fight with all of the youth's revolutionary passion against
growing imperialist threat of war! Imagine how a man protectively the
socialist fatherland of all working people, the Soviet Union!
Unfolded powerful the storm banner of communism, the storm banner of the youth
proletarian revolution!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the KPD
Ernst Thalmann

The Red flag,
04/05/1931
The situation in Germany and the tasks of the KPD

*Report at the 11th Plenum of the ECCI*

The development in Germany is very complicated, strange and with their new phenomena extremely interesting because new questions arise, the Comintern and the forcing German party to submit its concrete position. As part of my report is yes, as everyone will understand, not even remotely possible, even all tactical questions and general problems arising from the peculiar analysis of the current situation arise, to deal with. I therefore confined to those issues that also for the development in other capitalist countries of interest and for the parties are beneficial, from which all sections of KI and CYI can learn something.

In the center of my report I will put the thesis that Germany under the current conditions of the weakest links in the chain of representing the imperialist world system. We can put this claim, even if one assumes in full agreement with the analysis of Comrade Manuilsky, that through the great events in China, the last recent class struggles in India, for the various capitalist countries of Europe of eminent revolutionary are important, the development in these countries is more advanced than in Germany or Poland. Nevertheless, one can make the claim that Germany is currently one of the weakest links in the world system of capitalism. On hand today intensification of class situation, the regrouping of class forces, the decomposition of the bourgeois parties and the SPD and the SAJ, the fast Development of the Communist Party and last reference to the new events in Young-Germany I want to prove that.

This thesis, which we set up, does not depend only accompanied by the objective conditions, but also the subjective factor, the Communist Party and its achievements and progress in the struggle for the conquest of the majority of the proletariat, in this general consideration of non-negligible interest. I want in my report refrain regarding the analysis of the overall situation and the presentation of the crisis to bring more detailed material. On the one hand this is unnecessary after Comrade Manuilski already on the current development in Germany at various Ask has spoken; On the other hand, the German party did last Central Committee the special character of the current crisis dealt with in detail. Our report will therefore deal primarily with questions of revolutionary practice to this type to bring a useful complement to the Department of Comrade Manuilsky. there I'll cover essentially:
1. How far advanced already the tendencies of the revolutionary crisis in Germany are.
2. How much of this development of the subjective factor, i.e., the correct class line our party was involved under the leadership of the Comintern.
3. The significance of our policy for the further development of the revolutionary crisis; and
4. What basic principles must have our policy, which main achievements exist and what weaknesses and defects must otherwise be liquidated.

First, some remarks on the developments in Germany.
I am counting requires that Comrade general economic facts in Germany are known, and I will therefore only give a few new factors. We

who in February in Germany, a new increase in the stocks in Mining recorded. Consequently find currently new collective redundancies Mining instead. In the Ruhr region are now back above 10,000 miners to end of March been terminated. In the steel industry and iron production are up to the second half of March also announced operational restrictions, closures and public layers. In the Agriculture industry (whose development so compared to that in the Soviet Union especially important), the production capacity will be utilized only to 33 percent. The Expectations that the bourgeoisie in the autumn and winter on one turn of the economic cherished position in the spring, have only a very small chance of being fulfilled. The Official Institute for Economic Research estimates as of the year invested in the construction market Capital to a maximum of 5.5 billion marks over 7 billion in 1930 and even 9 Billion in 1929. It is particularly disastrous situation on the capital market. Day money cost in January 5.10 percent and in the last week of February already 6.04 Percent interest towards London with 1.6 percent, 1.3 percent Amsterdam, Paris 1.9 Percent and New York 1.6 percent. Of course, in the coming months with a slight seasonally moderate recovery in Germany is expected. But even the official Institute of Economic research in Germany admits now that the annual average in 1931 Production and sales low and unemployment will be greater than the Average in 1930, which was already a year of crisis. Even after civil can calculations seasonal revival the labor market more than by about one million Unemployed relieve. So even in this purely schematic calculation of the Special feature of the current crisis as a cyclical crisis in the framework of the general Crisis of the world capitalist system completely disregards, we will this summer so must expect that about 4 million unemployed remain in Germany. When depression the crisis in Germany and in the absence of any factors in the world for that a substantial revival of the economy entering major capitalist countries, perhaps with minor exceptions of individual small countries, this fact means Only a more sustained reduction of the consumption power of the masses and at the same time a further narrowing of the home market for the German capitalists.

How strong the crisis had been in decline in sales resulting from the official figures which show that in the fourth quarter 1930, sales in Germany by 6 Billion, that were below the previous year's sales by 18 percent. Even the bourgeois Economic Institute notes to the fact that even this reduced consumption "only with partial could be kept launching of savings reserves ". Meanwhile, the Unemployment rose by one million. The situation of the peasantry and the industrial
The middle class has become significantly worse. Wages have fallen again. The short-time work has increased tremendously. It is therefore clear that the use of force on the internal market has increased. The internal market narrows more and more. And what about the export? As is known, the decline of German exports is related to other capitalist countries relatively low. How to explain this favorable development for Germany? There is the relief of the German economy by so-called payments in kind as part of the reparations. By the adoption and implementation of the conditions of the Young Plan is this Export favoring unlike the Dawes Plan diminished more and be there. Fewer goods on account of reparations in the coming years to be delivered.

A second point is that the German export to a large extent by France and the French colonies went, and that France until now of all capitalist countries longest spared by the crisis until recently remained. The third point is the question of capitalist rationalization. Apart from the United States of America, the German capitalism the most progress on the made areas of rationalization. He has here a certain advantage over all capitalist countries.

And finally, the special impoverishment of the German working class, the strong Depression of living standards of the German proletariat as it were another Preference of German capitalism, which thereby was able to cheaper products on the World markets deliver and to increase its export opportunities. What, then, with all these factors in the future? All these reasons fall into increasingly continued. France is now gripped by the economic crisis. In France, we are already seeing the first facts of the deepening of the economic crisis. It is quite evident that by this situation, the German exports to France is limited.

Second: The German experience of capitalist rationalization are of the over other capitalist countries, which have the last rationalized on best rationalized, so that even the progress of capitalist rationalization, which in recent years have been made in Germany, by the increased technique and improved rationalization methods in other capitalist countries in the next few years will be overhauled again.

The made to reduce production costs decrease in wages offensive by the German Bourgeoisie was a signal for increased international foray and a new Offensive of capitalism against the wages of the entire proletariat, so that even the Benefits that had German capitalism temporarily in this field, through the everywhere incipient capitalist offensive has been eliminated in the other countries. It is therefore no reason to believe that the situation as regards German exports not will worsen. One can say the contrary, that such deterioration will inevitably occur in the coming months. This naturally means a further Deepening the industrial crisis with its devastating social impact on Millions of working people. The bourgeoisie is indeed already full cynicism Task, the standard of living of industrial workers in Germany to the agricultural workers in agricultural countries, so the farm workers in the Balkans, in the colonies and semi-colonies, depress. For example, Duisburg spoke at a meeting of industrial that wages
the German workers be reduced to the level of wages of Chinese coolies would. The "Cologne Gazette" from 1 March ds. Js. brings a similar item. These facts illuminate and characterize the new intensified offensive of German Bourgeoisie.

What, then, in Germany with the agricultural crisis? I will give only one number, the is extremely characteristic. The agriculture ministers of the Brüning government and großagrarische leader Schiele said a month ago in the German Reichstag that the Consumption of fertilizers in 1930/31 compared to 1929/30 to 11-35 percent in the different varieties has declined. This is also indicative of how the other fact that the sales of agricultural machinery in 1930 compared with 1927/1928 to 45 Percentage has declined. Today we have in agriculture such a state to reported that the interest burden rises permanently that all attachments and Foreclosures are on the agenda. There are known in Germany Millions of small peasants who hitherto alongside their agricultural dwarf operating in the Factory work. They are also covered by the unemployment, lose crucial part of their income and on the other hand today from their Dwarf operation is no longer live. Thus, the land hunger and the difficulty increases, the to pay increased rents, which in turn worsens the situation of these millions.

As an average hourly wage of the poor and middle peasants, when his income converts in this form, is given by bourgeois estimate 16-00 Pfennig depending on the Soil conditions and the operating conditions.

Naturally, the agrarian crisis is intimately linked with the industrial crisis deepens and on the other hand increased by it. With the further restriction of the domestic market also increase the difficulties in the agricultural sector.

The special backwardness of the German agriculture is also on krisenverschärfender factor. The pricing policy of German industry in the domestic market, the artificial holding up the prices, preventing the gap between agriculture and Industrial prices closes, and expensive and so difficult to farm. The need and misery of minke and middle peasants in agriculture are thus continue to grow. That is why we have such facts that we far greater own ways, lately more in these parts of the peasantry and more penetrate. And it is known that even capitalism strives to the method of Collectivisation, which is here applied and carried out in the land of socialism, in to take over the capitalist sense. We have an example in Bavaria, in Ulm, where a Doctor has tried to convince the whole farmers of a village community, a To establish co-operative one, of course, capitalist collectives, thereby a initiate joint production of agricultural products. These are desperate Attempts of the bourgeoise to which it is whipped by the agrarian crisis. The farmers but believe to find a way, without it even remotely a relief and rescue means before the demise of the small farmer.

In our meetings sometimes appear without us as a party to anything have done, Bauer delegations and their great sympathy for Communist Party have spoken to their program of social and national liberation. This was in occasions recently the case. Comrades, many layers of the working and middle classes the poor peasantry, which are detected by the crisis sharper today, have no confidence.
I now come to the most important problems, to the problems of the crisis in the political Superstructure and the accelerated maturing of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. Since last summer we have in Germany a number of phenomena observed on the basis of which we rightly of an incipient turning the can speak economic crisis in the revolutionary crisis. The last Central Committee spoke correctly of new elements of a revolutionary crisis, which is also in the analysis of Comrade Manuilskis was particularly underlined. One question that policy in the Commission will be treated specially, is the concept of "revolutionary-political" Crisis, as it is called in some places in the present resolution. But that is not Question of which one could say that it is an issue. Our terminology Names of the different forms of development of economic, political, the revolutionary crisis and the revolutionary situation have much more serious and more specific in any situation in the countries analyzed in the smallest detail and theoretically be simplified. The marking of political crisis by the expression to replace revolutionary political crisis is something we are still opportunities enough have to talk in more detail here at the plenum. We believe that the in place Marking revolutionary political crisis is better to the revolutionary crisis speak.

It is to consider the question of whether the dynamic process of the respective developing characterized is sufficiently characterized. Earlier we said sometimes g: Revolutionary crisis and revolutionary situation. The most important Question when considering the revolutionary-political crisis is, is the question of the armed uprising. Of course you can not ask the question of the armed uprising schedule moderately as z. B. Trotsky at that time did. In a revolutionary situation, the question of the armed uprising in the most cases more severe than in a situation of revolutionary crisis, where the question of armed uprising is not under all circumstances. I believe that we in the Political Commission on the issue of the appropriateness of the designation of the whole dynamic development of class forces in connection with the concrete analysis of can discuss overall situation matey.

What is now expresses this contagion of the shaking of the capitalist Economy into a crisis of the political superstructure? The bottom line in the presentation these political phenomena and the historically enduring to the various forces and opposing forces of historical development is the revolutionary upsurge. By contrast, the fascist development of the German bourgeoisie and its Assistants it were only the second fact, which results in viewing. We regard the fascist development of the German bourgeoisie in particular specify the historical antithesis of the revolutionary upsurge of the proletarian movement. The is for us at the plenum and for the German party of great importance for the Assessment of fascism in Germany. He is not a product of a particular strength of the Bourgeoisie, nor is it the product of a defeat of the proletariat. In a world scale We did however cases in which it was different. It is with us a completely different situation than in Italy, where Mussolini following a defeat of the proletariat his march undertook to Rome. Also with respect to certain operations in Austria (if there too not quite as sharp can pose the question of defeat), one can say that our Party and therefore the proletariat has missed certain situations and not sufficiently active
occurred and offensively. If we in Germany a completely different and new situation have, as it was for example in Italy, Austria and Finland the case, but the complicated developments in Germany show us such new facts that even our problem of the development of fascism, as we know so far, as need not be called sufficient and not yet completed. If we in Germany over the past year had a great offensive of fascism, if we Transition of the German bourgeoisie to new, fascist forms of rule, the recorded performing the fascist dictatorship by the Brüning government have when we in Germany of a maturing, though not mature speak fascist dictatorship, so it is expressed that historical process that a higher development of the proletarian revolution at the same time a higher level of Development of counterrevolution produced. Only when it overcomes this, the mature revolution to the highest power delivery. I would like in this context a similar depiction of Karl Marx in his discussion of "class struggles in France "remember. He points out that the revolutionary progress

"In the creation of an enemy train had broken through the fight until the Party of revolution matures into a really revolutionary party."

This dialectical process and this relationship between the revolutionary upsurge and fascism is the reason why we believe it is necessary, first and foremost the revolutionary upsurge and its manifestations to look at. The single ones Facts of revolutionary upsurge in Germany include the following: First, our Election of 14 September. What was expressed in it? The regrouping of Class forces, the rapid disintegration of the old bourgeois parties, the downfall of Social Democracy, of which we can say already that it runs historically on; the crisis in the Socialist Workers' Youth, the new rise of the Communist Party just in the decisive layers of the German proletariat; the role of the Nazis bourgeois as the last rampart, the runaway the Trailers should restrain the camp of the proletarian revolution of the march. The were the most important facts that were already located in the Reichstag elections on 14 September revealed. Meanwhile, the development is much more advanced.

The Berlin metalworkers strike followed, which is already a great success for the revolutionary class struggle meant. The Ruhr struggle and in connection therewith Related Upper Silesian sympathy strike of miners, that of a much higher form Struggle represented, and we as without any hesitation and with complete unambiguity a must designate clear success of the revolutionary movement. In Ruhrkampf the question so provide that the bourgeoisie but managed to reduce wages by 6 percent, while our attack not estimate enough, would be absolutely wrong. Then we would have in the world no revolutionary upsurge, because capitalism, unfortunately, almost everywhere successful in reducing wage. These separate issue in this struggle would be a depressing and defeatist and no Leninist assessment of this bold struggle. form line through the stringent wage cuts and the general offensive of the bourgeoisie the later forms the higher maturity of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against Bourgeoisie, they evolve at a higher level.
We’ll see the new wave of anti-fascist mass struggle, which we recently
Time in Germany to unleash succeeded. We have z. B. such a success that we 4
days after the parliamentary elections the struggle against fascism covenant established that in this
short time already counts nearly 100,000 members counts in its ranks. Combined with
this anti-fascist mass struggle we organized everywhere to fight congresses
fascism. They are also an example of the new rising antifascist
Fight wave the proletariat.
We continued to the fact of the strongest supporters of the radicalization of the proletarian
Social Democracy and in a much greater extent the increasing degradation in the
Social Democratic Youth Organization. And last, the cracks in the fascist front,
the outcropping where rebellion and degradation, especially in the military parts of
Nazis, in the SA departments, in recent weeks.
On the other hand the extraordinary organizational growth of the communist
Movement, the Communist Party as well as the Communist Youth League, especially in the
last time. These are more important factors of revolutionary upsurge in
Germany.
As a counter-effect of this revolutionary upswing, the crisis and takes
Fascist bourgeois parties, including the Social Democrats. This
historical process in Germany can be illuminated by many examples. I want
only an event for the whole development of the policy of the German bourgeoisie
was of fundamental importance to bring the plenary in memory: The kick for the
Hermann-Müller-government in March last year, the end of the Koalitionsära
Social democracy in the kingdom of scale.
The former finding of the German party came known with individual comrades, so
wherein comrades flag, fierce opposition. These comrades might understand then
not that it is for the expulsion of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom Government
negotiated an important process of great political significance. Herein but expressed
Even then a number of facts from:
Once the decline of social democracy whose mass base by the advantage
Communist Party is gradually undermined, and the bourgeoisie by the
not like it used to smoothly pass through coalition with the Social Democrats their policies
can. means the weakening of the Social Democratic Party by the communists
at the same time that it gradually loses as a coalition partner for the bourgeoisie in value.
A second fact is that in it the will of the bourgeoisie expressed more strongly on
Due to the intensification of the class situation for the immediate dictatorship proceed. one
can also say that the exercise of power is no longer that of the ruling class
transmit social fascist lackeys, but taken directly into their own hands.
abandoned standpoint, it would not have been possible for us, in time throughout our
to make policy change for the struggle against fascism, and we would
perhaps in the beginning of this development committed similar mistakes as the party in Finland.
I would like to express the urgent warning on this occasion that the Comintern
the weak and the experience with not enough equipped parties
Watch and help them must because in situations similar to the former, such
Errors when they are overlooked, can easily degenerate into a chain of errors. especially
purely psychological moods exist for example in our party members
were, on the basis of which it then the political decision of our party against flag
not understood in the beginning.
The Brüning used in place of Hermann Müller government by finance capital
Government is in Germany now for a year at the helm. We have at this time
had repeatedly recorded certain phrases in their political methods.
The political role of the Brüning government was tightening the entire
Class situation and political tendencies that resulted from the fact determined. in the
each one can determine three different stages with respect to the Brüning government:
The first of March to 14 September, up to the parliamentary elections. Here was the
Brüning government over gradually to the system of open dictatorship; brought her
various emergency regulations out, while the Social Democrats in a certain
Slip opposition was and "Left" maneuvers made, thereby their tarnished reputation
restore to the masses something.
After the parliamentary elections, approximately until January of this year, there was some
Months in which the bourgeoisie rather violently the course of the open involvement
Nazis took in the national government. This also meant a threat
all positions of social democracy in the state apparatus. It would in particular also the end of
means Prussian coalition government of the Social Democrats. Currently, we have
the third stage of the Bruning era in Germany. It is characterized in that the
Nazis are not allowed to zoom to the government leaders, that a large proportion
the German capitalists, who had previously looked to the Nazis,
now more their interest and cash allowances to push the helmet, as
a more solid from the capitalist standpoint and its social composition
for more reliable fascist military organization. On the other hand tolerates the
Bourgeoisie, Social Democracy until further notice in the Prussian government and it draws
inside and outside the Parliament to a greater extent than support their own dictatorship
zoom without her but about concessions in terms of a coalition policy
to make Empire scale even remotely. Today we have in Germany the
State that in the implementation of the fascist dictatorship, the social democratic
Leaders have the greatest activity. In all fields, they are the most active accomplices
of fascism. They are like the battering ram of fascist Germany
become. If one raises the question of why it is the Nazis failed
their desires to reach according to the government, even though by the 14th century.
September passed the greatest prospects for it, so it is clear that not, as it the
Social Democracy hinstellt, their social-fascist policy as the so-called "lesser evil"

it has prevented Hitler and Goebbels Minister be in the national government, but
the opposite is the case. The unbridled love services of social democracy for
Brüning, especially by the Prussian government, have just causes Nazis gained some room for their demagogic agitation, a certain independence on the basis of which they had an easier, their trailers masses continue to deceive, to stick to it, or even in some places new trailer to to win. But the stronger the mass base of the Nazis after September 14 was still grew, which confirmed some elections in the kingdom, the greater the incentive for the bourgeoisie, the Nazis within the government for their own purposes exploit. The answer to the question why this has not happened, why the Nazis were, missed the good times and now barely have any chance in the foreseeable future from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie "capable of governing" to are, among other reasons of foreign policy is to be sought in the fact that it is the Nazis failed to penetrate to the extent in the working class, as the capitalists in Germany and the leaders of the Hitlerite party itself originally expected after the sensational success of the Nazis on 14 September. That penetrate this task the National Socialist Party in the working class, of was not met her, but that is the merit of the Communist Party. It is the important success of our anti-fascist mass struggle. Today we can state, that it is us despite various weaknesses and gaps succeeded the collapse of repulse Nazis in the front of the German proletariat essentially, to bring the advance of fascism to a halt and a certain stagnation, even the first serious attempts at a fall of the Nazi movement into existence bring to. This success of the KPD is the ultimate reason why the Nazis did not come in Germany at the helm. They have, despite their Advance, yet they represented a fairly broad movement no doubt, at the we can not pass a minute as Communist Party today, but can not such a mass base, especially in the working class to achieve, that it the bourgeoisie would have been possible, is definitely against the SPD and for the Nazis to decide as the mainstay of the Fascist policy. Press here the great difficulties from the standpoint of capitalism, the industrial Germany has a mighty proletariat and its strong Communist Party are present in the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Here already expresses the Fact of the degree to which it depends on our policy, of our power delivery, how far the class enemy, how far the bourgeoisie in its available able to go the fascist development. We have known in the past December with great sharpness the rapid growth of the fascist danger in Germany the masses signaled. The party has certain turn in the policy of the bourgeoisie fascism, the decisive steps which did the bourgeoisie in this direction, the Consciousness of the masses hammered. Even then, and even more on our January-Plenum of the Central Committee, we have expressed that it would be suicide if the German would allow the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, all possibilities to maintain the capitalist system through the full development of the fascist dictatorship exploit. Even then we set the task of mass struggle against the Implementation of the fascist dictatorship, to prevent them in each measure, to inhibit and by the organization of the people's revolution capitalist Class rule and thus eliminate fascism ever. Today we can already see that this policy of the Communist Party had some success, what us but by no means should tempt about the size of the fascist threat German proletariat be underestimated. For Germany remains in the present moment still within our mass struggle against capitalism as the chief enemy
fascism a key enemy of the working class in the class struggle, as the Social Democracy, the main barrier to the class struggle against capitalism and thus the main enemy in the camp of the working class remains. We have mutual Attraction and utilization of these two forces, both of social fascism and fascism put by the bourgeoisie in every situation eye. Today the Assertion generally set up, the Nazis were not capable of governing, that is not possible. Morning make the claim - although much is more likely - that the Social Democrats after the Prussian elections coming in the Prussia government does not come into it again, that's not a hundred percent Security possible. While investigating a number of tactical problems I will later our Front position on the individual forces in the camp of the class enemy nor precise.

What is special about the present situation in Germany? Comrades, I think that what novel and on the experience gained in other countries goes to the Development in Germany, we have formulated as follows:

We are experiencing in Germany the implementation of the fascist regime by the Finance capital, while the fascist mass party formally by the Exercise of power is off, yes, you can even say, directly into a Slip opposition is forced into it. The bourgeoisie tries than with social democracy the currently most important pillar of the dictatorship of finance capital reactionary plans perform. This is something special and new. Even at the VI. World Congress in Program were not final at this development of fascism Formulations are placed, for. Example, that we in Germany to carry out the fascist dictatorship and indicate that out of government a fascist Mass party stands that do not officially their men has in the national government. Comrades, just by having the fascist development in Germany, both for the German party as for the Comintern ever given rise, the problem of to take fascism theoretically sharper and to study thoroughly than previously has been the case.

Comrade Manuilsky has already pointed out in the strongest, that the transition from bourgeois democracy to fascist dictatorship is an organic process once, and secondly not any change of the class content of bourgeois represents class rule. Democracy and fascism, which are both forms of dictatorship of finance capital. Take, for. example, the facts as they are in Europe ahead of us. We believe in England and France - because there still such a situation of countries the so-called bourgeois democracy - can not be from the reign of speak fascism, nevertheless there is a development in the direction of fascism has been recorded already. We are talking here not of bourgeois democracy. In other countries, such. as Spain, we see the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by the Popular movement of the masses. The class content of the dictatorship of finance capital changes not only the methods that forms of government are exacerbated in developing first even under the guise of bourgeois democracy.

With the development of monopoly capitalism on the one hand with the intensification of the crisis of the capitalist system and the revolutionary upsurge on the other hand, has the Bourgeoisie often in their forms of government, in its methods of government, as a perform tightening on domestic political field, as in foreign policy through the growing imperialist aggressiveness is expressed. This change of Methods of rule is precisely the transition to fascism, to open dictatorship instead the dictatorship with democratic parliamentary facade. Comrade Manuilsky said already, that the changes in the government, such as the reduction of the Parliament and similar, are not crucial, but that we much more the Methods of political reaction against the working class and the working people, the
Rape of political rights for the proletariat, the terrorist suppression methods must take and other forms in the eye. One can go even further and add: and the bankruptcy of parliamentarism, the degradation of the parliamentary system by the Bourgeoisie in Germany, which is becoming more progressive elimination of so-called local democracy, are a part of this political disenfranchisement and intensified Muzzling the working class. If z. B. in Germany in nearly every major deprived industrial towns the local councils and externally with their previous functions were when dictatorial regardless of used up state commissioners Decisions of local councils, the municipal finance, taxes and spending on prescribe all areas of social policy, that's just a part of the offensive against the Workers and against all oppressed toilers. Of course, even earlier than the local councils were still working, the workers do not to defend their interests parliament about. But since the other parties in the their toiling local councils, to a certain extent on the mood Trailer had to take into consideration, the plundering of the toiling took Masses not as boundless as the in at the present dictatorial methods Germany is the case. This reflects a trait of fascism, of the the program of the Comintern, among other things says that the fascist rule "regardless of the Relations between parties "is. Suppose some examples of development on the Line for the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. The superstructure of the fascist bourgeois state violence occurs increasingly in evidence. What new fascist Forms show up in various fields? The issue of Reich and Administrative reform, which are carried out in the coming months in Germany shall mean new reactionary concentration of state power, the elimination Prussia is to be considered as a special state countries and as a special Parliament. That the government is planning such a draft, shows that when the bourgeoisie stronger tendencies exist eliminate Prussia particular country of residence. Of interest is that Countries such. As the reactionary Bavaria, not in this unification in the called imperial reform. Measures to significant deterioration of the Suffrage are rising fascism in the same line. Much more important still to identify the fascist development course the immediate suppression and predatory measures against the proletariat and. the Toilers. What we have in recent times in this area for new facts to recorded? We have in the Reichstag the general prey of the immunity of Communist MEPs. With a single vote in the Reichstag was the approval of the Social Democracy immunity of Communist deputies for many hundreds of Processes abolished at a stroke. We have bans on demonstrations against the Workers in almost all of Germany. We have a systematic wave of Newspaper prohibitions against the Communist press. We have a new increase in the Judicial persecution, there being so brutal rulings, that of fascist Justice must speak. Younger judges and prosecutors, according to the universities the revolution occupied the various offices that use criminal provisions that are visited at sprint reactionary, much sharper; the judgments that they make today further characterize the worsening of the overall situation to fascism. The social fascist Police Minister of Prussia, Severing, publishes a decree, according to which in the future closed hall meetings are yet to be banned in advance, if the police
believes that they will have a "non-peaceful nature". Most, however, this policy is reflected by the implementation of the fascist dictatorship by the Brüning government in the events of that in Germany in the last have played days. Has just been through the President Hindenburg of imposed martial law and a decree signed, the revolutionary for the entire Labor movement a state of semi- legality creates. Every proletarian Assembly may in future be banned. Each poster every agitational Transparent any Leaflet is subject to prior censorship. At a stroke is in a state of Germany political reaction brought about, the back to the worst times of war and then suppression of the labor movement in Imperial Germany reminded to but of course plays at a much higher level of intensification of class antagonisms. The Karl Liebknecht House, the house of the German Communist Party in Berlin, yesterday by a vast account of police teams and detectives invaded. The entire surrounding district road in the vicinity of the Karl-Liebknecht House was for protection against proletarian demonstrations by strong police forces sectioned off and made a house search from cellar to roof, about weapons or to find incriminating evidence against the party. Although the envoys of deduct social fascist police chief of Berlin empty-handed had and nothing fell into their hands, came two hours later the already mentioned decree von Hindenburg with the other signature of Brüning and the Home Secretary to Wirth Publication. It can be assumed that the Social Democratic police chief in Prussia and Berlin together with the Brüning government still trying incriminating to find material and bring in against us in the call. That did not succeed them. The fact that the call came out two hours after the raid, only confirmed our guess. These latest facts are complete and residue-free confirmation for the opinion of our party, a fully valid proof of how necessary it was time the crowds to signal the fascist character of the Brüning government, the masses set out that it is these bourgeois government itself that having regard to the Social Democracy and the murder gangs of fascism, using their social fascist agents in the Prussian government and the police headquarters, the fascist dictatorship tries to perform in Germany. There is probably no doubt the fact that this is fascist forms of class rule of the bourgeoisie acts that have already adopted a rather stark and distinct character. Of greatest importance is the hand-in-hand work between the individual terror the fascists and organized political response by the state apparatus. shows here very clearly the interaction between the Government of the implementation of fascist dictatorship and their legal fascist methods on the one hand and the Functions external to the government fascist mass party, the Nazis, on the other hand. The most glaring case in recent times were the Hamburg events. Imagine once before: The fascists organize planned and systematically the treacherous Assassination of a deputy of the Communist Party, Comrade Henning. An immense Outrage prevails over the working class and the middle class. Even the bourgeois press must highlight indignation over the fascist murderers. And what carried out by the institutions of the capitalist state? It is the Communist
Newspaper banned, it will all protest meetings of communists not allowed, yes even closed meetings of the members of the party to be disturbed and many staff meetings would deal struck in Hamburg. In the establishments from the murdered mate Henning emerged, where he had worked before long, the joint meeting of the police was beaten apart. And finally at the funeral of comrade Henning, the victim of the fascist assassins on the retreat of the great demonstration of the cemetery for Barmbecker Train hit, the police the demonstration several times apart and were several volleys into the retreating from mass, where a worker shot dead and three or four wounded were. So not against the murderers and their party, but against the party and against the 

Followers of the murdered were reprisals exercised, the whole fury of the targeted State apparatus and its armed forces.
The arrest of the murder bandits in the case of Hamburg, and that they even the process wants to do, may not deceive us, as if the current state of violence and justice seriously was willing to punish the murderers. Throughout the justice is on their side. The Nazis, with their terrorist activity, with her murder against fascism Working class, but act directly on behalf of the ruling finance capital, as a direct Allies and auxiliary Garden of Brüning government.

Comrades, in our analysis of the situation in our perspective of development when we notice the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in Germany, we need to be clear that this role and activities of the fascists from Position of the bourgeoisie not restricted from in the future, but against the revolutionary class front is exacerbated.

During maturation of the Civil War, the fascist mass party, as the armed Counterrevolution, as a mass movement, in Germany their function for the bourgeoisie not weaken, but rather strengthen significantly. We can produce various take countries where the development of fascism, not those peculiar forms as accepted in Germany, but where fascism before it came to power, to the sharpest terrorist actions against the revolutionary front against the Communist parties attacked. Take the question of the danger of war. The fascists are in addition to the Social Democracy, the driving force of the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. We may there not be guided by some diplomatic maneuvers that z. B. Mussolini carried out lately, but must clearly recognize the class even Development of fascism in the various capitalist countries, such as the question the armed intervention and the preparations for war against the USSR, of the Fascists sometimes asked more sharply than even social democracy possible is.

We think of the years 1918-1920 in Germany. In the Civil War battles was then Although the Social Democrats, the political force that the armed counterrevolutionary Terror led Noske used against the revolutionary proletariat, but the Socialist party organizations featured not the armed counterrevolutionary Garden. For this purpose, rather the so-called Free Corps were from the created circles of officers and reactionary soldiers, the germ cells of today represent fascist movement, today's National Socialist Party.

And here we come to the problem of the relationship between fascism and Social fascism in the current development in Germany. This is problem
it, as Comrade Manuilsky emphasized properly, in the past are big mistakes and
Also in the future result in new. The main flaw is of course the right
Deviation when a principled class-antagonism between fascism
and social fascism constructed. Fascism and social fascism are in a
Class front and both work with in implementing the fascist dictatorship. But
dangerous is the other error, fascism and social fascism in a pot
throw, as happened with Comrade flag. We should not the difference
overlooked when we and a correct policy in the struggle against fascism
want to get social fascism.

The fascists in Germany, the Nazis still pose a great
Mass movement represents, whose entire activity today in armed terror against the murder
Working class is expressed. This is currently almost the only function that the
Bourgeoisie assigns Nazism. This fact has also in the camp of
cause Nazis differences, I speak in more detail later on
will.

Of course, the social democracy makes the attempt, the National Socialist competition
opportunity to build on the areas of armed terror to prove to the bourgeoisie,
that they too can achieve what the Nazis do in Germany. The leader
the social-fascist combat organization, the Reichsbanner, social fascist Hörsing,
just in recent times in the ranks of these armed organizations called Schufo,
an expression of "protective formations". Of course, these Schufo - under the guise
"Protection Formations" - special squad selected for the SPD for armed actions in the
Type of Nazi storm troopers. It is clear that in spite of some
to be antifascist phrases the purpose of this Schufo, formations for
to create civil war against the revolutionary proletariat and against the Communists. We
had similar examples in Poland, as the PPS created such armed guards, who do not
used against the Pilsudski-fascists but against the revolutionary workers as
it has proven most blatantly on May 1, 1928th
So I think, comrades, this development in Germany is taking place, although in other
Forms, as is the case in Poland, however, in the fact that such methods Hörsing
initiates, the first symptoms of this development are visible, it can also be seen
already between leadership and masses in the social democratic defense organizations
certain differences. I recall: as on 22 February in Germany the parade
the Schufo was carried out in the realm scale, we organized in Berlin
United front action to the same time the workers in Reichsbanner a way to
provide that for the common fight against the armed gangs murder
Nazis. The Nazis had announced that it of this march
would exceed Schufo. We called our hand the workers to march in
Lustgarten and mobilized despite the ban and police threats, the
revolutionary workers. We succeeded, the plans of the management of the Reichsbanner and
to thwart Social Democratic chief of police, the brawl and a
wanted to cause clashes between Communists and Reichsbanner. succeeded
us by our methods in a temporary anti-fascist mass struggle
initiate united front action on this day course, you can such a
political success and the defeat of Hörsing in this case do not generalize.
This is a particularly good example that you cannot just generalize.

On the other hand we have to see that we succeed the Social Democrats in Germany and has already succeeded in their trailer masses certain terrorist formations to provide for the civil war that will surely side by side with the Nazis once fighting on the other side of the barricades against us. But what is it in this example? I wanted to show with these facts that between the Civil War ideology of the supporters of the National Socialist Party and the Civil War ideology of the Social Democratic workers undoubtedly a difference consists. We must not lose sight of our work. Comrade Manuilsky pointed out that the success of the KPD in solving the central task of all Communist parties, the conquest of the majority of the proletariat, international gain meaning. He fought with law in the strongest a certain spontaneity that some Communists against the revolutionary upsurge apply a setting, for example, that one sometimes hears in workers and comrades, than whether the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge us roast pigeons fly, so to speak in the mouth, or you can also say roughly as if we completed the garnished Soviet republics would fall from the sky into your lap. Such trends and conceptions we have decided and fight sharply.

Our Chinese brother party in this field heroic and great experience can make, and our little Austrian sister party knows from practice similar and perhaps reverse experience. The revolutionary upsurge is up to a certain extent depends on our correct revolutionary mass politics. In the Central Committee we noted emphatically that the only answer to Lenin the question of the evolution of the revolutionary situation in Germany only are as follows may we said: we have certain objective possibilities for the emergence of a revolutionary situation? Naturally. We realized that the crisis capitalism brings extremely large internal difficulties. But there is no absolutely hopeless situation for capitalism, if we do not make it. This is the most important strategic problem of our whole policy. In other words, we must organize the revolutionary situation at hand the favorable objective conditions. in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, in the development and self-management the economic and political struggles, the organization and the management of proletarian counteroffensive is the key to the revolutionary situation. When the for applies the general major tasks of the revolutionary upsurge, it has not less justification for each branch of the revolutionary work and especially for the fight against social democracy and against, fascism.

What is the main difference between the policy of the Communist International, which was carried out 4-5 years ago and today? At that time our fight against social democracy especially - I stress "primarily" - in the agitation and propaganda. We tried the Social Democrats in the strongest terms to expose. With the growth of the Communist Parties and their Bolshevisation we were able to take a definitive step forward: from the agitation policy action policy. Of course, that does not mean that we then did not make any action, but the consideration of most chapters around the world gives the course fact of several major revolutionary struggles in the individual sections. But in the period from VI. World Congress and IV. RGI-Congress on before us concrete and
clearer than before the task to independently lead the fighting, particularly in the field
the political and economic struggles of the proletariat against capitalism to
simultaneously to beat in this struggle, Social Democracy.

This brings me to the crucial point of our tactics in Germany. We had
We are accustomed to the outside in our propaganda battle solely against
to lead the Social Democracy, as the main obstacle to the proletarian revolution and
therefore one of the strongest supporters of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement, where we
in our outer appearance - I stress this point in our external appearance -
sometimes capitalism and the bourgeoisie had almost forgotten. It should
have seemed that Communist parties have also forgotten the
to fight social democracy, which fact was noted on several occasions, because
Such views were present in some sections, whereby the fight against
was weakened social democracy and very often difficult.

Of course you can not beat capitalism without social democracy to
destroy, and our world-historic struggle against the Social Democracy is basically a
intensified struggle against the bourgeoisie, offensive art fight against the capitalists. The
we all know. This is a universal law, which are for us self-evident.
But know the vast masses of the still infatuated reformism workers in the
around the world and especially in Germany? Unfortunately not! No one will deny that
this "little thing" is that the Social Democratic workers classes such
Understanding can not have, otherwise they would not in stock its
class treacherous leaders. In this issue we have in Germany a very
strong and generous twist made. This was at a right
General line with their respective concrete reference to the specific circumstances of
Key to our policy successes especially in recent times. We Learnt,
that we the masses throughout our policies, by our guide, by all our
must prove and deeds by our agitation and propaganda that we only the
anti-capitalist party, the only anti-fascist force which the fighting
Bourgeoisie leads. Our struggle against the class enemy is inseparably connected to the
sharpest principled and methodical fight against social democracy. This is a
Part of the historical struggle in the history of the present and which remains a
Part of the historical struggle in the future. This question is not a question of
secondary importance. We had some in the Reichstag elections in our party
swaying comrades repeatedly in the political campaign we made allegations
and declared that the party fighting too much against fascism and too little against the
Social Democracy. We have not taken care of such moods, because these
Question was unjustified and incorrect. I will not say that we temporarily
had times where sometimes the emphasis of our struggle against both the
Fascism and against social democracy is variously shifted, depending on the
Ratios, depending on the guide was able to their own weaknesses
overcome. But, comrades, you can not beat the social fascism, or at least
is this struggle enormously difficult if one does not the Social Democratic workers
and their followers to fight under Communist Party leadership and offensive
systematically mobilized against fascism. This question is very sharp in Germany,
where the bourgeoisie has set itself the task of carrying out the fascist dictatorship. in the
Struggle against capitalism, fascism and social fascism, we must have a clear offensive front position relate wherein seen of course the international specific conditions of each country must be considered.

Let us take the question of fascism in Germany. We had very large weaknesses. A huge loss of speed in different sections in the development. For example, in the winter and spring of 1930, where the fascist wave began, was then our only slogan "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" that as long as had validity, how fascism had not yet developed into a mass movement.

But as with the progression of the crisis, with the collapse of the old bourgeois parties, the Fascism grew into a mass movement, was this slogan, the very rigid and was partially conducted abstract, no longer sufficient. The Polbüro took the question the antifascist mass struggle position and adopted a resolution, which today provides the basis of the fight against fascism. The resolution was that we must much more ideological and militant struggle against fascism together need to connect and perform. That was the key question that we not only defend itself, but must ideologically lead the fight against fascism simultaneously. The A prerequisite of the militant mass struggle against fascism, that also ideologically stronger take up the fight against fascism and performs. Thereby we got a certain turnaround. This problem arose in the Labor movement and in our party a huge turn. We were once very hard to get to the supporters of the National Socialist Party. A ultimate source of fascist boom formed the national demagogy of Hitler Party, the bitterness of the masses on the double slavery, the German Capitalists and foreign finance capital by means of the Treaty of Versailles and the Young Plan, exploited and thereby temporarily as Savior and as Champion of national liberation aufspielte. As it was with us on this issue?

In fact yes was our revolutionary politics in the struggle against the shameless Versailles Peace always in Germany, the only policy that only force that really against was imperialism and adjusted for national liberation. How ever twelve years long battle in the reparations in Germany very closely and with the deepest History of the Communist Party of Germany is linked. Take, for. example, the 1919. At the time, no one thought of the Nazis. The presented Spartakusbund already the imperialist reparations the slogan of proletarian revolution contrary. The whole tradition of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany, their struggle against Versailles, their attitude and the fight during Ruhr occupation 1923 all these facts give the German Communist Party the right to march at the head of the national liberation struggle. We have much to little exploited the historical fact that the Soviet government is the only government in the world is that took the sharpest position then and especially now against Versailles and occupies. But in our practice, in our agitation and propaganda, we could However, do not feel a lot of it. Sometimes it was almost as if we our proper national liberation politics of the masses ashamed something anyway Movies revolutionary opinion absolutely with the Leninist question to Versailles agreed. Thus it was that we in our struggle against Versailles and against the rapacious Young Plan suffered a loss of speed, so that we special in two
Meetings of the Central Committee had to make a turn in the party to this
to eliminate the loss of speed on the issue of the fight against the Young Plan.
That noticeable loss of speed in terms of the Young Plan gave the Nazis time
and only leeway to develop their Nazi demagoguery and also led
to the fact that some temporary ideological and defensive weaknesses were occurred.
And when we released our freedom program during the general election campaign,
we have spread to many million copies in Germany since realized our
Party only the importance of this fact of like a bomb among millions
Toilers worked. This program of national and social liberation of the German
the set not only for the moment of the preparation of parliamentary elections the people,
was, still forms the axis of our entire policy. In the struggle against the
Fascism we came through the Freedom program, as I said, ideologically completely in the
Offensive. By contrast, there were some weaknesses in recent months on the issue of
fortified fight of Fascism. Of the unaufhörliche murder terror of the
Nazis brought temporarily in certain places in Germany some
Attrition and intimidate the revolutionary workers concluded. We had great
Weaknesses in the field of the defensive struggle against fascism, z. B. strongly
in Berlin, where occurred several Nazi murders without the workers
to a sufficient extent and with sufficient determination necessary with the
Military action against the fascists responded. The last plenary session of the Central Committee has in this
Relationship created groundbreaking twist. An important question in the struggle with the
Nazis, as well as in the recovery of the Social Democratic workers for
antifascist mass battlefront, is the issue of resolute defense,
offensive valor of the proletariat in the struggle against terrorist murder of fascists.
Another very important issue in the struggle against Nazism, as well as at
the extraction of the Social Democratic workers for antifascist battlefront is the
Reeling our socialist and anti-imperialist peace policy. This is all the
necessary today, when the Brüning government and German foreign policy is always a
exhibit stronger imperialist aggression begins. The completion of the customs union
between Germany and Austria is in the same line. The announcement of travel
Curtius to England signaled further these external activities. It is of
utmost importance, our struggle against the imperialist threat of the Soviet Union.
This clear curl our policy as the party of peace has closely with our
leading role in the struggle for national liberation from the yoke of imperialist
be connected predatory contracts. The January Plenum of our Central Committee adopted a
Resolution, which states on this issue:

"We have the rampant Kriegsrüstungs- and adventurous policy of German fascism, his
murderous incitement to war of intervention against the Soviet Union, as well as for the
War of revenge, expose before the masses and contrast clear the banner of internationalism
our party unroll. Among all workers, it is the ideology of solidarity with the
Polish and French workers actively propagate. Against the chauvinist agitation
the fascists we offer slogans of the struggle against world imperialism, our
Requirement that no nation should be suppressed. We are the only party of peace, the only
Party without all basic questions of German and international politics without a war of conquest,
can solve enslavement and threats of foreign nations. "
This clear demarcation and hostility towards the Fascist revanche agitation is undoubtedly a necessary and successful continuation and extension of our Freedom program.

I come now to the last point in the question of the anti-fascist struggle, to Problem of implementation of the fascist dictatorship. When in December of the previous Year in the actions of the Brüning government the methods of fascism on cold Paths had crossed a certain degree of development, we completed a decisive strategic turn by the masses the fascist character of the Brüning regime began to explain with all severity. We had to do more so because the Social Democratic leaders the Social Democratic workers and the Supporters of social democracy even then the fraudulent way Brüning government tried to present as a "lesser evil" in development. We as Communists were obliged on the issue of development to Fascism show fascist role of Brüning-rule with the utmost determination to show, which way this government wants to march. There were initially some not entirely appropriate formulations, an imperfect analysis of the situation. Nevertheless was the fact that we responded to certain new phenomena without any hesitation, and put at all the problems in those working classes that are not yet in our Party were organized, sparked new lively discussions, - already had this fact meaningful and proved the necessity of our policy. We have through our rapid Intervention, as we do on our January Plenum of the Central Committee of our analysis accurate and concretized some weaknesses eliminated that with some problems, where we had to react quickly, were available which achieves: In the Vast masses of the German proletariat far beyond the scope of the party and its Trailers addition such an initiative and such a will to fight against the trigger fascism that we characterized both in the fight against the Nazis as against social fascism now have most success achievement. If we had time hesitated, we would have for some time on the question of sharpness of this problem in that situation calmly, we would have failed, the Brüning government as the Government implementing the fascist dictatorship and the fascist nature to mark its policy with sufficient clarity and focus, then perhaps would created similar mistakes as his time in Italy, Poland, Lithuania and recently in Finland were present. I want to prove only an example. The immensely solemn fact of the faulty position of the party, or at least the vast majority of Party in Poland Pilsudski coup, where the question of the development of fascism with an offensive phrase in the land had occurred. We know all the facts in Italy and particularly in Finland. We had to ensure that we not from fascism blank surprise. Our party, as the only anti-fascist power in the masses, as the only anti-fascist party, had the development of class forces of reaction not only in the methods of rule of government, but in all forms in this show situation immediately. Our timely intervention enabled us such Mass mobilization that we, without overestimating our strength today and without forces to underestimate the class enemy, but of partial successes in the fight against can already speak implementation of fascist dictatorship.
I have already pointed to the need, the Brüning government properly and sharply characterized as the government implementing the fascist dictatorship. There were also on this issue at individual comrades abdominal pain and fluctuations. Would we have given in to, so we had the Social Democrats and their agitation almost the open gates. The bourgeoisie tries by their bourgeois press too hypocritical deny that in Germany carries out a development towards fascism. What does the Social Democracy in Germany today, to in front of their supporters the policy a the Brüning government support for its reactionary outrages on the part of to justify the SPD? The Social Democratic leaders say that Brüning government was the "lesser evil", one must inflict upon her any help to prevent at their place kick a government of the Nazis, the Fascists. Social democracy had, because it can not in its policy, the reactionary outrages of policy to support Brüning government, by all means and fraudulent maneuvers to Working masses represent the character of the Brüning government different from what he actually is. The Brüning government as the "lesser evil" compared to a "real" Fascist government of Hitler and Hugenberg, that is the alpha and omega of the Social Democratic Demagogy. Depending we more the character of the fascist policy of Brüning government identify and dissect the more convincing we prove to the masses that this Bourgeois government itself a carrier of fascist forms of rule in Germany is engaged itself to carry out the fascist dictatorship, and to only refute does not need to be replaced by Hitler and Hugenberg, the more thoroughly and we smashed the Social Democratic agitation, the more successful we can just SPD policy -Hilfeleistung for fascism, as participation and support in the implementation of the fascist dictatorship unmask and combat. Just when you will smash the Socialist dizziness, as if there was a fundamental Difference between democracy and fascism were just then such clear and precise denunciation of the character of the Brüning government as we have made an essential political necessity.

The II. International falsely, bourgeois democracy from fascism having to defend everywhere, and that is also the hypocritical policy of the SPD. I said already (for the English and French comrades is of great importance), that currently under the so-called rule of bourgeois democracy, under whose mask nor the French Government and the Macdonald government in England march to there are already showing germs of fascism. Estimations for a fascist development in Publication occur. Some comrades of our party had over the characterization the Brüning government, as it was adopted definitively on our Central Committee plenum, Concerns because they assumed that from an implementation of fascism is only then able to speak when the revolutionary movement is suppressed, into illegality forced the legal organizations of the proletariat would be smashed.

Comrades, the totally contradicts the whole historical experience -. For example, the facts in Italy. In Italy there was still "a long time after the march on Rome Mussolini a legal Communist Party, which could occur in Parliament. We have similar facts in other fascist countries, which could also use as proof. With therefore law says the program of the Communist International at a location above this point as follows: "The main task of fascism is the destruction of revolutionary vanguard of the working class, ie, the Communist layers of
Proletariat and its leading cadres. "So here is pronounced with all the clarity that smashing the revolutionary organizations not a precondition for starting a fascist rule representing that Fascism does not, on the basis Smashing the Communist Party and the workers' organizations at the helm must reach, but that it rather the "main task", so the aim of the represents fascist rule. Is not that in Germany as well? Stands in Germany not to the bourgeoisie, the main task and the goal of breaking the Communist revolutionary organizations? Here we notice in an instant creeping, but quick process of development. So we have in Germany currently a period where at strengthening and deepening of the communist movement the class terror against the workers' movement increasingly exacerbated where the Bourgeoisie against the proletariat and the Communist Party always sharper Methods of rule applies, the legality of the party but formally until further consist remains. One objection to our characterization of the Brüning government can however, this does not derive. This characterization and our entire alarming Mobilizing for mass struggle against the implementation of the fascist dictatorship with However, the aim of its fall and the people's revolution for a Soviet Germany was a absolute necessity and a prerequisite for the success of the Communist Party. At their current disputes with the fascists and social democracy I said at the very beginning of my report that we are now in the last few weeks Germany have such a development, that the Communist Party increasingly in a clear unambiguous attack position against both the fascists as compared to the Social Democracy passes, on the other hand, these parties are more or less serious internal conflicts are. I believe that if we understand at Increase our policies and substantial improvement in our mass work, this Disputes in the ranks of our enemies, the Nazis and the Social Democracy to accelerate, then the conflicts have to perform direct internal crisis in the camp of those parties. An improved mass politics, especially among employees and lower middle classes can be achieved by there may be a substantial intensification of the inner layer with the Nazis. Let now the issue of existing fermentation and rebellion within the Social Democracy, the possibility of developing into a crisis in the SPD, and the further Issue of developing a crisis in the National Socialist Party. A real Crisis at the Nazis would mean a much stormier development as even a crisis in the Social Democratic Party. The Nazis do not have on such a stable party apparatus as the Social Democracy, they lack the decades of organizational experience of social democracy. The whole Socialist apparatus is already recorded on internal conflicts in the Party, and when general political attacks associated with bolder mass politics of our Party initiated against both parties, are enforced and strengthened, so will undoubtedly this bureaucratic apparatus of the SPD even with a full development of the crisis in the SPD but his considerable obstacle to the full influence of the Social Democracy to break. The SPD is also from this maturing crisis first as a still emerge important factor of power for the bourgeoisie. However, it is conceivable that the upcoming, maturing crisis in the camp of fascism - or rather in the camp the Nazis - a completely devastating effect for the National Socialist Party can timely. This is supported by all the facts of the past and the present. After the 14 September, after the sensational success of the National Socialists, expected their Trailers coming from Germany Large of them. We dropped by the time Panic moods that the part in the working people, and certainly among the followers were Social Democratic Party present, undeterred. That even in our own
Rows some comrades, the great danger of this development of fascism not only signaled, but this risk even overestimated, most know comrades. We but presented soberly and seriously noted that September 14 in a sense Hitler's best day was, the not better, but worse are followed. Our characteristic we have given on the development of the party, has already occurred and confirmed been. Then there were a few options after September 14, in which the Nazis at various points gained even further. Therefore, it appeared in the first few months after September 14 as if our revolutionary optimism by the Facts of the development of the Nazis, would refuted by their successes. The Nazis already began to rejoice also towards us. Only the Braunschweiger elections (apart from minor elections as in the rural area of Hamburg, as in Gdansk and in some other towns in Germany) brought an certain reversal: A significant stagnation of the Nazis, although they just there operated under extremely favorable conditions. Today, the fascists nothing to smile about.

In their ranks already prevail violent clashes between the official Leadership, the ruling on an unconditional legal policy of rapprochement with the Bourgeoisie, the People's Party and the center, holds, and the putschist wing, who advocates a more radical note, and particularly by Captain Stennes in Berlin and is also partially represented by Goebbels. The backers of the Nazis have, as we know, 75 percent of the subsidies they Nazis to have given, set, so that there is already big money difficulties within these Party are. The leader Barney in the National Socialist party is in full swing. This Leader Barney is more or less a special effect of the increasing rebellion of Nazi supporters.

Another question: We used to go on the assumption that the large upward trend of Nazis to a certain extent on those anticapitalist workers supports that against him by supporters of the old bourgeois parties by their hostility the capitalist system and its mismanagement Nazism developed, the Hitler party have therefore given their vote. These masses, particularly Petty bourgeois, workers, students, farmers, and to a lesser extent are workers, emotionally anticapitalist adjusted and are against the Young system. They believed in this party by their slogan for the so-called "Third Reich" an improvement and a to achieve solution in the capitalist system. The radicalization that at the 14th September has shown in the Reichstag elections, caused that such followers of bourgeois parties to the Nazis were. These were mainly the radicalized Elements of the bourgeois parties. Your radicalization because of the crisis is still not so far that they immediately step into the revolutionary class bearing could do the proletariat to communism. Although it is generally known that in each intensified class situation, the so-called third force, the petty bourgeoisie, between Proletariat and bourgeoisie always played a floating roller and always with the power went. We only need the development in Germany from the years 1918 to 1931 to check. While the Social Democrats in the government was, went most of the Middle class with the Social Democrats and their bourgeois coalition parties in the Government. When, however, in the process of developing regrouped the class forces Methods of rule were other (also in the state system), examined the petty bourgeoisie first recourse at any new party, in this case with the Nazi Party. The
Petty bourgeois fell for the demagogy of the Nazis, who, together with the Bourgeoisie against "Marxism" to rush as the cause of the development sought which has resulted in Germany for 12 years for such a decline. It is quite clear, that the treacherous policies of social democracy petty bourgeois masses from millions prevented, to develop directly into the camp of genuine Marxism, the Communist Party, because of Marxism in the non-Marxist and class treacherous policies of social democracy the eye has been discredited by millions of working people. Why were many Million working people are victims of unscrupulous, social and national demagogy of Fascism. These masses came with great enthusiasm and with huge expectations the Hitler party, they believed due to the demagogic agitation, with the Hitler party promised them the moon, that through the policies and the emergence of this party conditions in Germany are actually changed. The contradiction between the Promises the Hitler party and its current real activity, the opposition had between its policies in the agitation and its policies in reality, of course, exert a devastating effect in their own ranks.

If we take the development of the political activity of the fascist party since the 14th century. September. Your election promises, all their agitation phrases were already directly after 14 September thrown overboard. She knows only one desire: Minister in the government of the Republic of today's Young-Germany. In parliament she agrees against all communist proposals, their acceptance while in the line of their own Agitation promises, but contrary to the real policy of finance capital would lie. We applied for the setting of the Young-payments. The Nazis, these alleged "fighter" against the Young Plan, voted against our motion. Yes, one of its leaders in the Reichstag even dared in its central organ, the establish assertion that our application had an insane request. We applied for the Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. The Nazis do not dare, for this Request to vote. When the Communists proposed a millionaire's tax, which the National Socialist Workers' Party, seen by its cover escutcheon, necessarily would have to agree, it was this National Socialist "workers' party", with Ignominiously down agreed that application of the millionaire's tax.

These examples could be multiplied at will. It is understood that such a political prostitution of a party under her trailer masses without deepest, heaviest can remain effect. Although we know the inner life of this party is not complete. But according to the materials and letters that we know, especially after crossing Scheringer to our party and the events in Hamburg, the treacherous murder of our Comrades Henning, it looks in the SA departments, the military armed formations of this party, gruesome out. Comrades, but it just adds something else, which is the absence of any positive Note in the policies of the Nazis. They have not even reached that they Minister in the government of the Reich government got. It is them temporarily on 14th September succeeded in penetrating in Braunschweig and Thuringia, where their activity in the Government is however already threatened again. All your "good behavior", their whole lamb pious Occurrence from the standpoint of the capitalists, with simultaneous murder terror against the Communists has availed them nothing, not causes capitalism to on went her in increase in the national government. throughout your servant blessed maneuvers vis Hitler's various press statements, in England, France and
America, which represent a shameless pandering to the local imperialists - everything nothing availed to bring the desired government positions.

A large proportion of SMEs among: The second question, we have to ask who is Supporters of the National Socialist Party considers itself deceived in his hopes. It is understood any of us, that especially this turbulent, radicalized petty bourgeoisie of ask anything of that party. Because the National Socialist Party believed it a practice psychological effect on their followers, they tried as a last resort the Maneuvers with the excerpt from the Reichstag. Such an action, from the Reichstag go out, could only be meaningful if one party the going out of

Reichstag with a rousing prelude to a major foreign parliamentary Mass action connects. But what does the Nazi Party? For the Nazis, it was a miserable, desperate, theatrical retreat maneuver. Not even in their own Ranks and in their propaganda was after her cowardly departure from the Diet a Mobilization visible. We have said from the beginning rightly that this escape of Nazis from the diet, because their policy it in a complete impasse has brought a Sichdrücken was against the proposals, those of us in the line of Fight were asked to the Young-System and Young Germany. This means that they more afraid of having to expose in front of their own supporters to them on the 14th September have given the voice. It is therefore even today open secret that the Nazis soon Sang again without trace appear in the Reichstag will. Only the postponement until autumn saves them now political Embarrassment.

Based on this political discrediting resulted internal rebellion and Decomposition of the Nazi supporters who are already a Stagnation, has led to the beginning of the fascist wave leveled off region. If right now the fascists in the field of individual terror increased Activity unfold, so that means on the one hand, that it as their function extraparliamentary bodyguard and shock troops of finance capital against the revolutionary meet labor movement, on the other hand is also in this activity accelerated their difficult situation. By this murder terror sometimes were even in our ranks certain brought moods of depression. But then they gain accelerated activity even in their own ranks difficulties, the shots of the fascist assassins on Communists and revolutionary workers on Socialist followers, the are not currently outpost skirmishes of the attack border army, but the senseless and sometimes desperate Knallereien a retreating, in the retreat crowded army heap.

And the more important fact is that the case Scheringer, the transfer of this former Nazi Reichswehr officer for KPD, in the military Formations of SA departments has caused great confusion about what lies yes. On Man, they have celebrated for weeks and months, is now a serious political Statement on Communist Party converted. They are due to this particular Case carefully and think about the questions of communist policy of liberation and the hypocritical phrase of the so-called "Third Reich" according to employ more than date with our revolutionary policy and discuss these critical issues. It is clear that we made our successful fight against Nazism and to
Conquer his toiling trailer for the revolutionary class front with all must continue decisively, because that is the prerequisite for the crisis exacerbated in the fascist camp and fully deployed.

And now the Social Democrats. I have just now a few remarks about the Relationship between our antifascist mass struggle and proletarian United front policy towards the Social Democratic workers with the principled made tightening our successful fight against social fascism.

It is clear that our methodical work in the line of our great The main task of the conquest of the majority of the proletariat our main attack force on the Obtaining the Social Democratic workers are addressed. Of course, it would be a wrong question when we here the emphasis of our strategic mass work would weaken the conquest and exploitation of unorganized somehow. The Main reservoir in the proletarian masses form today, numerically seen undoubtedly the unorganized. But given the enormous ideological and organizing power that the Social Democratic Party, which are under their influence

Mass organizations and the reformist trade unions with their approximately 5 Millions unionized workers yet, we have to do everything, the antifascist mass front and 'particularly well through this work far more to expand. This is now even more critical than just in the camp of Social Democracy also an internal social process reflects. We need only to think of England. English imperialism which formerly the British working class nor of the out Colonies herausgeschundenen colonial profits could give concessions, is today by the deterioration of the situation in England and by the deepening of the economic Crisis not to the extent capable of. The arbeiteraristokratische base characterized in the Labour Party is narrowing. In Germany, this process takes place much faster. With us in the last wage struggle no longer the special Favor qualified workers from the unqualified and unskilled workers, as it was previously the case frequently.

The role of the Centre in Germany and the Christian trade unions under the Guide Stegerwald in labor disputes was already in this area. That the center had taken over the leading role of the bourgeoisie in the government, was not only a Question his positions of power within the financial capital, but was also a question sociological contexts. It is an old fact that most of the unqualified center workers particularly in the industrial areas of the West Workers are organized especially in the Christian unions. The last Arbitral awards, required by the Brüning government and the industrialists, showed this sharper wage robbery, especially the skilled workers. The arbeiteraristokratische Basis of reformism in the camp of social democracy narrows characterized course always more and more. If we our main thrust to the recovery of Social Democratic workers and their followers judge, it is because there great Quantities of workers are present, a certain, albeit unexplained Class consciousness and represent therefore a particularly important reservoir for represent revolutionary class front. Of course, that does not neglect the political work among the unorganized, especially not at the RGO work for the exploitation of all workers, organized and unorganized, the Christian and Nazi Workers of the deepest importance.
Imagine just the question, primitive and yet clear. What we have for large opportunities? Not only the deepening crisis of capitalism, not just the grandiose rise of socialism in the Soviet Union as the decisive ideological pillar, but the helpless policies associated with the theoretical crisis in the Social Democracy and in the II. International strengthens our presence and our authority. at the methodical strengthening our mass work in the Social Democracy and Tightening our principled struggle against the policies of the Social Democratic Party must be the decomposition process in the inner rows of the Social Democratic Party significantly worsen.

I think it is now easy and no more feat the theoretical bankruptcy of II. International and clarify the German Social Democracy. We only need to the facts to remember, what new "theories" social democracy during the last year had invented instead of Marxism and what's left of it. Take, for. as a fact. What was the social democratic "theory" of? In Germany was the basic idea of social democratic theory in recent years, theoretical orientation of Hilferding at the Kiel Congress of the SPD 1927. At that time declared Hilferding: "We are in a transition period, in a time of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. "He justified this known Thesis with the findings on the "organized capitalism". He formulated the Tasks of the working class throughout the transformation period with the sentence:

"Our generation has the task of, with the help of the state regulation of the capitalist to organize the economy and the capitalist organized and directed economy convert in headed by the socialist state economy. This means nothing else than that our Generation the problem of socialism is placed."

Comrades, this economic question, of course, forced the Social Democrats to also the tasks of the Party, and especially in the trade unions in this line to specification. It was said then that "organized capitalism" gradually eliminate the Anarchy of capitalism free enterprise. The proof of this came the United States of America with its economic prosperity. In the social question of this theory Hilferding argued that the situation of Working class is gradually improving even in the transition period, in Connection with the gigantic concentration of capital and the raising of Job performance. As a model for the working class around the world serve the good material Location of the American proletariat, but not the position of the Russian workers. The Marx's general law of capitalist accumulation, after which the "accumulation corresponds to the capital of the accumulation of misery ", is no longer valid and the History of capitalism long been disproved.

Capitalist rationalization must be supported by the working class, since they ultimately, the workers bring benefits. More than that, as the central task of Trade union organizations and the ADGB in the transformation period was the rapid and timely implementation of the rationalization provided. Wage theory of Marx was the theory of the usefulness of high wages for the capitalists, by the called Tarnowsche wage theory replaced in Germany. would Capitalists together with the workers an interest; to increase wages to the market for to expand their merchandise. The high wages are also a factor krisenmildernder. And
Comrades, the economic and the social policy issue had also a political underground. Therefore, the Social Democrats tried to place the Conception of Marx and Engels on the capitalist state as an "executor of the exploiting class for suppressing the exploited" (Engels) of the working class. Persuade that the democratic state apparatus should not be broken up, but be designed and conquered on the way the parliamentary system for the working class must, whereby the slogan: "Zoom to the state" was valid.

Hilferding said then on the Magdeburg party of social democracy in 1929 yet the following: "The parliamentary system is the only way, of the working class for the conquest of state power and the realization of socialism leads" (whereby the defended and supported coalition politics in general). "The working class has therefore the highest interest in the preservation of parliamentarism, including through temporary Victims, how big they may be. "That's just the other results of the theory as would be defended and represented by Hilferding in Kiel.

I need not much of it to say what of this theory remained. The theoretical principles of the SPD are protected by the current image of the world crisis, completely particularly the position of the US economy and the working class collapsed. A larger theoretical bankruptcy as by these facts could not see it. The results of capitalist rationalization in Germany are the working class sufficiently known: prosperity for millions was promised in Indeed Massennot and million unemployment! The pace of exploitation should be reduced, there has been increased! Instead of mitigating the crisis by capitalist Rationalization - intensification of the crisis! The Tarnowsche wage theory is forgotten in their theoretical organs they say not a word more, that the high wages Economic boost. By the profound crisis of parliamentarism today recognize large parts the workers in the ranks of the SPD that the coalition governments that the working class should bring benefits, in reality pace of fascism were and are. Even through all these facts, it is very easy for us to circle the SPD get hold workers. Comrades, the end of May in Leipzig the Party Social Democrats instead. In Kiel Hilferding presented the theory of "organized capitalism" on, in Leipzig will be the first item on the agenda of the theorists of ADGB, Tarnow, speak on the subject "The capitalist economic anarchy and the working class." So in Kiel still "Organized capitalism" and here already "Capitalist Economic anarchy". Within four years, the theoretical building of collapsed social democracy and smashed. This whole theory of crisis German Social Democracy, of course, reflects much sharper in the II. International resist. The whole theoretical crisis of the II. International, its ideological rot and their counterrevolutionary swamp express itself most clearly in its position towards the Soviet Union. Take, for. example, Mr. Kautsky. This old man, even by his own friends in the Social Democracy is no longer taken seriously, dared a few months ago a book publish "Bolshevism in the impasse". The book Kautsky is a single Document the anti-Bolshevik warmongering in the service of the imperialists. Kautsky is
shameless that even those sworn enemies of the proletariat and counterrevolutionaries, which are not a bit better than Kautsky as the Menschewistenführer Dan and Abramovich, are forced demagogic reasons to depart from Kautsky. This fact is only due to the convincing tremendous impact that the Development of grandiose socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the mood the Social Democratic workers circles has. I want to the amusement of the plenary some quote sentences from an article by Kautsky, with whom he on the criticism of these Mensheviks has given in the January issue of the "company" an answer. Kautsky writes:

"Is it possible that something else in place of hell, which is the current Soviet Russia, Worse comes? Can a fall of the dictatorship otherwise bring as a mitigation of hell, at least increased freedom of movement? For my imagination it is not possible, some More terrible than to devise the present state of Soviet Russia."

But, comrades, this idiotic follies are not the highlight. In the recent March issue of "society", which we are now brought from Germany, tried the Warbringer Kautsky in a preface to the English and French edition of his anti-Bolshevik book, its forms of struggle against the Soviet Union still demagogically to increase by two to three degrees. This preface is still childish than the whole book. He buttoned Namely here the Five-Year plan. It is more than grotesque as Kautsky airs now as a teacher "of Soviet power and impudence and audacity, our Russian friends and our Comrade Stalin good advice to enter as Year Plan better could have up to five. who in his opinion the Bolsheviks namely forget the second volume of "capital" (Laughter). That's why, because the Bolsheviks not taken in time with Kautsky consultation and his advice have obtained, and the five-year plan can not succeed. That he by the end of Soviet Union speaks and that his deep pessimistic concerns also expressed is a generally understandable. And he continues:

"Not with triumph and Schadenfreude I make this determination, but with deep sorrow ... It is not the first time that it fills me with regret to have to state that methods of Russian communism would achieve the opposite of what they promised. As like I would have believed it was possible! How gladly let convince me ... Although
has been very sensible person, but then, when he came to power, these, as Kautsky says, "dizzying twist of fate," he turned his head. The only thing I still want to quote, is a set of Mr. Kautsky, we all fully can support: "Well I said to myself: If Lenin is right, my whole is Life working in vain." (Laughter.) Comrades, we know that history has decided long ago that Lenin had not only right, but that his legacy of socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, is taking place with such giant strides that even the World bourgeoisie begins to tremble before this development. At the completion of the Five-Year Plan doubts today nobody, not even the world bourgeoisie and also no longer the social democracy. It is a fact that Kautsky his preface wrote himself the death sentence. (That's right.) I turn now to the question of the fermentation within the Social Democrats, who just in the recent weeks has made particular progress. The counterrevolutionary Versumpfung of the Socialist leader stands a growing radicalization of the Social Democratic working masses against. In Germany in this field several interesting facts recorded. Since the participation of Social Democratic workers and followers, even the officials at various Economic struggles in recent times, side by side with the Communists and, RGO against strike-breaking and the betrayal of their own leaders. The second fact is the rising tide and the will to fight the social democratic masses of workers to Fight against fascism murder. In smaller towns, it is nothing new that Departments of Social Democrats with our comrades and the members of the Kampfbund against the murder of fascists fight. In big cities, we have such Processes that departments of social democracy and smaller formations Reichsbanner participate together with us in demonstrations, and even actions fought together against Nazism with our comrades. That's the way we can the fact noted that our strategic political turn against fascism a great political revival and activity has brought to the vast masses, of the Social Democratic workers not remained untouched. A third fact is the first organizational forms of groupings in the Social Democratic Party, which is less the question of the former "left" Socialists stands. It formed rather in all parts of Germany Working groups against all the leading people in the SPD and the ADGB. I refer particularly on the processes in the SAJ, which are much more critical and deeper than the fermentation and Rebellion in the social democracy itself. In these operations we can by a deep speak crisis and landscape point of a liquidation of the SAJ in Germany. Interesting for the whole House is the fact that the proletarian youth much faster and rebellious against the counterrevolutionary leadership developed when there decades in the organized circles of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions is the case. I believe this, comrades, that the deep crisis in the SAJ also their effect on the elderly Social Democratic workers has that but if they have respect for the youth or not, are nevertheless forced to explain this way of thinking and actions of young people to have to. The operations in the Reichstag, where by the exodus of the Nazis Communist-Socialist majority in parliament was, gave us the opportunity through our various measures, the Social Democracy as a counter-revolutionary party,
today the development for the implementation of the fascist dictatorship unconditionally
support, show. We leave them there true colors, and further exposed and
publicly opposed. Just think of our applications in various serious issues, such as
For example, our requests for millionaire's tax, where previously the Social Democracy
propaganda throughout Germany took the opportunity to agitate against the Nazis, according to
has 14 September initially for now but voted against. We made the request
on setting the police grants for the fascist governments in Thuringia and
Braunschweig. And last or an application, 1 May as a public holiday in
proclaiming Reich scale and enforce. The Social Democrats voted here all
open to a decades-long tradition, the May 1st bank holiday
enforce. We asked many others, the working class and the working people
interest requests to the vote in Parliament. Their rejection by the
Social Democratic parliamentary group brought the greatest confusion in the ranks of
SPD.
The greatest confusion entered the ranks of the Social Democratic workers by
the position of the SPD to Panzerkreuzerbau. It is generally known that the pacific
Ideology in the circles of social democracy a sharp front position in question
the position for defense budget and approval of armored cruisers, etc. in the course of years
developed. The fact that such. As the Reichstag nine so-called "left" Social Democrats
the armored cruiser B for our request and against the great majority of
Social Democratic parliamentary group voted, has nevertheless symptomatic
Importance.
The conflict that has arisen between party leadership and the so-called
Discipline breakers in the Group, for the time being has no organizational consequences
yielded, because in any case the difficulties in the ranks of the Social Democratic
Members are too large, that the party leadership even before organizational measures in
shrink this moment. So decided the party committee, this matter up
to postpone the Leipzig party, which takes place in late May. The main danger from
Position of the proletarian revolution would now form a centrist
Organization to whom speculate Brandlerleute. This danger exists in Germany
not in this extent. Our mission is the sharpest and unmasking
most determined fight against all centrist tendencies in the SPD and in the
reformist trade unions, especially the "left" SPD leaders, as the
to expose dangerous enemies within the SPD and label. Even if there
should dare these nine and would manage them, your own faction in the Reichstag to
form, they will have great difficulty in a centrist organization on its feet
bring to. A centrist organization with mass support would in strengthening
Crisis and the class antagonisms in Germany now unthinkable. Even the small
Organisationchen and groups such as the Brandleristen and Urbahns- and Ruth Fischer
People they planned were between two parties of social democracy and the
crushes Communist Party and reamed. Today, when the class contradictions in the
general worsening of the class situation are much sharper, is for the formation of a
Comrades, we can already say today what the ideological process within the Social democracy concerns that most of the Social Democratic workers faith lost to the Socialist party leadership. When the faith their Party leaders have ideological lost, which means in no way that they are willing to join the Communist Party. A second important fact that we see need, is the fact that they see no way that the "left" take the helm, because in too many cases already their own supporters during the cheated development.

This setting also does not rule out that we, the maneuvers of the "left" social democracy and the leading officials of the "left" note further and sharpest on the must fight. That continues to be the "left" the most dangerous enemy within Social Democrats remain composed even for Germany. For us, the most important, that we have to try much more to the opposition Workers in the get hold social democracy. There is in them such an ideology that they still are always for the unity of their party, and when the question of division is, before cringe as against a ghost On the other hand their radicalization is often already so strong that they have internally already broken with the social-fascist politics.

And now I come to the main problem: namely the offensive position of the question of Marxism. It is known that the bourgeoisie in Germany in the struggle against Marxism an alleged "Marxist front" of Communists and Social Democrats constructed that do not exist in reality. The Social Democratic leaders are, of course, the sworn enemies of Marxism. If the bourgeoisie a Such "Marxist front" designed, so she wants the petty-bourgeois and even say Socialist supporters so that the development of the last twelve years on the debit account of "Marxism" is set. As I said, the Social Democratic Leaders are sworn enemies of Marxism. It is different with the Social Democratic Workers who do not have a Marxist consciousness, no Marxist clarity but emotionally available to Marxism. We must show them that our party the only Party of Marxism, Marxist Front in Germany is that of the banner Marxism in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and against the Social fascism rises and on the Marxist way the masses leads to socialism.

Our task is to strengthen this fight anywhere. We have great Progress has been made lately in this field. Conversions of entire local groups are carried out at individual points. Long-standing organized functionaries of the SPD occur over in the KPD. Our literature and our material is in the SPD-workers much implemented more and read. The are held in May Party of Social Democracy new opportunities for us, in the preparatory weeks our political campaign to strengthen. From 15 April to May 1 a large campaign against the policy of RGO ADGB associated with the reformist slogan of seven-hour day without Wage compensation. In addition, the campaign for May 1st. This fact gives us again the ability to check the other questions and concrete proposals in the to make campaign. All this accelerates the inner fermentation and strengthens Conditions of a revolutionary crisis, will help with the anti-fascist and revolutionary struggle, the strategic solution to the question of the conquest of the majority of Working class for carrying out revolutionary mass actions for the overthrow of Bourgeoisie.
Comrades, I come now to the question of the main transmission belt of our Mass work, the question of the RGO. We have in the last session of the Central Committee of the KPD the question so placed that the central task of the day of the party's organization and Politicization of the Revolutionary Trade Union opposition. The task which we are the RGO filters, preclude large resistances and barriers. We reformist Unions in Germany for about 60 years. It is clear that such not so easily eliminate traditions. The ADGB has today approximately 5 Million members in its ranks. Then there are the Christian trade unions and the staff associations. The work under these approximately 7 million is extremely important for us, because if they tolerate the actions of their counter-revolutionary leader continued, a dangerous dam in the work of RGO in the preparation and self-management form of wage struggles against the more offensive of capital. The issue of economic struggles, the strikes, the focus of our work. If one of this fact, so the Ruhrkampf meant in January a new image. Would you consider the Ruhrkampf abstract and superficially, one could perhaps naive to the and false conception come that he meant a defeat of the proletariat. But if one analyzes the objective and subjective factors properly, it must be ascertained that he and a bold step forward in the question of the revolutionary organization represents independently conduct economic struggles. What is new about the Ruhr fight? It is that we automatically triggered the fight and have brought out masses, although the reformist and Christian Union bureaucracy from the outset was by all means against the strike. Continue we see an aggressive tactic that is expressed that in this fight Law of action was not prescribed by the enemy, as in the vast majority previous fights, but that we do the entrepreneurs and the reformists prescribed. Here is a completely new relationship, a new fact that we already before Conduct of the negotiations between entrepreneurs and Reformists miners under Guide the RGO ushered in the fight. This was Überrumpelungsstrategie surprising for the opponent and the reformists. Have we achieved with this fight a success? Of course. As a result of the large Treason had to cancel the strike, the workers who sympathized with us, again bring in the farms. But that is not relevant for us. For us is crucial: What is the assessment of the working class to fight a, it was a moderate success for them and for the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition or not? It was a mighty Caution success! The RGO became popular through this fight. There were, of course, in this fight major weaknesses and errors: defects in the political Preparation, no adequate mobilization of the masses against the police terror, shortcomings in organizational preparations Independent Miners' Union, large Weaknesses in the opposition work in the reformist Association, insufficient organization the strike squad, defects in the formation of active strike leaders to lead the fight in the various shafts, almost no solidarity movements in the various other areas of Germany, etc. Despite these critical remarks on the weaknesses of the struggle, whether positive side should not be underestimated. This fight opened a new period in the Union movement of Germany, the higher the object of the decisions of the V. RGI-Congress against which the IV. RGI-Congress corresponds. Now to the question of parallel organizations I want today's plenary a statement of Comrade Stalin recall. Comrade Stalin said the Presidium of the ECCI on 19th
December 1928 in clear foresight of the perspective of the emergence of red Unions in America and Germany following:

"The fact that we have to work in the reformist trade unions, provided that these unions are actually mass organizations, still does not follow that we our mass work on the activities in the reformist trade unions limit that we slaves to the standards and demands of these organizations should be. If the reformist Guide with capitalism grows together (see the resolutions of the VI. AI Congress and IV. Congress of RGI) and the working class leads a struggle against capitalism, because you can assert that the struggle of the run by the Communist Party working class without a can take some blasting the existing reformist trade union framework? It it is clear that you can not claim such without falling into opportunism would completely conceivable, therefore, such a situation in which it may be necessary, in parallel to create mass organizations of the working class organizations against the wishes of at the Capitalists selling bigwigs. Such a situation we have in America. It is quite possible that the development is in that direction also in Germany."

Comrades, what Stalin said at the time, has occurred already in a very short time in Germany. Some comrades tried in our party, the former versions of Comrade Stalin knowingly discrediting. We had the Central Committee of the Communist Party at that time Disputes, the conciliators asked: How do you feel about Stalin's remarks? We gave then a Bolshevik response, and today's result of our work is also an answer.

The development of the RGO, our course on the formation of new organizations and especially our energetic course on the implementation of strikes is closely connected to the permanent systematic deepening of our work in the reformist trade unions. Here unpardonable weaknesses have occurred in the opposition work. In March were 34 Percent of all members of the reformist unions unemployed, 18.6 percent were Also in short-time working. Here we have the most requirements, even within the reformist trade unions despite the furious exclusion policies of the bureaucracy our oppositional and revolutionary work to be taken seriously and purposeful in attack. We have here the last six months a major loss of speed. The 5-million army may not stand alone by ourselves and our work to be abandoned there. To avoid that our red organizations are cult organizations that we in us insufficient anchor the farms organizationally, we are forced to this great eliminate weaknesses in our mass work quickly. In a recent meeting the Polbüros was the object of the tripling of the number of members of the RGO to 15th June asked. For this purpose a special storm plan was drafted by the RGO. There are some other minor issues that are neglected with us, because they do not to high politics are, because our comrades, often the leading comrades in the not understand districts in time that it is questions that the people living in Life of the masses play a significant role. I think of such questions as a Flood disaster as reactionary film prohibitions large mass arrests of Women because of the abortion law 218 or similar events that make up sometimes can develop real popular movements in Germany. Here are our Comrades sometimes to "fine" to deal with such non-obvious issues to thoroughly deal. This is a lack of mass instincts and also a form of Sectarianism in the party.

We are the party that has to enter at any moment of a popular ferment and exasperation, where we always all small issues with the great revolutionary questions in constant
must bring connection.
The crucial mistake in our party, in the inner party life, the right
Opportunism, especially of opportunism in practice. Here, first and

Line such phenomena in economic struggles and in the operating and
Union work that a capitulation before printing and the offensive
Entrepreneurship and the reformist bureaucracy, a pivoting to the line of
Gewerkschaftslegalismus or similar opportunistical fluctuations have resulted.
In addition, a role that right opportunism which in a receding
to bourgeois state power or against the murder fascism its
finds expression, which is not less, in a further intensification of the class situation of
Importance. We also have occasional symptoms of an ideological
Opportunism, unsure of the correct, victorious, revolutionary perspective
Comintern, a concession to bourgeois and social-fascist influences in
ideologically. All such manifestations of opportunism and sectarianism
must of course always relentlessly by our Bolshevik
Struggle on two fronts are liquidated. It is not this is a system of
Deviations, but only individual phenomena in the concrete situation
concrete occasions now here, now there occur. We can use the pleasant fact
noted that the consolidation of our Party has come advanced that each
condemned attempt by a group formation within the party from the outset to failure
would, as it has shown the example of Comrade flag. But I want something more
say the large and complete uniformity of our party as we in this degree
never have experienced before, is also a product of the revolutionary upsurge in
Germany and reflected inside the party those consolidation process of the class
Proletariat in the revolutionary camp resists, as he takes out. All groups
within the party in recent years against the general line objections
collected or storm ran, today have completely before the correct policy of the Party
must bow and make where we stand the individual comrades, their work on the
Party line. Also expresses doubt of the political advance of the party.
Now to the question of mass political strikes. On the Wedding Party, the German
Party the importance of this weapon in the current period of revolutionary struggle
for Germany already clearly outlined. The 10th plenary has all major
Communist parties made compulsory, a generous propaganda for
political mass strike to unfold. We have some, albeit insufficient political
had recorded mass strikes in Germany. If we, however, the storm of the year
consider first Russian Revolution of 1905, in which grandiose form the
various struggles, demonstrations, political strikes, mass strikes, etc., to
developed, and draw a comparison with the current development in Germany, as is
available just in this main area a huge shortage. Here we have bad
Experiences.
Now it is clear that a political mass strike is not simply a slogan of the party
may be prescribed. On the other hand, it would be disastrous if we purely only on a
wanted to leave spontaneous emergence of mass political strikes of great magnitude.
Finally, the theory, as it has sometimes been represented, inaccurate, whereafter
a political mass strike would only proceed from economic strikes. All sizes
political mass strikes in Germany in the past emerged from
diverse and most political events.
Our task must be after all, to take the measures necessary for the web
free up the formation and guidance of great political mass strikes. We have from the
Time the propaganda on this issue on the campaign of the mass strike come wherever the
concrete political situation requires.
Following a review of this issue, these are mainly the following
measures:

First, a comprehensive mass propaganda to all of the working class and the
working classes the understanding of the importance of this weapon of revolutionary
Class struggle to awaken.
Secondly, the creation of organizational conditions to at appropriate
political or other events the organizing role of the party for the release,
To truly fulfill broadening and leadership of the mass strike. For this purpose, before heard
particular the development of the revolutionary shop stewards system in large companies, through the
We the purposes of the single cell addition a sufficiently powerful organization in
get the factories in the hand.
Thirdly, when the leadership of the economic struggles that naturally the strike experience
always enrich the working class and thus a loosening of the soil for the
represent mass strike, each clear elaboration of a political nature.
Fourthly Generous popularization of all strikes, especially any political
Strike movement among the masses, to thereby set the mood for the political
strengthen mass strike.
Fifthly: The clear and vigilant political attitude of all Party organizations and
Party lines and the need, the means of mass political strikes for
to bring the application as soon as an appropriate lever for triggering of such strikes
results.
Comrades, these five points must by all parties, particularly of the German party,
more attention. They are among the conditions for bold application
this crucial weapon in the stage of the escalating class development.
Comrades on January Plenum of our Central Committee we rolled the issue of people's revolution in
Senses of Marx and Lenin in its whole extent. Before the German party is not
only the object of the conquest of the proletarian majority, a task whose solution we
come in Germany ever closer, but what we lack is the truly independent
Leadership of all struggles, it lacks those active people policy that the toiling millions to
the offensive of the bourgeoisie and their plans can assail the fascist orientation.
So we need to still do in our politics another giant step, namely,
the toiling strata, the semi-proletarian middle classes in town and country, to
introduce the working class, the proletarian hegemony over these layers
realize. We have already taken some steps in this direction. But
our work among the urban middle classes and especially our work on the
Unfortunately land lies still in its infancy. The question of the stronger alliance
between town and country is today is not of minor importance. Whole areas of
Villages in Germany are under the influence of fascism. Our agricultural policy,
our revolutionary politics among the peasant classes and the rural poor
requires new specific certain methods of work in this area. We've had lately with some peasant conferences in Germany for success. A long-standing, sectarian misconception has unfortunately weakened us in this field and thrown back. The negative side of that we did not want to work in the National Rural League, as unfortunately for quite some time with all of our professionals with a few exceptions was propagated, that was the biggest and crucial mistakes. Especially in these reactionary Organizations in which are also poor farmers, where we had to work, there we had go as we but also work in the reformist trade unions, where we for our policy to fight and wrestle. In which direction our agricultural policy must move?
The most important is in the country a complete specialization of our work. First, we have much more to align the course of the party over the village and take, because the Intensification of agrarian crisis in this area, our revolutionary politics decisive points will get, we must as a crucial base the winning farm workers and mobilize to fight. Here we develop a campaign for red Gutsräte and the strikes to improve wages and working conditions in the various fields. The storm plan RGO includes the creation of red Agricultural workers' organizations in East Prussia, Silesia, Brandenburg and Saxony. The second Point on which we must focus, are the millions of small peasants and Village poor. There farm workers of wage. There is semi-proletarians, the are dwarf owners who temporarily and seasonally for the industry and in the factory worked and in the evenings, Saturday afternoons and Sundays the family help to cultivate their land. We also have such dwarf owners that have land that advised by certain rents and royalties to landowners deeper into distress, and even some middle peasants, under the pressure of the agrarian crisis one third to one quarter all income and deliver even more are forced. There is also the small farmers with 1-2 ha of land and finally the settlers and crofters who in Germany hundreds of thousands are available, we also to this group of the proletariat can count related smallholder elements. The next group that we also need to capture with our propaganda, are the Means farmers who, depending on the soil conditions and the location about 2-20 ha of land feature. Today in the agrarian crisis is such stringent escalation, particularly in the relatively still strong individual peasant farms that we in Germany have to list that we have unprecedented opportunities when our party of bold, would more aggressive and mature approach to this question, the deeper into the vast masses the poor and middle peasants invade. And finally there are the artisans and small businesses in the village, we likewise can not afford to ignore. So it's about huge area of responsibility, which in itself Struggle for proletarian hegemony over all layers of the working people in front of us opens. The channels that the most varied of the party over the mass organizations and Forms of mass politics lead these strata of the people in all, are always more diverse, more complicated and varied. The more necessary it is that when This growth of the party and its work in various fields, a Growth in width, likewise never the clear central guidance of the Party, the
Strategic Guidelines lost for the work of the party in all fields goes. In order we pronounced on January Plenum of the CC, that the slogan of the people's revolution for main strategic solution for the whole policy of the party in the period ahead is, we have done nothing more than the conclusion of our political analysis the situation and development pulled ahead. In the vast masses ferments and seething. But these millions who are still the decisive step to communism not vote, see a solution only in the capitalist system. Therefore, it is also understandable that millions of people were able to walk to the National Socialist Party, because the Nazis conjured them and promised, for a so-called "Third Reich "to fight. What the "Third Reich" means, which is already much clearer; many of own followers of the Nazis were disappointed by the real policy of the Nazis and have already had enough. If millions of people who are not yet with us, are set against the capitalist system already, if the resistance of the masses - still dull, vague and blurry - day stormy day and always elemental against the capitalist system already breaks new ground - as is here for us the crucial question that we unfortunately do not have enough active and thoughtful able were these millions of toilers our revolutionary way out of the current bring capitalist crisis into consciousness. But the masses are gradually learning that it the capitalist system is the debt their distress and their misery.

We Communists must under these vast masses of the storm banner of Popular revolution against fascism, against capitalist profit system, to Young-Slavery and against the Social Fascist auxiliary police of completely in the service has provided fascism, unroll the land everywhere. The storm banner of the People's Revolution for a free socialist Soviet Germany! Comrades, so welcomes the German Delegation is particularly pleased that both the resolution as well as in the Department of Comrade Manuilsky at the present session of the plenary in brilliant fashion the great world-historic opposition of the rising world of socialism in the Soviet Union and the rotting decaying bankrupt world of capitalism is rolled. Especially for us in Germany is the example of the heroic socialist construction in the Soviet Union a wellspring of revolutionary forces for the communist movement. On the one hand we have in Germany with a really shameless warmongering of expected social democracy. Our German social-fascists are not only tested at Water and on land, in Panzerkreuzerbauen and the fact that the German proletarians in the chasing trenches during the imperialist war, but our German Social fascists are also tested in the production of poison gas against the USSR and against Communism; taking the time being its poison gas bombs first and foremost against the Soviet Union fabricate some extent ideologically, by the stinking lies their anti-Bolshevik propaganda. In this area can not even the Nazis outdo the Social Democrats in Germany. I refer to the agitation because of alleged Soviet slave labor. Comrades where there is a real Slave labor? If we direct this question to all the sections. And we answer that question in the country itself. In today's Young-Germany z. B. We can not just talk about Slave labor, but also of a real slave exports. The days of Foreign legions, where various States had to supply soldiers for the French Imperialism, they come in a different form and on the other in the present situation in
Germany again. The assertion that the by American and other imperialists
World is established, that the cases of wood and the production of some export products
is done by slave labor in the USSR, is the most infamous slander this
World bandits. In capitalist Germany, in Germany in the Bruning and Braun,
Groener and Severing, we contrast such facts of slave labor and the
Slaves Exports recorded. Not for nothing has until very recently a leader of
German chemical industry, Mr. Bosch, made the suggestion that Germany should nevertheless
"Export" its surplus labor: to France and especially after the
French colonies in Africa in order to enable there to industrial construction. Is this
about only one project? Is that just the profit lustful fantasy of a capitalist
Exploiter, who in this way in addition to the international shame of the French
Foreign Legion wants to create a new industrial Foreign Legion from German proletarians,
said French imperialism and the German capitalists divide the business
should? No, comrades, this slave exports, this white shame, this white disgrace
am Rhein already exists. In the Rhineland, the labor office in Kehl, there is the
Central market of the slave trade. There the unemployed are forced to work for
France to accept, where she led at the French rulers
Drainage works, are employed by the road, in the quarries and mines.
There are dozens of cases in which one has forced German unemployed, under the
egregious working conditions to France, to Holland and to Belgium
Go to adopt local deals, whether they wanted to or not. If it the there
contracts concluded not paused or if refused, the unemployed, to
to let send abroad, then that meant for them the death sentence: for they
were easy because refusal of work from the begging pennies of the
Dole out. Given these real slave shame

capitalism dared German social democracy, in the agitation of the world bourgeoisie
against the Soviet Union to match. Yes, as now a few days ago, the German
Industrialists in the Soviet Union lingered to here about orders for German industry
solicit and as millions of German workers in this Bittgang the German capitalists
rushed to Moscow saw a triumph of victorious socialist economy since
the SPD press again to Moscow, against the Soviet Union. In the Catfish Assembly
Berlin, where Dan and Abramovich from the SPD executive committee were invited to there
to support the poison gas bombs of social democracy against the USSR and strengthen
Wels said inter alia:

"Our socialist rapporteur and correspondents are not allowed into the
Soviet Union, but those people who threaten the German Communists the hottest battle,
as Borsig and Poensgen, an entry visa to the Soviet Union."

Comrades, we must understand the meaning of this shameless demagoguery. Wels tried to
there present Social Democratic workers a difference to show between the
Socialist rapporteurs on the one hand and the Borsig and Poensgen other hand
in the struggle against the Soviet Union, where he in counterrevolutionary attacks the sharpest
Weapon against the Soviet Union taught. But I can tell you that at all
Unemployment offices in Germany, where the jobless discussed, the mood a
was reversed. How did the unemployed at various stamping stations on the
Travel the industrialists to the Soviet Union? They declared: Soviet Russia are the German workers through its orders bread and work. This is one more proof of the Of socialism, of the steps forward, while capitalism in Germany increasingly in decline.
The millions of unemployed and countless workers in the factories explain today: Also we can alone socialism help from the crisis! - The most pathetic part of II. International and German Social Democracy came through the fact of the recently here conducted Menschewikiprozesses expressed. This process has a large immense moral and political action in Germany and around the world exercised. This process also has the deep class hatred of the II. International against Soviet Union pointed to the masses. I want to about the process, about the facts about the result, on the judgment, on the impact of this whole process is not in single talk. Only a fact I will illuminate. We ask the question and be they ask for next time, because our political campaign for the evaluation of Menschewikiprozesses is not dismissed with completion of the process, but in Connection with the offensive fighting the II. International and Social Democracy in Germany with other political events always ahead stands. We ask that those people who, for in Germany. B. as the poodle ago knuckling his master before Brüning and his policy in Germany before the Capitalism does not move his tongue for a moment, but unconditionally capitalism support, - that these people send their agent into the Soviet Union in order to prevent illicit try to disrupt the stormy building socialism counterrevolutionary work.
This issue is of paramount importance in Germany. This fact encourages us Next in our opinion that we claim and rightly say can, there is no sowjetfeindlichere party and organization as the German Social Democrats and the II. International. Only in connection with the implacable hatred of social democracy against the proletarian revolution are these counter-revolutionary actions in Menschewikiprozeß have been the clearest and most egregious exposed and found to understand. This is the German party in the sharpest struggle against the active supporters the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union at the same time before the question and the important task of the Social-Democratic workers in this field by new convincing methods and factual material to the front of the friends of the USSR in bringing. I want to ask one more question. Why the bourgeoisie is based in Germany currently so strong on the social democracy? I will start by the fact that it was fascism and the Nazis hard in the working class successfully penetrate. How can the bourgeoisie perform the fascist dictatorship without the support of the working masses? She undertakes today the downright daring, offensive attempt with the Social Democrats and their supporters their masses, both in Inside as on the periphery of the party, the fascist hineinzudringen Brüning-bearing. The is the strategic plan of the crucial parts of the German bourgeoisie. In this Strategic Plan of the bourgeoisie, which face each other two crucial factors, on the one hand the mass front of the counter-revolution and secondly the mass front Communism, the army of millions of proletarian revolution, we must do everything to the process of extraction of the millions who today unfortunately still in the camp of Counterrevolution are, in the struggle for a socialist Soviet Germany to accelerate.
Comrades

In connection with the industrial and Menschewikipedia in connection with the intensification of the threat of war against the USSR, in connection therefore, that the German bourgeoisie despite the industrial orders of the Soviet Union in its foreign policy is based more and more on the French imperialism, ie those policy, together with Poland the imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union initiates, we must emphasize sharply the anti-imperialist character of our Party and intensive contact only party politics of peace in appearance, compared to the hypocritical pacifist war ideology of the II. International and German Social Democracy. Comrades, as igniting the example of the Soviet Union in Germany acts, for only one characteristic example: in a reactionary newspaper, the "Hamburger News", which is totally opposed to the Soviet Union, appeared recently (in the fourth January), in an article under the heading: "In the shadow of Bolshevism" following remark:

"Bolshevism in Germany means the duration Bolshevism in Europe ... If even the experiment of Bolshevism, the Marxist state, executed in pure culture, then in Germany ... If in Moscow the political and in Berlin the working center of a Bolshevik state would then fulfill the five-year plan would be a breeze ... Then probably the world tremble to their foundations, and the would the German people for revenge Versailles."

Comrades, writes a German national reactionary journal, not about a Scheringer, the has come as a lieutenant to communism, but a national enemy reactionary politician, a class enemy of the Soviet Union and Bolshevism. He must write. The facts compel him. We see that today circles the world bourgeoisie and even circles of social democracy are sometimes forced to speak such a language, that they can not pass the ascending development in the Soviet Union. Here it is our task more than ever this world-historical contrast, the development in the Soviet Union and the decline of capitalism on the particular facts and analyze examples. On the question of internationalism we try in Germany already, the question of international solidarity of all workers and all oppressed peoples to the common revolutionary liberation struggle much sharper questions than before. I remember the constant cooperation of the German party with the Polish, especially in Upper Silesia, Danzig, etc. We asked many questions together in the land of Pilsudski and in the land of Hindenburg. I recall the various meetings with the representatives of our fraternal parties and the joint demonstrations at international Anti-War Day in different border areas in Germany. I also refer to such methods that we z. B. the interesting speech of Comrade Cachiri he recently in French Parliament held in hundreds of thousands of copies in Germany under the have spread masses in order for the international solidarity of the German and French people, embodied under the leadership of the Communist Party, more to bring expression. (Strong applause.) I attribute this fact to because if it is true that French imperialism in its preparation to a counterrevolutionary war against the Soviet Union meets (and it's true), we strongest the solidarity in the strongest revolutionary form between these toiling masses who in are the major decisive mill this struggle, have to make to fight
Comrades If we compare only what we see here in the USSR, with the image in
our home in the capitalist countries, expresses the cities of capitalist countries
the crisis and unemployment throughout their stamp on. The streets of the capitalist
West are fulfilled by the need, the hunger and desperation of millions
People who pushes capitalism into naked misery. The cities are in red east here
full of life. Who saw the development and the facts here years ago and today
unqualified successes of development in the Soviet Union sees with his own eyes, the
recognizes this vast difference. There is in this country no Müßiggängerei. Everything
reflects the work of socialist construction, the five-year plan and the pace of his
Implementation resist. Of course there are great sacrifices in this country. bring millions
these victims with the utmost confidence. But the crucial question is: for whom and for what?
They make sacrifices for the large enclosed public and make the sacrifices
joyfully for their own socialist fatherland. The proletarian masses in
capitalist country: for whom they should and can they make sacrifices, particularly the
Million unemployed, the alms and begging pennies and very much get anything? For
the exploiting capitalism, the counterrevolutionary Social Democratic leadership and
the murderous fascism? This question is also closely connected with the
Development of world-historical antithesis of these two systems. Here in the
Soviet Union doubling and quadrupling of production, a multiple improvement
of living of the masses, which in the coming years of development
growing social and cultural progress. These solutions of the Five-Year Plan
flame us from all banners, posters and attacks in the streets of
Soviet cities against.
All governments around the world have swelling of the unemployed army of
admit million in their own countries.
The government of the proletarian dictatorship declared before publicly contrast: In
us is unemployment liquidated, we still need 1.6 million workers!
Each capitalist government in the world is making a raid on wages
the workers.
The Soviet Government has: general wage increase of 6 percent this year.
The secret of this vast difference between the red and the East
capitalist West can be in a few words to express: Here reigns victorious
Working class. There govern the capitalists and their lackeys, the fascists and the
Socialists: East and West - two different worlds! The decision between
you can the working people, the hungry and needy million in the
capitalist countries have no difficulty. The path which the working class and the
Working people of the Soviet Union have gone under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, is a way
leading out of the misery of capitalist slavery to the luminous heights of
socialist. Future. The day is approaching when the German working class
Leadership of the Communists is the path of the Russian proletariat. If I
at the beginning of my paper said Germany the weakest link in the chain
the capitalist world system is, so we can also say revolutionary,
say that the German proletariat and its Communist Party, which he loyally
stands, one of the strongest links in the chain of development to the victory of the proletarian
World revolution. Our revolutionary tasks are clear. Our work is a
daunting. Higher deeds and actions in front of us. In this sense, our report is true, in this sense shall be our initiative. In this sense, our work is. Forward to new Siegen, to the great decisive battle!

*Communist International,*  
*Issue 16 u. 17/18/1931*
Flaming greetings to the workers and peasants, the Red Army and Red sailors, as well as the proletarian youth of the Soviet Union on behalf of the German, the revolutionary proletariat.

The 1st of May, the world day of struggle of the international working class, is in the Soviet Union in Signs of cracking going all out to victorious performance of the large Five-Year Plan in four years. Each new success, each more powerful achievement of socialist construction in the Soviet Union accelerated the advance of proletarian World revolution in other countries. Every new victory of the proletariat of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Leninist Party is another impetus for the struggle of the German Working class, under the banners of the Communist Party to be popular revolution gathers against the dictatorship of capital and at the same time defending the Soviet Union, the only socialist fatherland of all workers against any threat Intervention War organized.

*Long live the victorious socialism in the Soviet Union!*
*Long live the Leninist VKP (B)!*
*Long live the Chinese, Indian and Spanish revolution!*
*Long live the Communist International!*

April 30, 1931

Ernst Thalmann

The Red flag,
01/05/1931
Ernst Thalmann May campaign speech

*The leader of the Communist Party of Germany speaks to the hundreds of thousands Toilers of the red Berlin Lustgarten*

Comrades!
Today on May 1, we are here in red Berlin, in the city, where on September 14, the KPD the strongest party was, in the city of Maibarrikaden of 1929, hundreds of thousands in now historic Lustgarten gathered. In the white center of the City Government, between the former monarchist buildings, lights the bloody red flags of revolutionary proletariat and proclaim the oppressed humanity in Germany new world, the world of socialism.

*1929 and today*

Two years ago, the Berlin revolutionary workers had led the break through the Communist Party in the streets of Berlin, the shackles and their right defend, which they in nearly forty years of traditional struggle for the road itself in the Jagowschen time had conquered. The 33 dead May 1 1929 remind us of the Incest of police socialism. The former showed the Maibarrikadenkämpfe Berlin workers in their offensive defense against those of Zörgiebel commanded bloody police action.
Today demonstrate and we march allowed. But if we be forbidden today would, all proletarians know and the bourgeoisie knows that Berlin revolutionary proletariat knows this international day of struggle of the world proletariat no Scope of the ban, and no limits of police and civil obedience. We knuckle under and do not cower before the Hunger Action of the German bourgeoisie, but we demonstrate, we march, we forge and fight for the uniform revolutionary class front in all our deeds, for the People's Action for work, bread and Freedom.
Our first revolutionary memory go to our on the battlefield of freedom fallen and assassinated brothers work in the world. We send from this Place our deep and flaming greetings to all political prisoners in the Penitentiaries, prisons and fortresses because of their revolutionary struggle for freedom must languish and suffer behind these walls.

*Our greeting the land of socialism*

We welcome on the frontier posts across our Russian brothers and sisters in their heroic struggle and grandiose building socialism implementation of the Five-Year Plan in four years, partly take place in three years.
At the same time, where the red columns march here, marching in millions Moscow, in Leningrad, in all Russian cities to international solidarity, the solid steadfast struggle alliance of Russian workers and peasants with the revolutionary world proletariat to demonstrate under the banner of Lenin. In red Moscow, the center of Bolshevik rule, marching under the eyes of diplomats the capitalist countries the Red Army and the Red sailors. Lots demonstrate hundreds of thousands workers and workers from the factories of Moscow
armed over Red Square near the Kremlin wall, to show that they, together with the
Red Army and the Red sailors life and death are willing their socialist
Fatherland against all attacks of the imperialists and their lackeys to defend.

There in the land of socialism of the 1st and 2nd of May is a day of victory and a proletarian
Holiday, where all companies, all the authorities, everything rests in the country and stands still. Here in the land
the Young slavery must the working class, the staff and officials are struggling
for their right to this great world day of struggle.
In Moscow a red mobilization, a closed millions Muster, a path and a
big goal: anything and everything only for the implementation of socialism.

Two demonstrations - two worlds

Here in red Berlin, in the center of the capitalist Young Germany, see today three
Demonstrations and rallies held. If we disregard the rally
Hitler murder party in the Sports Palace, so here were two demonstrations in this place instead:
the black-red-demonstration of the SPD in the morning hours and our
revolutionary huge mass demonstration under the banners of glowing
Morgenrots. Two demonstrations, two paths, two programs and two worlds are
In these demonstrations fundamentally opposite.
Here the unshakable, vorwärtsmarschierende front of genuine Marxism, the
Mass front of the struggle for socialism - there the demonstration of the Party of
capitalist government, the government and police chief, the party of shameless
Fraud to the class interests of the workers and the deepest betrayal of socialism.
Mr Heilmann, this Social Democratic inspirer of the Prussian government, dares in
the Mainummer of "Free Word" of a "unentrinbarsten slavery in the USSR"
to speak. Everyone knows that the most free labor of the working man, the only conceivable
is there in the Soviet Union. Crueler than slave labor in the capitalist system, as
Today in Young Germany there may be nowhere.
Heilmann writes, "the policy of the Social Democracy is the defense of the free
May Day ". This shameless fellows played on as the defender May the 1st. Called
the freedom of May 1 when our fellow workers, the Red Front Fighters from
Saar here today were not allowed to march with the Berlin workers? Why did
did the local committee in Essen on l. May opposed the work alone? Why
was May 1 ie transferred to Hannover on May 3 on a Sunday this year?
the

Defiler of revolutionary May 1st

play with words than the defender May the 1st.
We remember at this point at the same time standing in the long struggle Chinese
Workers and peasants. We feel one with the Chinese brothers in their great
Liberation struggle against the imperialists, against the landowners and their
Vassals servants the Kuomintang and hope that it will succeed, the mercenaries Garden
of imperialism to beat devastating.
We think not least to our Spanish brothers, to the workers and toiling
Farmers in Spain, of the newly created Republic under the slogan
made popular revolution against the false guise of bourgeois democracy. The residual rule of Bank hyenas, factory owners and landowners is a heroic struggle led by the Communist Party, for the victory of socialism, who are struggling.

May 1st, this day of struggle of the international proletariat has, for Germany, special meaning. Germany, the weakest link in the chain of imperialist-capitalist world system is most sharply affected by the world raging economic crisis. The pace of economic crisis accelerates

Conditions of the emergence of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. About Germany, about the many millions of working people in the country also overload the Versailles system and the predatory provisions of the Young Plan. 4½ million unemployed, their hungry children and women, they are crying for bread and for work. Capitalism with its bankrupt system is incapable of them work and to give bread. We explain in this 1. May that millions in Germany and countless never find millions around the world again in the capitalist system work will.

The Hunger Action,

which at the various sectors of the front of the German bourgeoisie and their Auxiliary servants takes place, takes a tougher and deeper character. At 500000 Metals and miners to a new wage robbery are executed in June. is Everywhere try to enforce the 40-hour week without extra pay. That alone means a 17prozentige reduction of weekly earnings. The attack on the Social insurance and social policy through the "emergency regulations" in the coming months exacerbated performed. Taxes and duties are ever more increasing. The bread is in spite of the enormous Sinking of the wheat world market prices in the major cities in Germany even more expensive. The truncated after the first emergency decree officials'salaries by 6 percent to more 4 percent, the special allowances will be reduced by 2-3 percent. This pay cut applies first and foremost to the lower and middle officials. Millions of toiling peasants are the unbearable tax and interest expense in their threatened existence and hundreds of thousands forced to leave their own soil already. Of the urban middle class is by monopoly capitalism increasingly to the side of the Proletariat driven and pushed. This predatory attack and this excessive exploitation is connected to the robbery of political freedom and the suppression of the revolutionary proletariat and the faithful to him aside standing Communist Party. All our strikes against wage-robbery all our mass struggles against the tax and customs policy, all our struggles must part open out in the summary

People's Action for work, bread and freedom

against hunger action of all enemies of the people. The communists and with them the German revolutionary workers must recognize that we still plenty brave and courageous our
have initiated a counter-offensive. The German working class must not exceed the anvil
his reward robbers, but the hammer against wage theft and fascism must be.
On May 1, 1929, when a part of you on the barricades in Wedding and Neukölln
fought, we said to you, The hour has not yet struck. But we tell you
Today, the hour may soon propose, where we collect the storm banner and know
what we do.
The representative of ADGB said at noon today in the SPD demonstration here follows: "The
Entrepreneurs did not occur as if the working class is not so fragmented
would. It is quite clear that the Communists themselves as accomplices of reaction
show. "If the situation of German workers were not so serious, you needed this
to give words no particular attention. There is, however, the enemy within
in the camp of the German working class to recognize. As the German working class in 1914
had a party sent by the party in burgfriedenspolitik and
National community forced. When in 1918 this party was a very strong power factor yet,
told them the German revolution and beat the best part of the revolutionary proletariat
bloodily on the various fronts.
But the Bolshevik Party won with the masses in the Red October 1917 the
proletarian Soviet power. On a sixth of the world today flutter the flags of victory
the party of Lenin, which under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the Bolshevik general line
leads to triumph over the world imperialists and the last remnants of the class enemy. We,
the Communists are in Germany, the only anti-capitalist, anti-fascist, the
Freedom Party of Germany coming.

The front of the coming Soviet Germany

Among freedom slogans of Leninism marched our revolutionary class front.
It is the capitalist yoke and the international slave chains of the Young Plan
blow. She is the face of the coming Soviet Germany, where the victorious banner
Lenin will construct a new stage in the struggle for the world community.
Not only in Young Germany, everywhere communism grows. The bourgeoisie is
so, like all doomed by history classes traded. The
Communists know that the future definitely belongs to them, so we can also
produce greatest passion in mass revolutionary struggle everywhere and develop. All
Persecutions and oppressions against us are only temporarily us or not
weaknesses. Will not refute us, but also strengthen the mighty power of
Communism.
Our slogan: Against the imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union!
ie: implacable and unrelenting struggle against the bourgeoisie and its own
Auxiliary servants. We Communists are the only party of the real revolutionary politics
of peace and at the same time the revolutionary class struggle in Germany.
Our main strategic slogan of "people's revolution" is, in the perspective of
Seen history, be an action slogan, where we together and connected to the
Masses overthrow the rotten pillars of the capitalist system and a new world of
will build socialism. In this heavy fighting and wrestling is the glowing
Temperament, the deep revolutionary passion and fortified courage especially the
Young workers are loyal to the side stand. Besides them, the millions are toiling
Women in our freedom struggle play a large role.
The 1st of May 1931 must be more than one signal and a prelude. It is necessary to recharge Enable the approaching time when it says: Red soldiers, revolutionary workers, Women and young people in the common class front to push on the hour when not only of you the red flag is supported, but where the red flag on the Castles and buildings sported as our landmark and everything on the land Mines, factories, ships, land is, as your property, as property the whole of the working people can be considered. Closes the uniform, closed front struggle of all workers in Germany under Leadership of the Communist Party! Strengthens the inner activity in our own ranks! Displays as communists, that ye may be the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat! Blow with your working brothers and sisters work prior to the great historical struggle for a free, socialist Soviet Germany! In this sense agrees with me in the cry:

*The closed red united front of the proletariat, they Hurrah!*
*The Communist Party, the Communist International, they live high!*  
*The Russian workers and peasants with their Soviet power, the only country of socialism, they live high!*  
*The Indian, Chinese and Spanish revolution, they live high!*

For the German people's revolution forward for a free, socialist until the storm Soviet Germany, a triple, powerful RED FRONT!

*The Red flag,*  
*03/05/1931*
Kampfmai for Soviet Germany

May 1931 - hardly ever the proletariat celebrated its world day of struggle in such a Situation of intensification of class antagonisms, the disturbance of all foundations of capitalist world and of triumph for the revolutionary teachings of Marxism. The has capitalist profit economy and for the broadest masses of the working people Proletarians in all countries as the source of the crisis, decay, decline, as the source of Poverty and misery of the masses proved. And at the same time growing on a sixth of the world the mighty gigantic work of socialist construction. Every day, every week, every month brings new huge victories at the front of socialism. All hopes of the capitalist and imperialists, together with its social democratic Lakaienpack to a failure of the Five-Year Plan have proved illusory. Thanks to the heroic efforts of Workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership Comrade Stalin, buy factories, power plants, railways, palaces work, clubs, Hospitals, children's homes, schools and other places of proletarian culture and Welfare. On the wide plains of this largest country in the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, grow the huge grain mills, achievements the human mind, which no single capitalist country in the world, not the United States, not Canada, let Europe make something similar to the page can. The Soviet Union has entered into the period of socialism. This immense
Fact of world historical importance impresses itself to the masses in the capitalist countries increases and becomes more irrefutable and evocative one.

In the Soviet Union no unemployment. In capitalist Germany million and
But millions of unemployed, which hardly the morsel of bread to scantiest saturation have, where the ruling class wants to rob the last begging pennies to support, them completely surrender by starvation. In the Soviet Union build and reinforce Production. In all capitalist countries the most serious crisis that the capitalist world has ever experienced. There under the red flag of communism, the character of the ruling Workers' power: the seven-hour day, five-day week with rising real wages of Workers.

Here in capitalist Germany: on the one hand Überstundenschinderei, on the other closures of factories, closure of shops, mass redundancies,
Mass degradation of older employees who never have a chance in the operation return. The big key problem of the two paths occurs in handgreiflichster
Form the consciousness of the working people: downfall in capitalist anarchy or Advance to socialism by the victory of the proletarian revolution!
The 1st of May, which day of struggle of the German proletariat, in which the best revolutionary Traditions of the proletarian class struggle from the past years and decades embody, will be marked by this great question.

In the masses of the German people grows the will to fight for a different, new, decent order. Never before was the indignation in the broadest masses of the proletariat and working people the brutal and unpopular policy of the bourgeoisie, on the treacherous role of the Social Democracy and the demagogic deception of the people by the Nazis as strong as today. Thousands upon thousands of proletarians, small farmers, small businesses, Employees and officials, women and young proletarians who still of 14 September counted last year to the supporters of the Social Democrats or the Hitler party, have now long recognized that the only way out of the misery and bankruptcy can give capitalist profit system and the German Young slavery: the path of Communists! That there is only one party that its program of social and national liberation at the top of people's struggle for bread, freedom, power marches: the German Communist Party!

On May 1, two years ago, in 1929, there were barricades in red Wedding and red Neukölln, spontaneously built in defensive struggle of the proletarians against Berlin social fascist police terror that in the first signal for a historic turnaround the history of the German Revolution represented. The Berliner Maibarrikaden signaled the revolutionary upsurge, the now new, higher forms of has had the class struggle in all fields. Already evident in Germany, Tendency of a revolutionary crisis, which further maturation through the mass struggle of Proletariat accelerated and can be increased.

On 1 May 1929, the 33 victims of Zörgiebelterrors in Berlin, May 1st followed in Last year, the upper class did not dare again, the workers the right to to deny the road. Too powerful had the heart of Germany, in red Berlin, enforced under the leadership of the Communist Party of the revolutionary mass struggle for the road. Today, as we commemorate 1 May 1931 is the growing revolutionary struggle front of Working class also bloodthirsty, cruel and brutal than ever before counterrevolutionary front of the capital invested. The regime is preparing the Brüning government
the fascist dictatorship in Germany before. Outside the government, but not on less life and death associated with capitalism, try the Nazi murder columns by their terrorist acts, by their cowardly, treacherous assassinations and raids to confuse the working class and to be tenderized do. In the Reichstag, in the reformist trade unions, in all economic struggles proves on the other hand, the Social Democratic leadership as the closest Ally of the fascist policies of the German bourgeoisie. be communists murdered by cowardly Nazi hands - Socialist chief of police ban on the Communist newspapers. Communists are murdered - try the Social Democracy in the service of finance capital in response to the revolutionary assemblies Workers to suppress their demonstrations and their whole agitation. But neither fascist dictatorship measures, even Nazi murder terror can stop inevitable breakthrough of communism among the masses in Germany. The KPD and the Communist Youth League gather the youth of the German Proletariat under their flags. Even the National Socialist Front begins to crumble, already call honest against the Young Plan set and anticapitalist tuned former supporters of the National Socialist movement the banner of the Communists. Already there in the ranks of the Social Democrats, and even more in the ranks of the SAJ the sharpest indignation, a fermentation that must degenerate into crisis soon. Both Councils elections, in all parliamentary elections recently the offensive revealed Communist Party, which today already new million, on their election victory by the 14th September expiration date, has collected under their banners. So May 1, 1931 is a day of struggle of the German proletariat against fascism, against Young slavery, against the capitalist profit system. Social Democratic, Christian, nonparty and communist workers have in recent weeks more than once Shoulder to shoulder against the fascist hordes stood together. The strategic Task of the German Communists' conquest of the majority of the German proletariat! " always goes to meet more of its fulfillment, and so in Germany, the conditions ripe to fulfill the great historic task of the proletariat: the overthrow of capitalism, Establishment of the rule of the working class across the path of a large, all the working people comprehensive people's revolution. Under the red banner of revolutionary Marxism, in closest international fraternization with the proletarians of all countries, especially with the socialist fatherland of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union, it is true of the German Proletariat in the coming battles to forge the red united front and to the bankrupt ruling class that historically to make good what was once Liebknecht and spending Rosa Luxembourg as slogan: "thumb in the eye, knee on the chest!"

From Maizeitung "Kampfmair against fascism"
Forward under the banner of the Comintern

*Speech at the meeting of the Central Committee of the KPD on May 14, 1931*
The importance of the XI. ECCI plenum

The decisions of the XI. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are of great political importance for the Comintern sections. At the Tenth Plenary the Comintern announced the start of the Great Depression. in the April 1931, on the XI. Plenum, we did not need more than the beginning of the speaking world economic crisis, but could be stated the fact that all capitalist countries are affected by the crisis, that in all capitalist countries but at the same time the revolutionary upsurge is going on.

The importance of the last plenum of the ECCI lies in the fact that the at this session whole complex of issues: on one hand the intensification of the economic crisis of Capitalism on a world scale, on the other other hand, the colossal rise of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the revolutionary upsurge in all capitalist, were treated and released colonial and semicolonial countries. On the XL plenary were u, a, the following important questions!

1. The crisis of the capitalist system and the major international relationships in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, ie the historical fact - as Comrade Stalin at the last Congress of the CPSU said - that we of the Soviet Union in the period Socialism have occurred;
2. the new phenomena and problems in the current stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China;
3. the development of fascism and the counter-offensive of the proletariat Related to the rising crisis of fascism on a world scale;
4. the change in the question of the struggle against imperialist Threat of war, which is caused by the change in the situation as it. Since VI World Congress of the Comintern up. occurred to XL Plenum of the ECCI.

When we. The question of the danger of war on the VI World Congress presented, known was a Development of relative stabilization of capitalism stated. When we on this question the XI. Plenary presented, we had the deepest crisis of the capitalist system be stated course this also means a very different question to the threat of war, because in connection with the intensification of the war danger natural necessity also further aggravation of internal contradictions occurred. Under pressure from the rising global economic crisis in all capitalist countries and the consequent resulting tightening of war risk occurs at the same time tightening up the national question in different capitalist countries. In Germany, by the Young plan in Czechoslovakia through the various nationalities in France by the question ofAlsace-Lorraine, and in the Balkans by the rupture of different nationalities in the state formations that emerged after the World War.

It follows that today the question of the war a significant tightening of brings inner contradictions with itself.

Facts have beaten opportunism and sectarianism

For this question, we can simultaneously best absolutely negative and false recognize opinion that Bukharin on the VI. World Congress against the oversized Majority of Russian and German delegation took. He tried then to
responsible view that only after a new war be the revolution victorious will, but without the aggravation of the internal contradictions in the capitalist countries recognize. Today Spain is an example that his theory was wrong. we had in Spain a stronger Communist Party, with one of syndicalist deviations free party leadership, which from the time of the military dictatorship in Spain completely the teachings would have drawn then the revolution in increasing pace could continue victorious. I think already this is an important example in the context of today's events for that Bukharin theory is wrong. It's all for the theoretical knowledge and our revolutionary ideology of the utmost importance that we do not such pessimistic give rise to perceptions, as if one had to wait for the imperialist war, then carry out the revolution. Through the immense intensification in the World War in October 1917 in Russia the Revolution was victorious. But we have in the current situation, in which Intensification of class position and the growth of the revolutionary motive forces of our Ranks the ideology, as if this development would be the only possible one, by all means clear off. Have we now, although we have beaten the right opportunists and sectarians, not yet these divergent and misconceptions in our own warehouse? We see not often such moods and currents that believe that proletarian revolution is only born of the objective conditions? The most important criterion for a party is the question of how it is able Offence the bourgeoisie's own active counter-offensive of the proletariat in the fight to face. We have in the German party undoubtedly not only within the party Progress, not only great organizational progress, not only in general-political Progress, we are not only next to the Russian party the best international party, also in the matter of rolling up difficult issues, but we also have weaknesses. And the main weakness is that it not succeed, with our forces in the proletariat trigger successful struggles and mass actions. One of the main causes of these Fact is doubtless in such political deviations and false Views as they were in me.

Not the objective - but the subjective factors are the most important.

This is the core issue. When one says z. B., you can no economy struggles to perform, because by the offensive of capitalism, the pressure on the workers is so strong because of Workers are threatened daily with unemployment, so that is a wrong question. Let it not the revolutionary factors? We must not only look at the factors the low of the bourgeoisie to the side stand. We also have important factors in favor the proletariat. If the millions of unemployment not a revolutionary factor? Did not we almost seen everywhere that the unemployed despite abject poverty solidarity battling with Operating workers exercised and not went to scabbing, which is often the pre-war was the case? Have we not the other fact that the intensification of the crisis elements the pace of revolutionary upsurge is accelerating? And yet no successful battles? We must seriously examine why that is, and the party must the fighting spirit and the action of the masses at a higher level to develop bring. A few words about the main issues. In the XI Plenum stood. Suppose the question the crisis of the capitalist system and the question of the current development in the Soviet Union. These questions were already on the VI. World Congress. Were it not Ewert and others who refused to recognize that the stabilization lazy and wavering
has become? Today, I think they need to take to the head, because the facts they have beaten. A reflection of "organized capitalism" as of Hilferding was invented in 1927, there was in certain shades and 1928 on the VI. World Congress. What was this fact? It showed that the views Hilferding penetrated were in the Communist International that the question in the same sense was placed at Bukharin, he did not voice that time almost, anyway, according to the sense of the strength of capitalism? And not people like Ewert repeated it among others in Germany? Represented not Lowstone in America the same false opportunistic Views? They all tried this alleged ,, strengthening "of capitalism in its Analysis theory to defend.

Deviations in the Chinese question

I now turn to the questions of the Chinese revolution. What was the basic conception all opportunistic and "left" groups? The basic conception of all these Groups was similar to the theory of Trotsky, who believed that in one country the building of socialism is impossible. On the question of the Chinese revolution set them all the question similarly: Without the victory of the international revolution is the victory the Chinese revolution impossible. Is not the deepest pessimism of both was represented the right as the left-wing groups? But that was their theoretical Foundation from which they tried to attack the correct line of the Comintern. It is understandable that in China even such false opportunist views a must trigger revolutionary counter mood. This article appeared in the mood Party in the Spontanitätstheorie. When the heroic Red Army in the Soviet areas China to 2 years penetrated victoriously throughout the last l, so such a mood the party absolutely possible and understandable. But through these misconceptions that a Leninist must fight, was beguiled our Chinese sister party to their entire Mass power almost exclusively to the area of the Soviets, the only in rural areas are to focus, and the large and important industrial areas, under the Imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek government languish to neglect.

Not the lighter, but the more difficult path we must go

It was a serious mistake to take the lighter and not the more difficult path. Also the German party often still looking for the easy way. However, the party has the heavier and not go the easy way. Suppose the great experiences of the Russian party Dating back to 1903, Lenin presented at the London Congress against all the leading people, as Plekhanov and Martov basically the issues of strategy, tactics and the Organization. Lenin and the remaining core of the Bolsheviks were at that time the furious fought and insulted. But where the former Mensheviks are they? They are all in the camp of counter-revolution, either, the case of social democracy or even at other forces of the bourgeoisie landed.

Take the question of the development of the Soviet Union. Lenin said z. B. before the war, which in conjunction with the grand development of the Soviet Union is of great is historical significance that the revolution first in the least developed countries will be victorious. He went out of Russia, he pointed to China and Asia, and he said especially from Spain as the countries where the first conditions of the victory of proletarian revolution are given. We check the development. What Lenin ago
halbagrarische countries in which revolutionary exaggerations and real revolutions show - proving how right Lenin.

Suppose another important question that the first stage of development Soviet Union played a decisive role in the theoretical discussions. It is the question whether it is possible in a single country before any other country the proletarian revolution is victorious, build socialism I also remember here the debate with Trotsky. Lenin asked this question already in 1914 in one of the Articles of the anthology "Against the Current". He described that the structure of the Socialism in one country is possible. Today no one speaks more about the false Trotskyist theories because the facts of the development of the climb to Socialism in the Soviet Union have convinced the unbelieving people. All the, which at that time appeared in this line, the Urbans, Trotsky KAPDisten, have thoroughly charged. The bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats did not believe that Millions of workers, together with the farmers, are able, such masse creative development in the land of socialism to bring about.

Let's take the second question, the question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China. This question was on the IX. Plenum in the treatment of the Chinese revolution and their duties rolled. There were comrades who took the view that, in the may constitute the bourgeois democratic revolution no Soviets. This was a so-called be "left", in reality it was but turned upside down right opportunism. But what we would have today in the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, would the Comrade Stalin and other comrades not decided against these misconceptions fought? How choking such areas without Soviets, when Red Army comes into these areas. The Soviets are the basics of higher Mass struggle, growing out of the socialist revolution.

The problems of the Chinese Revolution

What does it mean when we in China the deepest revolutionary crisis; have generally and so while speaking in some areas with right of a revolutionary situation, where the Tasks of preparing and organizing the armed uprising are, our Chinese brother party - like that is often occurred - while the major strategic Importance of cities and other major hubs unrecognized? This means a significant loss of speed in our mass work of at least one to two years.

What is peculiar in the development of the Chinese revolution? In the first stage the revolution began in the industrial areas. The uprising in Canton, the fighting in Shanghai are known. In the second stage, in which we are now, making them the largest Progress in the least developed areas of China, where new Soviet territories arise. At the front of the industrial zone, z. B. in Shanghai, Canton, Beijing, where we are today very weak and murderous imperialism, together with the national bourgeoisie, the Landlords and the Kuomintang party who can either consolidated their positions. I believe that we can learn much from these examples of the Chinese revolution, which also for the German party is extremely important. If sometimes the
Chinese comrades was given as the reason for their great mistake that the party because of the unprecedented white terror was not able to continue working in the most important to strengthen industrial areas and cities significantly, so this question is similar to when experiencing moods in our party, that because of the pressure and the offensive the entrepreneurs and the police terror not strike and intensified because of Implementation of fascist course the Brüning government the unemployed not in Actions could be performed. This is a similar, although not as far-reaching Question as in China, where the white terror of course quite different forms of

accepts oppression and muzzling against the Communists. I believe that we made can all these international problems learning very much and need.

Learn from the Chinese Revolution

In Presidium of the ECCI was informed that z. B. in Shanghai in recent months of 104 soap factories were 96 closed, but unemployed job making our party there not. The party cares too little about the millions of unemployed, it leaves the Unemployed himself. Similarly, it is looking to the women's work. In China, according to statistics in industry from all over the world the highest percentage of women employed. Is not it clear show that our party work just in this large section of the working class had to concentrate? But our best Chinese comrades had in the Bureau itself find that almost no ground work is done in this department.

I want to continue suggesting even that the union political work, the work in the red is bad associations, and particularly in the yellow unions almost completely is negated. I ask all these questions because this neglect and this negation the amount of labor in the industrial areas and in the cities, among the unemployed, under the masses of women, for the further development of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in China is of utmost importance. From the rapid Correcting these errors, by our Chinese brother party in all these areas depends on the pace of the fight for the Growing over the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist, proletarian Revolution much from. Therefore decided as Chair for our Chinese party a major strategic turn on these important areas of revolutionary politics and mass work. Only on rapid implementation of this phrase, the tempo loss compensated and achieves an acceleration in the revolutionary development of China will.

But yet another lesson we have from the recent history of China Pull Revolution. If we, the international significance of the Chinese and all consider colonial revolutions, we must say that even the Communist parties in the so-called imperialist mother countries, in England, America, France and Japan, a charge must be made. With better Mass work and bolder fight against their own imperialism would be the Bourgeoisie of these countries is not possible, to the extent, as is happening now, the imperialist forces to lead against the Chinese revolution. However, the German Party and the parties of the other countries, have major shortcomings in this area.

One must say that we do not have enough the importance of the Chinese Revolution
in accelerating the revolutionary upswing in connection with the crisis the capitalist system have recognized and consequently not enough to international revolutionary duty and solidarity towards the Chinese revolution fulfilled.

The importance of the colonial revolution

If we ask the question of the importance of colonial profits for the imperialists in the Mother countries, as Lenin earlier rolled frequently, so one must not another said that this question from us far too little attention. If these capitalist countries such B. England to cease million extra profits have they been flayed from the bones of the oppressed colonial peoples, it means the for the internal situation of England an immense intensification of the economic crisis, Reduction of the pension of arbeiteraristokratischen part of the population and therefore

Intensification of the class struggle in general. So if the Chinese workers and Farmers and against its indigenous and against their imperialist exploiters Oppressors fight and fight, so that also means a strengthening of the inner layer Britain and the other imperialist powers, in order to preserve their extra profile Interests of their capitalist rule against the Chinese workers and peasants marching and trying to quell it. Therefore, all parties to colonial revolutions, particularly the revolution in China, the major events in Indochina and India, pay much greater attention.

The crisis of fascism on a world scale

I believe that we are fully entitled to a crisis of fascism on a world scale to speak. There is a whole series of facts which we in the development be seen more clearly. Take, for example, Spain. In Spain was the military-terrorist, fascist Dictatorship. The crisis of fascism in Spain took of the People's Movement against the Fascism. The population, including parts of the fascist organizations themselves, objected to the military, dictatorial terrorist system Suppose a second example: Poland, where the fascist system increasingly bankrupt makes and breaks up into itself. One can speak of a crisis of fascism in Austria The fact that the Home Guards by the Jesuit, skillful policy of Schober etc. disintegrated in itself, is also a sign of the crisis of fascism. And the last example, Italy. Italy will be the country where the crisis in the near future Fascism will appear in the strongest possible terms. Not only the fact that the Public debt of Italy is 22 billion marks, but also the internal state budget shows a deficit of 19.5 billion lire, are clear signs of Maturing this crisis. If we add the continuing wage reductions, the the Italian workers have to endure and the already over 40 amount per cent, to continue the new peasant revolts and unrest in southern Italy. Continue the attempts of Mussolini in foreign policy, in the question of the Anglo-French-Italian naval agreement to surrender, and the fact that now the Italian Bourgeoisie begging for loans from the finance capitalists all over the world. Considered
If the former großprahlerischen of the foreign policy of Mussolini, so also these new facts clear signs that undoubtedly in Italy the crisis of fascism will mature. The recent conflicts with the Vatican indicate also the Aggravation of the internal situation.

The kick of the German bourgeoisie for the SPD

We can even talk in Germany of the crisis of fascism. Fascism's not just a matter of National Socialist Party. Fascism is not only a question the government, the state system and the newer forms of domination of finance capital, Fascism is also a question of the people's movement, the mass movement, the parties parliamentary and extra-parliamentary domination methods of the bourgeoisie support.

When we talk in Germany of the crisis of fascism, so we must start of our strategic twist that we made after the expulsion of the Social Democracy the Government, the kick for the SPD, began. We were then comrades, as Merker, who did not believe that the bourgeoisie of social democracy given a kick Has. These comrades fell into the wake of the social democratic ideology, according to which the

Leaving the SPD from the government a parliamentary oversight or maneuver the SPD was.
And in reality? This was not a parliamentary oversight which was considered a political action of the German bourgeoisie. She threw the Socialists from the Government out because of the brutal conduct of hunger measures Bourgeoisie against the working class within the government no longer sufficient guarantee bot. But the out throw the Social Democrats from the government of course does not from that it still remains the most important social mainstay of the bourgeoisie.
Let us recall the conflicts on our Weddinger Congress. When we of spoke of fascism of the capitalist system of rule, then fought the Conciliators, the group Ewert-Eberlein, against this assessment on. Today they are even laugh at their stupidity.
Comrade flag moved later from the opposite point of view, a similar line, Merker did not understand that the party with the treadle theory fascist tightening signaled. That was a clear sign of the intensification of fascism. Because the bourgeoisie had to use other methods of rule, therefore flew the Social Democrats from the government.
The next stage of our strategic change was in December. At that time we rolled the Problem of the fascist dictatorship tried on and they fathom theoretically and to solve. The party has solved them, but without the right question even when removing litter the Social Democrats from the government, that would not have been possible to the extent.

The implementation of the fascist dictatorship

If we take the development in the last few months - adjournment of the Reichstag until November the new emergency regulations, the emergency law against the Communist
Party and the announcement of the so-called austerity program by Brüning that in the due out next days - we would then not intensified development to Fascization clearly shown what would have happened today? What we have today for a Position? Have we not after 14 September, when the Nazis with 6.4 million votes entered as a mass movement in appearance, this movement immediately right assessed? We must not let us worry of this mass movement. We make clear the perspective of the crisis of the NSDAP, because we know that to the 6.4 Million voters composition also includes a policy. But that is precisely the crucial question, that the 6.4 million votes of the bourgeoisie were not sufficient, but for them was the Important that the Nazis on behalf of the bourgeoisie rather in the working class must penetrate. This is the National Socialists in Germany to date by our antifascist mass politics have failed.

In a country like Germany, with such strong industrial proletariat, the bourgeoisie not perform the fascist dictatorship, without the working class in this whole Process with hineinzudrängen. If we do not our great strategic turn have performed, we would have difficult or impossible, the slump in to prevent Nazis in the working class, and we would have been just as some other parties in the past.

Suppose the Polish party. As 1926 Pilsudski putsch was, were in the top in the Polish party about completely misconceptions. The majority of Polish Party leaders at that time did not believe that the Pilsudski coup a sign of development meant to fascism. Man put consequently the question quite negative and in the Perspective completely wrong. The consequence of the failure of the party was a great Tempo loss against the development of fascist dictatorship.

Suppose the July uprising in Austria. That was the signal, the starting point of Turn in the life of the people and in the struggles of classes in Austria. Suppose the Operations on May 1, 1929 in Berlin. These events signaled already the pace of Fascization the entire ruling system.

And lastly Finland, where we had a very slow but purposeful development to Fascism. But our brother party did not know how to analyze this development, encapsulated away from the masses, organized no mass movement against this Measures and remained a sect as a party. She was then surprised by the development, was powerless to new phenomena and facts over and will only now new strength to seek enhanced way to the proletariat and the peasantry and vigorously pursue. The loss of speed, the Finnish party by this suffered incomprehension in the assessment of the situation and the development of class forces has, historically is not responsible, particularly over the issue of war risk against the Soviet Union, which will be particularly sharp in Finland as well as in Poland. The is the most important and the key question.

I therefore believe that our party has the historical merit, in time the process of to recognize fascism and that therefore the party had the opportunity to Fascist fight so that this by no means could take the pace as in some other capitalist countries. How should we now maneuver and fight, when we so clearly not in December, and particularly on the January plenary this question have shown? How should we today especially against the social democratic policies
the "lesser evil" to fight, we would not then shown that the Brüning
Government is the government of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship?

Bourgeois democracy and fascism are just two sides of the same thing

What's on this question most interesting? The II. International and German
Social Democrats try their workers treacherous politics of "lesser evil" before the
defend masses in that it fascism as bourgeois democracy
principle opposed face.
However, if we in the issue of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship, the fact
envisage that under the guise of bourgeois democracy, as under
fascist dictatorship of the class content of the dictatorship of finance capital remains unchanged,
then immediately shows the miserable swindle the current arguments of social democracy.
The dictatorship of finance capital remains both under bourgeois democracy,
as well as under the fascist rule form. A proper characterization of
Brüning government is therefore of utmost importance for our struggle, both against the
Fascism as against social democracy.
Suppose England and France. Here we can of the so-called countries
"Bourgeois democracy" talk. But in these countries the bourgeois
Democracy not even the germ of fascist rule form already here a long time
available? I think if you put the question internationally, is the reel and
Answer the question for Germany much clearer and more precise.
Suppose the resolution of the ECCI. at hand and take two important sections
out, will address the issue of fascism. It says here:

"The growth of fascism in the last time was only possible on the basis of the course
the post-war period by the international Social Democracy took place supporting the dictatorship
the bourgeoisie, irrespective of its forms. The Social Democrats, who by the constitution
an opposition between the "democratic" form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the
Fascism the vigilance of the masses in the struggle against the looming political reaction
and lull against fascism and the counter-revolutionary nature of bourgeois

Democracy veils as a form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is the most active factor and
Pacing the fascism of the capitalist states."

The next section, which is connected to this section and is connected with our
systematic work in Germany, with our front against fascism,
requires also a systematic application of the united front policy, more complicated than
one or two years. This section reads:

"The successful fight against fascism demands of the communist parties, the
Mobilizing the masses on the basis of the united front from below against all forms of
bourgeois dictatorship and the same against all reactionary measures for the railway the
free up open fascist dictatorship. It calls for a swift and decisive orientation of
Errors between in the main to the liberal Konstruierung an opposition fascism
and bourgeois democracy, and between the parliamentary forms of dictatorship
tantamount bourgeoisie and the open fascist forms, which is a reflection of the
represents social democratic influence in the Communist Parties."
Imagine in conjunction with this question another: What have we to lately Germany experienced? Is it true that also in social democratic circles and above
Disagreement exists, after which Prussia government is better than the Brüning government?
Absolute! If that is true, then we must particularly seriously make a determination that in the time of the steel helmet referendum our party has not done its duty fully.
Think about again: Why was a party like ours, which already on 14 September 4.6 Million followers had - now it will be even much more - when in the line our call for people action against the Prussians government Brüning dictatorship and Fascism clearly and aggressively fought, not prevent the referendum successfully was? A party like ours could prevent this success of right-wing parties.
But our party was not attentive and active enough! She was so uncomfortable active enough, because even with us some currents were seated crept, the misunderstanding the importance of Prussia government for the implementation of Brüning Policy in the kingdom.

We need to strengthen the subjective factor

Then to another question, which is closely linked with this problem. Each
Comrade to review the decisions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee and. But every comrade and every comrade should also answer the question of whether we, our party, this Decisions made and have popularized. We must roll up the important question, why was the party not enthusiastic enough, why did the party not the bold and courageous "Seized the initiative, which had to arise from these decisions? Was it about to errors in the general line? Not at all! Was it perhaps because the problems are not clarified were? Not at all! This was because we had neglected this brilliant general line, the correct predictions of the development and its class forces into the masses to known do. We are far too modest. This is also the inner life of the party. Because Our party was not firmly enough and fast in the beginning, that the Briining Government is the government implementing the fascist dictatorship, are also Such weaknesses emerged. In the same fairway moves the flow that Braun-Severing Government, the Brüning government oppose a "lesser evil". This further results in the fact of drawing back before the emergency decree in March was published, despite courageous and strenuous work of our Party in the struggle against the murderous fascism. We must always see the Great, the revolutionary Ideology strengthen the problem of the revolutionary way out, the struggle for roll socialism everywhere. We have our decisions in public much more defend.
Every day we have in our press to the decisions of the Central Committee in Connection with the daily and take the major policy position. Here we have yet great sins of omission. With the help of the whole party and especially with the help of creative self initiative of the masses, the daily increasingly to us encounter, we must overcome these weaknesses quickly. The objective situation is extremely favorable. But are the subjective factor large Omissions. These need to be tackled by all means it now.
Look at the CPSU. If the CPSU performs a meeting of its Central Committee, as long she lives by the decisions that were taken there. Decisions which a Central Committee after a thorough preparation, decisions explore the problems correct decisions, the right tasks make, decisions to where the leadership is working collectively for weeks, those decisions have the most brilliant his tool for the party in the struggle against all their class enemies. Think about once when another party such spiritual weapons, such intellectual Armour would like ours? Our party has already three days after the election result September 14, a very proper perspective on the development of Class forces and a clear political line indicated. Why did she always kept that concealed and not exploited? We predicted that the Nazis did not initially in the Government would come and that the Prussians Government in its composition to pass the elections remains. Ask our editors where they mention this fact and tried to affirm! Do you think if the center, the People's Party or the Social Democracy such a perspective and forward-looking and correct Decisions could, they would forego five minutes on it, popularize it? Not a minute! We are seriously constrained, the intellectual and political level of our party in the Membership and improve significantly our officials and to raise. I think if we start from our brilliant general line and our press better their fulfilled task, which is rapidly succeed. Our press has the lifeline for be oppressed masses must boldly and fearlessly, in strict compliance with their Contents the only revolutionary way, the onward path of socialism show. The language, which lead our editors is much too cumbersome and too little popular. All workers, all the people living reflects poorly in our Press resist. must our From our press to the mass of millions and to the reader political line are supported as by an electric current. So strong and vibrant the voltage must be our communist press on the part of the whole Working class and all working people be layers. Our Party, with its general line, such a mass revolutionary force and such class consciousness has its Mass work, with the same energy to continue their policy and tactics as a few weeks before September 14th.

The party estimates the class forces correctly

Especially important and significant is the correct assessment of the development of Class forces by the party. The party has also signaled it properly. This is today, at the haste of the forms in class development a difficult and complicated Delivery. It will be us also not always possible to judge them as properly as the lately happened everywhere. We have the authority of the leadership and the entire party strengthen much more than before. What does it strengthens a party and its leadership? By Facts. We have facts. The general line, resolutions, decisions, ZK-conferences, Achievements are facts.
Look here at the life of the CPSU. They defended with boldness, vibrant energy, with love and joy their decisions. If one of the intellectual and political level of our Party talks, to our members and cadres to increase, also starting well ask this question. There is also the intellectual level begins our members and officials to increase and also their training at a higher level. Today they are wrong yet often and show weaknesses, because they are not supported sufficiently in the districts and Massenorganisationen are among the questions to flesh out the general line in the various Daily tasks and daily politics. Here the leading functionaries have much learn and improve.

The various stages of development of the capitalist system

When we think of the clarification of the development forces of fascism and out counter-offensive of the proletariat, then we come to the question of more specific name of the location, the terminology of the different stages in the Development.

We used such terms as "economic crisis", "political crisis" "Revolutionary crisis" and "revolutionary situation". Why was this issue on the XI. Plenum of the ECCI provided precise and rolled? Was it just a question of terminology? No! That was a question of exact theoretical analyzing the relevant Situation in each country. If we. The period X. plenary until XI take and Check the policy of the parties of almost all capitalist countries, we see that in all Parties not only the term "economic crisis" was in use, but all parties used for marking the location of the term "political crisis". We just want to the question point out that Lenin before the war and later by a crisis in Land at all, "the of the lower classes, who no longer want to live that way, and by upper layers that can no longer live in the old way ", said. He speaks in the revolutionary situation of a "national crisis", but the term "political crisis" was not at all or used by Lenin in the rarest cases. If the last two years was asked the name "political crisis" in the Comintern, so we have in the deliberations on the XI. convinced plenary fact that the term and labeling "political crisis" is totally unnecessary. If we ask the question "economic crisis". does not produce the economic crisis even as Product political shake? Naturally! And determine a limit when the Shake the capitalist system is so strong that one can say, "political Crisis ", which may lead to serious errors and mistakes. One could also say, it was very difficult, the question of the fascist dictatorship in a Time as it happened in December, roll up and clarify. That was absolutely necessary. If we see that in the economic crisis, the political germs and Tightening of the crisis already exist, this will be the question already different. Take the example of the development in Spain, as one of the most interesting recent Phenomena. Here grew out of the economic crisis a revolutionary crisis and the Revolution, which although struck wrong way so that therefore the limits "political crisis" "Revolutionary crisis", "revolutionary situation" already by the actual development obsolete, were therefore skipped certain "stages". Even this one example, that of general points of view in all parties the term "political crisis" was much too schematically.
In England, for example, we cannot yet speak of a political crisis. We can but speak of a deepening economic crisis. In France we can also not speak of a political crisis, we can only speak of a growing economic crisis. And when the French party because a Communist as Mayor has not been confirmed, it takes a special occasion to the speaking political crisis, so this is just an example of how the marking of a stage in developing incorrectly been applied. Here was necessarily a correction required. So I think if we check the resolution out that it in the Decisions XI. Plenum has managed to correct this problem and international Question to find a completely flawless formulation. In the formulation for Germany, the bridge is shown as from the economic crisis, the conditions, or stronger conditions for revolutionary crisis arise. It says the resolution at one point as follows:

"The economic crisis in Germany leads to an extraordinary intensification of Class struggles and growing political shocks, which increase the Conditions of a revolutionary crisis accelerated."

That is the correct analysis of the current situation in Germany.

What forms assumes the further development of the crisis in Germany?

Some remarks on the situation in Germany. If we consider the development since the meeting our Central Committee. Check in January, so we can say that they our former has confirmed formulations and our forecast. At that time we formulated in our Resolution "tendencies of the revolutionary crisis". Today it is said in the resolution on the Decisions of the Comintern that "the conditions of the revolutionary crisis in accelerated pace to grow". So, we see that a tightening of internal crisis is available.

If we observe the pace of economic development, we see no signs an improvement in economic activity. Not even signs of certain phenomena Arrest. We see rather in the most important industries, despite seasonally moderate recovery, another slow, creeping decline. But that's not even the most important Question. Much more important are other facts, such. as that all through the Depression also the situation in Germany significantly worsened. We had a year ago, the simple economic crisis, today we have the second stage of heightened economic crisis in Germany. We are facing a situation where all Resources are depleted, which were still present in the first phase of the crisis. The Welfare Fund of municipalities and cities are depleted. The public finances are shocked. The control options have long since reached its highest limit. Over Negotiated wages, which could break down, it no longer exists. Savings in the working population, are the urban middle class and the working peasants long gone. Agricultural tariffs have reached its uppermost limit.

If we take the fact of unemployment. We are no longer expected the number of 4 million unemployed come. We are in winter expected 6 to have 6.5 million unemployed. Even this is a fact that the bourgeoisie this Problem devote most attention, without being of this matter Vast masses to solve is capable.
The reparations and the German bourgeoisie

The Neuaufrollung the question of reparations, the question of loans from Abroad, the area of the difficulties and fluctuations for the German government in the foreign and domestic policies. If we ask the question: What opportunities does the German Bourgeoisie in this field? We spoke on the XI. Plenum of the crisis of the Versailles system, we see that the German bourgeoisie desperate attempt undertook, by the plan of the customs union with Austria the shackles of the Versailles system to loosen. I want to stress, the attempt because the countermeasures of Briand also in Geneva are counseling and the role of England at this question still fluctuating but to the detriment of Germany's. Undoubtedly, this question is a temporary Reeling new internal contradictions in the camp of the imperialist and Young-. Debtor powers mean. We can say today that all attempts of German bourgeoisie to develop an independent role in its foreign policy fail have to. Whether it is the repetition of such maneuvers as with the customs union acts, or the trip to England from Brüning and Curtius - it remains the fact that a genuine policy of defending the national interests of the German people is impossible for the German bourgeoisie. Such a policy can only be a revolutionary Party of the working class lead.

The bourgeoisie now chatters a lot of relief in the reparations, The hope a moratorium, defer payment. Of course it is not excluded that it will be any minimum concessions to the German bourgeoisie. The crowds will certainly have no benefit. I recall, comrades, that we already several times, last in on January Plenum of the CC, the possibility of a new inflation Germany, have a currency breakdown, envisaged. If the Difficulties of the German bourgeoisie more so increase as in recent months, perhaps we will soon be directly in front of a currency disaster.

And in this case would certainly imperialist countries for fear of proletarian revolution in Germany make any minimum concessions to the German bourgeoisie to help a respite.

But the fact remains: A solution of the reparations within the meaning of the German people and within the meaning of the international proletarian solidarity, a real national liberation, it can only through the social revolution, only by way of the Communist Party give. Even a respite for the German bourgeoisie would not the immense loads remove the toll plan from the shoulders of the German people, would not the situation facilitate Germany as a conquered country, and therefore the difficulties for eliminate German bourgeoisie no. On the contrary: The reparations will continue to be a source of aggravation of imperialist conflicts and decisive factor in the crisis remain.

Capitalist rationalization has failed

Suppose another question. In Germany we have 1.7 million outsor ted Unemployed, support of which 900,000 of the public welfare. But these may soon no longer receive assistance because cities and local authorities are no longer able. Even today, this question for small and large towns and cities for all a problem fully invincible Difficulties. When z. B. Berlin already is transitioning and pensions for 4000 in Berlin resident blind shortened by 3 Mark to 7.50 marks per month, shows the already
We need all these issues considered in conjunction with the reduction of tax revenue and the tax application possibilities. Until now, the main question was with every budget, whether in the Reich, in the countries, in cities or in the municipalities, the question of tax revenue. Now we are already in that stage of development, in which continued reduction of tax revenue shows. This means that the deficit will increase within 8 to 9 months old to a billion. Where should then further new sources of revenue to pay the state and local come obligations? Here hunger course: to conserve the rich and the Poorest of the poor to rob everything and impose new burdens. This development is already forcing the bourgeoisie to launch cries of alarm. Of the Jesuit Father Muckermann, one of the most furious Bolschewistenfresser, pushes in "Germania", the old town and the governing body, calls for help from. He is the problem completely desolate and desperate represents.

Likewise, the leading member of a private insurance, Dr. Schmidt from Allianz Group, the questions of the various bonds, which forced the country to which the Social Security, take the Miners insurance among others. He claims that in short time about 20 billion are lacking in reserves to pay the Obligations in social insurance in Germany.

For all these hard facts, the question of new Brüning's "austerity program" emerged. It will bring sensational surprises. We have seen that the agricultural and industrial overproduction on one - and restricting the Consumption power of the masses on the other side - the whole process of impoverishment of the has broad masses of working people accelerate even more.

How important is for the party? This means that we in the current situation, the one the stages of starvation policy of the bourgeoisie and all enemies of the people looks against the laboring masses, not just get by on our right and decisive solution, the organization of the people's revolution. We need this main strategic slogan propagate most strongly and current affairs with all our Solutions combine. But at the same time we must try to find a key, with we the ideological level of the Party to the knowledge of this difficult situation lift, a key counter attack and counter-offensive against the Hunger Action all enemies of the people leads.

Against the Hunger Action of the enemies of the people, the People's Action for work, bread, Soil and freedom

has the last meeting of the Politiburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee with this issue employed. We have asked the question whether there is not in the current situation in the Bourgeoisie - or, rather, all the enemies of the people, which the Social Democrats and the Nazis are affected - their hunger action performs, is correct, in carry summarizing slogan in mass, for even an action character the present stage carries. We have come to the slogan: Against Hunger Action all enemies of the people - the
People's Action for work, bread, land and freedom!
If we roll this question, we must examine, of which the main points of the Bourgeoisie strategically pushes forward against the working class and the working people. Suppose some examples from the past two to three years. In 1928 we saw a reduction of about tariff wages in all great strikes and struggles. In 1929 we saw the reduction in the piece rates that are associated with the reduction of wages be pushed further continued. Since 1930 the permanent degradation of the running Negotiated wages. Today, the collective rights of the workers will be trimmed and eliminated.

even calculated at an average wage cost reduction of 15 percent in the year, for the capitalists with an annual payroll of about 26 to 30 billion marks yet with a value increase of 3.9 billion and 4.5 billion Mark. In addition, when the A wage tax, labor costs and salary reduction for the employees and officials 6 Percent by weight, and this is increased in the next period of 4 to 8 percent more, as may say rightly that the wage level in Germany far lower than in all main competitor countries of imperialism. This new wave of wage and Content robbery in Germany must turn a new wave of the attack of the entrepreneur trigger on an international scale. Again and again has to Germany, as the weakest link in the capitalist System. With further exploitation and Repressive measures against the working class begin, which then in itself Repeat international scale. Here stands before the party, the big question that we must try our inner weakness that come to the deployment of the broadest mass Attack inhibits against these measures of international importance, and overcome to eliminate.

If a man like Brüning still wrote in the New Year Article 1931 of that with the talk disaster conclusion must be made to sound his words already quite different and warn of disaster. If we juxtapose both what Bruning has said and what the KPD said to the masses - who benefits in this Confrontation? Increases the authority Bruning, or the authority of the KPD, which the Million mass was telling the truth? Of course the authority of our Party. The Brining austerity program might look in detail as it will, always and in every Case, it is the ruin of the social existence of millions of families of the working People mean. We need to find the key to individual battles and individual actions led by the Communist Party against the austerity program ,, "perform. If We go to the triggering of such individual struggles that, in the People's Action for work, bread Ground and freedom open out, so in this case is the issue of performing the economic Strikes in all large enterprises and key industries crucial. But right now In this question we must again criticizing the work of the party and the policy and Mass work of the RGO, start.

Enhances the fight on the internal union front

Let us put ourselves the question: why wore in the last two years in Germany almost all Strikes only a short-term nature? The metal workers' strike in Berlin and West and finally the miners' strike in the Ruhr and Upper Silesia in January, where we Front could hold only 4-5 days. We need to seriously look into this, why these Fighting wore such a short-term nature.
This is not only a consequence of the pressure of the capitalist offensive and the threat of the existence of the workers, it is not only a consequence of millions of inactivity, the retardant can act on strikes. The question is much sharper. The reasons are our own major weaknesses. We have in our party an ideology - sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker - is also present in the masses.

As long as millions of people masses, workers, employees, civil servants in the reformist and Christian trade unions under the ideology of the reformist and Christian Bureaucracy are, and the policies of the reformists and thus their support for the employers' offensive and sometimes even tolerate their scabs matter as long as is the RGO not be possible or difficult, important successful strikes perform. Neglecting the opposition work on the internal union Front costs a lot to us. We have in this area unpardonable weakness, a large Tempo loss, temporarily even our guide too little attention.

This great weakness is a relic of the past. It rises today even the flag's ideology. When we in November 1929 during the preparation of Congress of RGO, aufrollten the question in the Central Committee, if it is not yet appropriate would be to shift the Congress something, there were some comrades, under the leadership of Comrade flag that as intently, the rejected and showed no understanding. One wanted here's another line. We did not want another line, but we wanted to avoid the line, which was laid down in the industry group meetings of the Congress partly.

What part of the construction of the RGO?

Let's think! If we develop and expand the RGO want what belongs primarily to that? As we previously turned us against the construction of the RGO and red trade unions, because the objective conditions for it were not yet ripe and there, tried the rest of us to urge comrades to. As then - both objective and subjective - the right time had come, but showed very great difficulty. We also have it today only only partially overcome.

If we were a year earlier and had gone over to the RGO, and the red established unions, the difficulties and obstacles would be much greater been. At that time allowed the bourgeoisie of social democracy and the reformist Unions still certain maneuvers. sometimes you even gave them direct orders, to the process of radicalization of the workers catch trigger smaller strikes that they then had nipped in the bud later. Today the bourgeoisie allows them almost no Maneuver more, because each strike and it is the smallest, the difficulties and thus the increased danger for the existence of the bourgeoisie.

Even in 1928-29 were in various fields and at the various fronts such large maneuvers possible. Today, too, is gone.

The class treacherous role that today the Social Democratic leaders and the reformist trade union bureaucracy in the support and foundation of play Brüning policy in the realm scale as well as in Prussia, facilitated us build the RGO and the red organizations our mass work. Despite all this, we must still identify existing major difficulties in this area of our mass work. Is it still not a fact that our comrades to the entrepreneurs
Farms are thrown everywhere that our positions in the companies too are weak? Had we followed the Merkersche ideology that the lower officials and even workers of the Social Democrats are already small Zörgiebels how would we then consolidate at all our positions in the companies in Germany and expand? Would have such an attitude is not the perfect negation of our united front policy in the Farms means in important layers in this mass front? We can not only - although it is an important factor of the revolutionary Class struggle are - based on the mass of millions of unemployed. In the Conducting mass strikes in the factories, we grab the bourgeoisie at their important to foundations. The tenacious, tireless struggle on the basis of operation with the condition and the most important preparation for the use of higher Struggle forms the proletariat. There are the necessary positions to initiate and Implementation of the political mass strike. There we need the masses. Currently however, are still important parts of these measures, with in descending extent under Influence of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

To the seven-million front Organized

In the reformist trade unions, in the Christian trade unions and the Official organizations are still organized 7 million people. This is no small matter. see if we examine the statistics, which was transferred from the "forward" in March, so we that in ADGB. 34.4 percent of the membership are unemployed. One third of Members of these unions are therefore unemployed, also be about 18 percent affected by the short-time working. What we could for positions in this third unemployed and work with the other operating in the reformist trade unions have? Because we but are the only ones that both the interests of the unemployed, as the interests the factory workers argue and fight. Have we not still a large Tempo loss in our political work on the internal union mass front? Certainly the exclusion methods, the aggressive actions of the trade union bureaucracy are become sharper than was previously the case. But we did not also other factors that for us are low? Is due to the general radicalization process of workers and Workers not the indignation and exasperation of the masses in the Union front against the reformist leaders stronger than before? Are we not Motor and the motor, which must try to do everything to the decomposition in this Mass front in favor of the class struggle to accelerate? But we have at our Comrades and the best supporters of the RGO not often such phenomena that they too quickly and without resistance to capitulate, to get into the red organizations? If you have reached the port of red federation, then sometimes their work is to Strengthening and expansion of the red and the Association of RGO can often very cumbersome and much to be desired.

I believe that we must ask these questions in our party very sharp and that we are forced to find new tactical methods as we reformist in and Christian trade unions occur and can work. We have other, much
Mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Bruning could never Social Democracy as a social use mainstay, if it does not this foundation million in the working class would have.

Here we have to note that social democracy has stronger foundations than the Nazis. These foundations are mainly the reformist unions, the ever so strong that even the German People's Party is willing, together with the Centre the Social Democracy zoom pull even more for their policies in the realm scale.

 Strikes are important factors for the worsening of the crisis

We are what in at the recent Central Committee plenum in January the center of our Discussions stood, note more: The fact that we by strengthening the subjective Factor, by organizing and implementing economic struggles the crisis can exacerbate and need. This fact we need more in the consciousness of Party and the proletariat bring in, as the date was unfortunately the case. There are many Workers who, influenced by the social-fascist leader, a certain fatalism have, and believe that to go through the employers' offensive today must that there is no way to inhibit the pace of entrepreneurs attack, and the no longer believe in the possibility of successful resistance and successful struggle against this hunger offensive of capitalism. A notice in the bourgeois press, which appeared after the Ruhr strike after strike in Upper Silesia,
pointed out that another part of the German capitalists, during this strike 400 has shifted to 500 million marks abroad. Thus we see how these strikes but were still performed relatively in a small frame, immediately unrest in certain capitalist layers triggered and thus the difficulty of the whole capitalist system intensified. If we for this idea consciousness our Members and the working masses bring when they grasp that we in hand have, by any strike by any mass action, by every little battle the aggravating crisis and the collapse of the capitalist system and therefore the Way to speed up socialism, then the workers are also much more energetic and more passionate than ever to the organization and implementation of economic struggles and the political mass strike approach.

A other Question, the we investigate have to, is of the reduction of the Worker protection regulations. This reduction is largely complete secrecy, without Collective agreements and without fighting, right. I recall that in the tariff for Wood Industry in Berlin the last protection provisions under which women and children dangerous cutting machines may not work, have been deleted. This means So capitalism by the most primitive protection provisions for women and children drops, goes to the methods of early capitalism to the commonest methods exploitation.

From West and in Berlin and Saxony Metallgewerbe rolls the second Wage robbery wave zoom, and our task is not only in the Lower Rhine, the mobilize Ruhr, Berlin and Saxony, but to mobilize the whole mining and the whole metal industry. In Berlin we face in mobilizing the Metalworkers battle in Saxony, the tariff for the metal industry expires, just a short time on the wage bargaining in Leipzig. This shows that we all now need to raise the alarm. We must mobilize so that every worker understands the second wave of Lohraubes is also against him, and he must therefore mitkämpfen immediately, no matter in which industry he is employed.

There stands before us the crucial question everywhere a guerrilla war against the Kapitals- and unleash hunger offensive. Thousands and thousands of small battles in the individual

Establishments and in different departments of the working class must support the bring RGO successes. The workers have been looking for other methods of struggle alongside the direct strike. There are messages in front of the chemical industry, stating that the Workers pass on the method of passive resistance, that is, they no longer work so intense as before. Here we have, and especially the RGO, help, and, in addition to the Preparation of major strikes, organize conflicts. Only through such an active offensive Tactics we will inhibit the employers' offensive and the conditions for create successful struggles.

But we also have another weakness. We have some minor successful out strike, so in the Lower Rhine, in the peasants and in the Berlin metal industry. But we ignore these successes and not popularize them enough.

'Activation unemployed movement does not

The second most important question in addition to these mass strikes of the factory workers are the Actions of the unemployed. Again, one should ask the question: has the Party itself sufficient
care of the organization of the actions of the unemployed? Have the party lines expressed its opinion? Our party lines have most of the Unemployed representatives received a report and in most cases his leave work in jobless Committee. Here our comrades see in the Unemployed committees do not have enough life and bustle of the unemployed masses, they do not know how to organize new concrete measures to the vast masses in bringing movement. Such methods, such as, for example, the organization of the resistance at evictions, the establishment from monitoring committees against the Overtime work, special housing commissions should be applied. These Examples come in tens of thousands of cases in Germany before and increase the activity the unemployed.

I recall such facts as the Lower Rhine, where the women their children in the town hall deliver, if you support them. Is not that already a high degree of Class consciousness, if the women perform such actions? In Duisburg went certain layers of the unemployed, which refused the payment of support was eating in dining economies, or groceries and declared that payment accepts the job center. So there are certainly many other examples.

The RGO must intervene decisively in the mass work with the unemployed with. It may no longer happen that the municipalities degrade welfare assistance rates, without the unemployed stir. We have unemployed demonstrations in each organize individual case. The example of Hamburg shows that thereby Power consciousness of the workers vastly growing. Our job creation plan has a new cause great movement in unemployment, and above all the organizational Anchoring of unemployed in the unemployed committees and in the RGO. help accelerate. Just as any wage struggle brings every struggle of the unemployed and every unemployed demonstration new unrest in the bourgeoisie, forcing places to certain concessions, exacerbated the crisis and promotes the growth of Conditions of revolutionary crisis.

40-hour week without wage compensation amplifies the mass misery

What is behind the slogan of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democrats: 40-hour week without extra pay? Enforcement of this solution means a 17prozentige reduction in weekly earnings. This means a new one, further impoverishment of the masses, we need to look that chronic in which

Nature of unemployment in the millions of unemployed Front Army, in this Further certain inhibiting factors for revolutionizing arise can. We therefore need to look for new forms of mass work to the unemployed ever more closely to bring in to the class front. We need to organize courses for all the unemployed, together with the operation of workers. We can in this respect of learn the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the trade union in the Education evenings recently brings in Unorganized, so the unemployed for their social fascist ideology to win. That has given more attention by our comrades be, this is a great and important task, and from the RGO in all districts is to take more cities in attack.
We have in our present resolution, the most important duties in our further politics and mass work laid down in 12 points. I believe that these 12 key points in our field must be among the masses of the key for the large, of us to be introduced and to be carried out individual actions and individual struggles. It is the questions of organization and implementation of economic struggles and political mass strikes, the unemployed tasks, the RGO work and ground work on the internal union front. Furthermore, the question of the strengthening of our operational work and the politicization of our operating cells, the question of the structure of the stewards system, etc. The issue of unemployed, the youth, the degradation of social democracy and the recovery of Social Democratic and Christian workers, the issue of the Nazis, the importance of the work among the peasantry, the civil servant, employee and SME layers, the issue of women, the issue of social reaction and the culture reaction. These are the main focal points from which we single and need to develop and ignite mass struggles.

More self-criticism does not

Now to the question of negative phenomena and the positive achievements of our party. Even if we ask the questions critical, so we do not deny this about our positive great successes. That is laid down correctly in the decisions of the Comintern. Our self-criticism is born of the ideology of pessimism, but from the realization that we the weaknesses and shortcomings to improve our work, to speed up the must eliminate tempo of revolutionary development rapidly. The party is powerful grown, but due to the objective conditions much too slow. There is sometimes a certain arrogance in the party. "Comrades, which - as Lenin said - rising victories to his head, "We need this not even so far as to go. There are also scenes that are caused by the fact of the success. There are Comrades, the sheer success seriously enough the weaknesses and gaps in the party see. These sentiments must disappear. We need to put the following question to our Party, to our entire membership. What achievements can we have if the party would be capable action, rapid Initiative would develop everywhere, to concretise the general line on all fronts? Far greater than is now the case. I will give only a few examples to concrete show and prove, where our party more or less in the last weeks weak made its appearance and has even denied:

When the Reichstag was postponed what was necessary: 1. In the Reichstag? Our group has otherwise made generally good job, but when Brüning the Reichstag adjourned with the announcement of emergency regulations in the next few months, she was far too modest. Since she had to obstruction against this notice and the adjournment of the Reichstag make, so that for months spoke of the party among the masses. Each worker had know and see, the Communist Party has these dictatorial hunger rate against the Toilers even then predicted, and therefore it has at the end of the sharpest
Obstruction driven. Now comes the austerity program in the near future. If our position not then far better in the fight against the austerity program and against Brüning when we had this obstruction operated with all seriousness? Most certainly!

2. Suppose the Spanish revolution. How is it that such. As the party in The death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti a greater mass movement triggered when at the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution? One may interject, the case Sacco and Vanzetti had a greater mass attention and mass action. But has the Spanish Revolution not greater international importance as a mass even this Question? However, the Spanish revolution was in Germany at our party unscathed - With some exceptions -, without size public meetings and size Mass demonstrations. Think about once more. Why and why? It is a great historical, international event when in the back of the French Imperialism staggers a system and for the first time in a country like Spain, the first Signal of the proletarian revolution occurs in appearance visible. There must be on the Ideology of the Social Democratic workers and its Annex act if we with rightly say that the same development, the result of treason Social Democratic leaders in 1918 was going on, now due to the same class betrayals of social democracy in Spain is taking place without the there weak Communist Party managed to prevent this process.

3. Suppose preparing May the 1st. We certainly have good and sometimes great Successes, but since we are the only savior from the Massennot, and since already many see millions of workers and other layers, they are of course also on 1. MAI us. We were much more workers on May 1 have at our demonstrations. Suppose even the weaknesses in the implementation of the political mass strike on 1st of May. Had we not? Yes, one must recognize clearly and critically.

4. Another question is the freethinkers movement. Why are there such intemperate Exaggerations why we lead the freethinkers movement in such a, sometimes not happy bulk form by, as in recent times? Have we not all other forms and plenty of opportunities and ways that no religiously-minded and social democratic to convince workers? Do we have to clumsily fall into the house with the door? There are many other and better methods than those that are often used and even our Party discredit the vast masses. Here are already great improvements in initiated our work and commendable way been successfully performed, Let's check the latest results of some elections. We speak of the creeping, adolescent crisis in the NSDAP. We can do that. When the NSDAP, still won votes, so that was because they all their energies on this one point everywhere particularly focused to those facts of the election results demonstratively create. The avalanche-like collapse of the bourgeois parties and their losses bring the Nazis still successes. They deceived by the masses nor outward. The you have to see. However, we also need to recognize political and class consciousness that a Party which has almost no serious policy that escapes from the Reichstag, which in had Thuringia and Braunschweig big losers who Scheringer and others lost their Authority, their prestige, their influence in both the bourgeoisie, as particularly in the must lose vast masses. The NSDAP is unable, despite the hypocritical Solution of the so-called "Third Reich", the working people a way out of misery, show Young slavery and crisis.
The question of the Young Plan is new.

We check the problem of reparations and the Young Plan. The question is again today. It is all of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the question of Revision of reparations rolled, and in connection with the Bruning meeting with MacDonald in England is the question of a possibly Deferred payment, a moratorium, as part of the Young Plan for the coming years considered a possible probability. Our program for social and national liberation, our demand the cessation of payments and the Young Withdrawal from the League of Nations gets thereby greater significance again. Our Program was not only for September 14, but for the whole period in which we live today, thought. It is and remains the program of social and national liberation Germany at the present stage of development. We must systematically in the press, popularize throughout the broadest masses, and much more to the fore slide. It shows best the toiling masses the initiative, the power and the revolutionary liberation policy of the party and its following vast masses in Germany.

Suppose the Kampfbund against fascism. He has his duties, his special does not fulfill specific tasks in the struggle against fascism that. He must in offensive front against the Nazis party some great work lose weight. In Berlin the Kampfbund must fight the Nazis throughout other ways, new methods of struggle to find and perform alongside the party. Recently the issue of Menschewikiprozeses. Which meant the Menschewikiprozeß? Not the fact instead of finding the process is the most important, the most important was the content and the outcome of the process. Can we thus no systematic policy II. International Congress of the attack to the II. International, which takes place in Vienna? If not on the Menschewikiprozeß, clearest counterrevolutionary acts of II. International and German Social Democracy on the issue of undermining and Fighting the Soviet system proved? These are evidential which unfortunately of have not provided us with enough to the forefront of our policy.

The right opportunism is the main risk

And now to our inner-party development. The main danger is now the right Opportunism, opportunism in practice, the passivity, the lagging behind the objective conditions: phenomena that the seeds of right opportunism in itself carry. Today we have no groupings and factions more in the party. We have no mature political differences or misconceptions, we also no group of comrades that the political line of the Party, another political line confront attempts. But we have a right opportunism that often is in hidden and disguised form still hidden in our politics and mass work and open occurs in appearance here and there. There are also left-wing sectarian views which we, wherever they occur, try eliminate the officials and members of the party quickly. The resolution talks about in detail.

There are a whole range forces, before new cadres, before new blood, new life new working methods and new activity in the party fear, otherwise it would be unthinkable, that in the same time in which the party its membership by about 80 percent within 9 increased months in question DER reinforcement and extension of the official squad much too little has been done. While there are some exceptions in the districts, but they are so sparse that here must use an inner radical change in our entire party work.
One must see that these factors are inhibitory to the great passivity quickly to eliminate. The not enough attraction of new officials in leading positions debt partly that lag and lag behind the objective revolutionary escalation.

In the specification of the general line by local, county and general Operations must be done a lot more. We have great success due to the objective favorable situation, but the party as a subjective mass factor entered into various Situations and in different fields too little in appearance. I believe, that is why we on this Central Committee the question of the control system in the districts and in the provide mass organizations to verify the daily political work much sharper have to. We need to control the masses and not without the masses, not with Dictatorship from above and not with commanding, as it happens in certain places, but with the greatest comradeship and self-critical compliance and Participation of the masses to refresh our official squad, and to rapidly new proletarian elements at various key points, especially in the Holdings in bringing. I just need the facts indicate that the recent years in the Soviet Union just by the stronger attraction of new young Workers elements has changed the whole life and activity of socialism tremendously. The main forces in the Soviet Union, in addition to particularly excellent comrades in Party the millions of non-party working men and women. They are the great mighty, masse creative force of the development of socialist industry and Collectivization of peasant accelerated. There are the vast masses of the Party workers and peasants of the party with love and with joy in the structure help mighty work and actively support them.

Strengthening the united front policy

Another key issue is the insufficient conviction of the necessity of Application of the united front policy from below. This results in the much too slow Pace despite the success in obtaining the Social Democratic and free trade union workers. It is clear from that right next to the Opportunism nor the "left" sectarianism as turned upside down right opportunism of pioneering development is locking in the way. We therefore still see the big Weaknesses in this area of our work. There is such moods, as if Social Democratic workers can not be revolutionary fighters in our party. With such sentiments, it must also come to the necessary conviction to apply our tactical methods used for obtaining these millions of working men and women for revolutionary class front is missing. In conjunction with the tactical task of Conquest of the majority of the proletariat, we have in this field of mass Application of our revolutionary practice go a step further than in the past. We, the CC, try everything, the Party and the mass organizations in this field help and strengthen them. But all must help the masses of the party members, but the party workers who march to us and with us. We must at all Areas awaken your own creative initiative, and help many more to complete to take.

Zoom to women

When we took particularly in attack after the Wedding Party, the women's work, saw
we a refreshing and revitalizing our work. In recent months, we see unfortunately again a certain neglect of this work. That makes the whole party and the RGO.

It is clear, because the work, because the tasks are getting bigger and more diverse, have We check the work in each area in all districts. Much bolder, a lot of resolute, we must approach at all stages of the work, and especially thereby involving vast masses of women stronger.

The same is true for the mass organizations, thousands and tens of thousands of new forces must be awakened and recovered; They are the social foundations on which the party their momentum; and action capacity doubled.

The same is true for the proletarian young workers despite favorable development. Here must the party the Communist Youth Federation help much more active and him support. The proletarian youth movement is getting stronger in the revolutionary approaching class front of the Party, and of great service and help us.

The turn of the party to the land

The next question is the question of our rural workers and peasant policy. I just want indicate that in addition to our focus on the industrial workers and the unemployed the orientation of the agricultural workers and toiling peasant masses one of our most important tasks is because the agrarian crisis takes shape as we even in January could not yet see. I remember doing the wrong attitude of the party on the occasion the incident in Schleswig-Holstein. Being located in Schleswig-Holstein the known incidents occurred since our party was still unclear in the utilization of these political events.

Instead of that we saw at the time that these revolts were born from the deepest Massenot the farmers, we went into the periphery of the social democratic ideology, only saw fascist maneuvers and actions and did not see that this revolt a deeper expression the despair and the great distress of the farmers was. Today, where individual farmers and 5 more Years must sit in prison and penitentiary for today, where we more Experience peasant revolts, which will increase with further deepening of the crisis yet, we have to try immediately taking advantage of the liberal ideology of the peasant masses, influencing this movement of us and bring it under our guidance and may not let them be like the time is deviated in false tracks and in the wrong lines.

We will set up for this purpose a farmer utility that a farmers brings great help and also shows the revolutionary way out. To this utility applies to the zusammenzuscharen million peasant masses under our leadership and in bring a solidary combat alliance with the industrial workers.

The upcoming elections

Finally a few remarks on the forthcoming elections. We have in the fall Election in Bavaria, Hamburg and Hesse-Waldeck. It is possible but unlikely that the Prussian elections be held in the autumn. The Prussian government has the referendum of the Stahlhelm moved in the time from 2 to 9 August. It means that she wants the so-called nationalist front force, their power and their money some to squander weeks before the elections. She hopes then with fresh forces of the SPD and the To enter the center in the election campaign. If the legislature of the State Parliament
brought to an end, then the elections would take place in March 1932nd That would, in view of the further growth of the crisis, especially in the coming winter is also a unfavorable situation for the Centre and the Social Democrats. Therefore, we need to us prepare everything and take all precautions today and not only with the Campaign start at the dissolution of the Diet, but already with our use mass politics. Because our present policy is primarily determined by our Later inevitable success. We need a barrage against the Prussians policy

Open today and denounce the course of this government for the Brüning Policy and bring the vast masses of the knowledge.

The central axis of our policy

Comrades, critical remarks do not spring any pessimism, but just noting the positive great successes, in addition to those we always Elimination of existing weaknesses must not forget. We, comrades, are the only living revolutionary force of the masses in the struggle against the offensive Bourgeoisie drove can. The party has selflessly and boldly already in some occasions existing defects in the shortest time almost eradicated. It will also now, in view of the enormous challenges in the fight against Brüning, against the bourgeoisie and its allies, offset any loss of tempo understand. We must systematically develop and improve our policies. The Freedom program, the program of social and national liberation of the German People was and remains the axis of our policy. Now we supplement it with the Bauer utility, with the job creation plan and other measures, by we carry our fight for the people's revolution into new layers.

Forward to fighting and winning!

The key issue for us is against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, assumes ever more brutal and maßlosere forms, likewise the action force and Action ability of the masses to a higher level for guiding the counter-attack to raise. The more we understand, to trigger the various actions and struggles, and in the is in transmit power of our People's Action for work, bread and freedom, the more to be our party, the more vivid the proletariat, the more effective decisions the XI. impact plenary in the masses of Germany we go boldly and without Inhibitions on our work with this conviction, then we are on the next ZK-have to report only meeting about new achievements and progress.

Brochure, issued by the Central Committee of the KPD, o. J.
Thalmann calls: Battle of Bauernnot!

*The speech by the leader of the German Communists in Oldenburg -
For the combat alliance of workers and working peasants*

Below we publish the main Excerpts from the speech of comrade Ernst Thalmann at Eve of the election in Oldenburg. In this speech, the leader of our party proclaimed the Bauer utility of the KPD.

Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and on behalf of the red class front I convey to you the revolutionary greetings. Oldenburg is lately to the forefront of the political Interest moved in Germany. The elections tomorrow day have not only local, but overall importance for the whole of Germany. It gives me a special need, Here in the north, to speak in German Oldenburg, in this area, in which a so boundless misery of toiling peasants in addition to the need of the industrial proletariat to is recorded. Our party is not yet so deeply rooted in this area as in Berlin, the Ruhr, Hamburg, Saxony and other key industrial areas. But here already the bottom begins to loosen. The peasant movement, which in a number of places to here 1918

*Storm on the tax*

led, already was no longer led by the National Socialists. It is this Despair and the plight of working people in the country more and more attention to dedicate. Morning to the toilers Oldenburg go to the ballot box. Why is it that even this choice such a huge interest shown in the entire German public? Because everyone thinking person, because every politician knows that the ballots that the ballot box nothing in itself decides. Because every politician knows, a choice is poor, tormented, working people, groaning under the lashes of the capitalist crisis, before the Decision:
with whom he will march in the future, with whom he will fight in the future, which aims
he wants to strive towards the future?

Therefore we say Communists from the outset entirely unambiguous and clear: we are courting
not to vote. We do not Wahldemagogie and empty phrases, to the masses
capture and disappointed afterwards.
We want the heart, the brains of the masses. They should vote for us in order to
bring expression that they are ready to march with us to fight with us, to
this shameful capitalist state of hunger, gagging, the disenfranchisement, a
is once and for all.
Nearly 5 million unemployed screaming for work and bread. But even the civil
Economists tell them scornfully: Just wait, next winter is your number to 6 or 7
swell million.
Million factory workers call: the pittance is no longer sufficient to wife and children
to feed and clothe. But the entrepreneurs prepare for further wage robbery.
Not the huge salaries of Ministers and senior officials, but the nichtauskömmlichen
Salaries of the lower will be cut in the first place.

The urban middle class collapses. New loads are imposed. The
Purchasing power of the working masses is shrinking more and more.

The poor peasant settlers and farmers is at the end of his strength

Unforgiven saddled him the new ruling class loads and the tax office sends
the Steuerexekutor. The whole laboring Germany is in bright outrage
against the madness of the capitalist crisis. Million people ask only one question:
Where is the way out of this terrible crisis?
And none of the bourgeois politicians is capable of even a ray of hope
or "silver lining", let alone show a way out.
Collapsed all the promises, all the choice lies with those
bourgeois parties, particularly the Nazis and Social Democracy, large
could deceive masses of working people. Shiny justified is the Communist
Party before the working people.
We have not promised anything. But we said: Soviet Russia shows the example of
single revolutionary way out of this Massennot. Allen slander defiance has
the truth prevailed. Every child knows even today that in Russia
Unemployment has disappeared. Tens of thousands of unemployed will hike from the
bankrupt capitalist countries to Russia and find work and bread. In
Russia wages rise, the social legislation for the sick, for invalids
and elderly, expanded enormously for women and children. In Russia serve all schools and
Science, theater, music, film and radio in raising the cultural level of the
Workers.

In Soviet Russia is what the whole peasantry onward and upward to prosperity
and higher culture.
Two systems are facing each other, two worlds prausen each other and the whole working people is faced with the decision: Together Disrupting, murderous Capitalism, or flourishing, Mankind blissful socialism. Only two facts to light the real situation. No week passes in which not be opened in Sowjetraßland new giant enterprises. Where - I ask - is in Germany any new giant operation opened? Here every factory owner may, without the intervention of the Government close the operation. There in the land of socialism, if it should dare one, to close an operation, he'd called lunatic, or he would immediately get shot. What does it mean when the Soviet Union in the previous year 4700, in this Years but more than 10,000 breeding pigs of the Oldenburg farmers buy? Is this Collapse, which is a sign of crisis? No, the socialist planned economy knows no capitalist crisis knows no unemployment and Lohnräuberei, knows no sales crisis and no impoverishment of the masses, it knows but not greedy factory owners, not buying up farmers, the settlers cheating and the tenants rampant big landowners who at the working people starve full barns.

In Germany, however, all the enemies of the people have conspired against the toiling masses. If all sides are attacking the existence and life of the German people down patter, then the entire working population must recognize that the Trust capitalists the industrialists, the big landowners, the Bank princes, the militants and oppressors of the people advance for a single grand plan that them their lackeys help Socialists and Nazis with all forces, this hunger and perform Knechtungsplan. What we are experiencing for months, which for years to be continued, which is the most flagrant, complete and abject Hunger Action all enemies of the people which has ever been. The ruling class feels the impending bankruptcy. In the Conferences which are industry kings among themselves, in magazines and Newspapers that can not read the great mass of the working people, where your make plans against the starving people, at meetings of the leading associations of Industry and the supervisory boards of trust and major banks, where they ask the question: Threatened the crisis of the capitalist system? - Is not the bankruptcy of this whole system already obviously? Has not already the socialist system with the successful Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union as a better, more successful and for the future of all toiling People proved groundbreaking? Naturally! But the profiteers do not even think to resign voluntarily. They think even not because their factories, their land, their bank accounts, their abroad shifted capitals, their huge dividends, management salaries, bonuses and abandoning pensions, the working masses and socialist construction in Germany volunteered to leave the field. No, conversely, you have a hunger program prepared, that has no equal in the History had not. Remind yourself how the entrepreneur with brutal
Government support and of Arbitration system, With Help the only mined the union bosses on tariff wages, then the piece rates vastly

Download oppressed and now carry the new wage cuts Search. Remember how to the workers in the factories with simultaneous reduction of wages, the performance up screwed, to millions sent to the stamping stations and mighty billion Reward money saved at the expense of the working class. Remember how the Brüning government the first dictatorship regulations enacted with Negro control, Krankenschein- and drug charges, Increase in beer and tobacco taxes, the so-called emergency contribution from the salaries of Employees and officials, the robbery in supporting the unemployed, while at the same time the big landowners by the so-called "aid to Eastern Europe" hundreds of millions in the Throat threw. Remember the second dictatorship Regulation Bruning with 25 Hunger laws of the plundering of the working people in all fields daily life tremendously exacerbated!

That was the beginning of December. At New Year the Center Chancellor Brüning wrote an article, which states:

"Our whole social and economic life has been preserved from the disasters that temporarily seriously threatened. But if there are still people who think and cry, we put already in the middle of the great catastrophe in it, so can those opposite say: they know not what they say."

That said Brüening. I ask you all: Who is there who does not know what he's talking about? Mr. Brüning, sees everything through the rosy spectacles which in turn leads a carefree existence, with 35000 Mark annual salary with additional expenses separately - or the Communists, who before the have predicted September 14 that the ruling class together with their government, her Social Democrats and Nazis, is not able to avoid the disaster, an show out of the crisis. I ask you all:

*Does the impending catastrophe is not the whole toiling German people by the throat taken?*

Is hunger, distress and worry about tomorrow not daily guest in all German Landen, all families in Germany, there is a man here who this Center Chancellor, this center party, this government with a clear conscience, with Responsibility to his wife and children and its own future to entrust his fate can. The bourgeoisie and its Chancellor Brüning feel the approaching giant disaster, they know the growth of indignation to the increasing will to fight of the workers and Unemployed, the urban middle class and the poor peasants. You satisfy the of the Social Severing fabricated not Republic Protection Act. So they came to the last dictates regulations in March, the starving masses require more Plunder to hold down regulation that applies solely against us, directed against the Communists, against the run of our freedom struggle. Why is press censorship, the censorship Flugblatt- and poster now introduced? Why you want the Freedom of the road, the demonstrations and the speeches rob? Why threatens us Prohibition and bans already everywhere our press?

Mr. Bruning has already announced here on the ground in Kloppenburg. Still not enough of recent Volksausplünderung: A new austerity program by new dictatorship Regulations
Bruning announced on behalf of the capitalists at the sharpest measures. The new Emergency Decree, which shall be adopted in early June, is the most serious blow to the Working class and exceed everything the workers masses far from the Brüning government were accustomed.

At a stroke, the social security in Germany is erased!

All pensions will be cut by 10 percent. Certain, not even closer but designated classes are beyond yet another experienced deterioration. The worst prank applies again the unemployed. According to the plan, the Bruning Crisis care come entirely in omission, so that after the expiry of the payment Unemployment must migrate from the main support directly to the welfare office. Here but the communities in the face of ever-growing number of welfare recipients this Support now cut already radically, this will mean that the adoption by Brüning's emergency decree only in the rarest cases welfare assistance Unemployed will be paid. It is hard to imagine what emergency then under which will enter the

without a penny of aid and support

should live. The government with the principle to take the poor everything to the rich to give everything, turns again towards the lower, poorly paid officials who according to the latest information, a content harvesting from 6 to 8 percent and new Threat of massive redundancies. Not only that, to the recent social policy in decades of fighting enforced achievements of municipal, provincial and poor care and Social welfare for the poor, sick, pregnant women, school children, etc. are reduced. For cheap money the municipal enterprises (see Bewag Berlin) At the Private industry bartered so these up set by tremendous rates the Population can better sprawl. And to round off the hunger plan, announce the Entrepreneurs their new wage cuts offensive, ever higher performance from the be Operating workers squeezed out, the imperial and provincial governments turn the Wucherzoll-and control screw on merrily.

This is in broad outline the tremendous hunger action of all enemies of the people, an action that is directed against more than 30 million of toiling people who are already of hardship and Kummer no longer have a knowledge. To carry out this action hunger were the adopted last dictation regulations to the toiling masses and their revolutionary gag party and stifle the Empörungssturm in penitentiaries and in blood. Brüning ruled by dictatorship regulations, with new fascist methods. feel now even the popular masses who are far stood by us, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party was right when it said in December:

The Brüning government is the government of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship!
Each Brüning adoption serves the fascist Germany, the increase in political Terror against the starving, revolting masses. Many millions who today still in the factories, have depressing feeling that she tomorrow can be dismissed. They are already thinking about how she will be forced to the lot of unemployed to share that need to make a living with begging Pfenningen. Countless existences of the called "Independent" Artisans, small Merchants, Small traders are the big companies of monopoly capitalism and of crushed usury controlling the capitalist government and ruined. About the misery in the countryside, I will speak in detail later. Here are just a interesting example: On the anti-fascist People's Congress in Hamburg for the district Water edge, which took place a few weeks ago, was an easier smallholder and led with simple words:

"In agriculture, the task today is to use the modern means. The happens only in two countries, in capitalist America and in the socialist Soviet Union. But the difference is: in America turns to the technical achievements, motorized plows and Other machines in agriculture to totzumachen little in the interest of large Agricultural capitalists in the Soviet Union reversed the technology in the service of agriculture placed to unite the millions of poor peasants and middle peasants against the rich Kulaks to help the little ones to a better, decent life!"

That peasant who expressed these thoughts with his simple words, had all detected sense the current economic crisis, had understood that for the toiling Farmers can only be one way out of trouble and misery:

Common freedom struggle of all working people to the side of the working class for the victory socialism!

Today no indications exist that the crisis in Germany and the all over the world coming to an end. On the contrary, prove all facts that there are still worse is that today's millions of unemployed figure is not the highest. What does it mean when the industrial production compared to the previous years to a Quarter has fallen? What does it mean when the existing production apparatus measured, is utilized in the production capacity only about 50 percent of its performance? What do the other mass redundancies, further wage cuts, further short-time working, stricter control by means of customs duties and of monopoly capitalism? Add to this the double plundering of German workers by the capitalist profit system in Germany itself and by the predatory Young plan with its billion tributes. The one and the other,
feel with the oppressed millions of the working people. We strike while the iron we
hammering the anvil, we promote the red glow of the blast furnace in the life of the people! We show
the only way out of the mass misery. Our before the parliamentary elections last year
out given freedom program is still the way for the victory of the
Working class, for the victory of socialism.
The Nazis have the masses also touted a supposed "way out"
the so-called "Third Reich". Would it in the Third Reich the Oldenburg farmers less
Go Bad? Would the masses of unemployed are supplied with work? would
the standing in operating workers get higher wages? If something happened to
the Young slavery? Not the least was going to happen.
Take as an example of the Third Reich the reign of Mussolini in Italy. not Rages in
this land also the economic crisis? there are not farmers
unbearable tax burden? An enslaved people groaning in the chains of
fascist reign of terror. Here and there already blazing flame of indignation from the
Ranks of the Italian working class up. Farmers rear up against the
Usury and tax burdens, especially in southern Italy. Even within the fascist
Militia begins a fermentation to develop.

The "Third Reich" in Germany - what would it look?

Would the capitalists expropriated and the big factories, banks and mines in the
Owned by the public, the working people are transferred? On the contrary. These
so-called "socialists" of the Hitler party proclaim it so openly that she private property the
do not want to touch them. Such as exploiters Kirdorf, Vogler, Krupp etc. are for them
Ideal figures.
The "Third Reich" would today's miserable capitalist states only
aggravated by the fascist terror, by the penitentiary and gallows rule
after Mussolinisystem!
What do the Nazis, they have expressed on several occasions in various applications:
a violence and terror reign against the class struggle of the workers and against all
Toilers. Even the national point of committing the most shameless treason. they say
no longer a word about the oppression of the Germans in South Tyrol. Your orientation
foreign policy in England and Italy does not allow that they scoff and sneer,
that the South Tyrolean Germans their language, their culture is robbed, and that their children
forcibly and violently stamps them Italians.

The Communist Party knows and says it to the masses, that the national liberation on
is connected closely with the victory of "socialism over the capitalist system.

And what about the practical politics of the Nazis lately? To take
we only the question of the Young Plan. The deputy Stöhr wrote in "Nationalists
Observers "an article published on 19 February. It states, inter alia:

"... The mentioned center leaves even go so far, quite bluntly us from blame
to make, that we in the Foreign Committee of the Young Reichstag the downright insane
Request of the Communists, adjust the payment of tributes immediately (without any notice), not
have agreed. "

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So an application for adjustment of payments Young is this to consider
Nazi leader "almost insane". Well, there are in the world history, the example of
Country that once his tribute to the foreign imperialists and capitalists
has set! This is the Soviet Union, the proletarian dictatorship, the debt and the
Bonds of Tsarist Russia declared on non-residents null and void! Russia was
a defeated country like Germany. Had in Russia after the Kerensky
Bourgeoisie triumphed, then would also have the working people of capitalist today
Russia to pay the enormous French billion Tribute.
Soviet Russia could only shake his tribute loads because succeeded there, the bourgeoisie
to defeat.
Here in Germany it would be a victory of the German revolution as that
shaken by this victory the Young billion, the chains of millions of people
will. The Communist Party is the only party from the outset the
sharpest struggle against Versailles and all subsequent robbery assay is performed. It
are numerous documents about from the past, and particularly our national
and social liberation program is the biggest proof of this fact.

Some questions to Adolf Hitler

Hitler was in Oldenburg and previously in other areas on 11 May. We Communists
have the Nazis presented for weeks very specific questions, including the following:
1. Why did the Nazis in the Reichstag and in Oldenburg Landtag all communist
Applications against the Young Plan, these slaves pact, rejected?
2. Why did the Nazis all communist motions against the implementation of the
rejected Brüning dictatorship Regulation and Bruning Hunger program supports?
3. Why did the Nazis communist Request for taxation of millionaires
rejected?
4. Why did the Nazis with jeers all communist applications
Reduction of ministerial and officials' salaries to 6,000 marks in the kingdom and in 5000
Mark rejected in Oldenburg?
5. Why did the Nazis, the communist motions against the interest slavery and
Foreclosure of small farmers, tenants and settlers rejected?
6. Why are the Nazis scabs all strikes of the working class against wage cuts,
for wage increase, for reduction of working hours and procurement of work for all
Unemployed?
7. Why the Nazis murder treacherously hundreds of communist workers who
real freedom fighters, why they leave on their public meetings every
Capitalists discussion speaker to deny us and in most cases the word?
8. What beat the Nazis prior to reduction of all prices, the creation of food and work
for the unemployed, to eliminate the agrarian crisis, to raise the purchasing power of the masses?
We ask here at this point: What was Adolf Hitler on all these vital questions of
working people here respond in the Oldenburg meetings:
Nothing could this bully and organizer of the workers' murder the oppressed
offer masses as a way out.
But one thing he has clearly stated, and that is a direct support of
Brüning program and the hunger action of all enemies of the people when he says:

"I know that the presence of you all requires great sacrifice!"
So just as with Brüning, new great sacrifices. And the Munich Nazi lawyer, Mr. Dr. Frank, who spoke here before Hitler was, quite clearly, the program known that which Nazis stuck:

"Bolshevism will never take the rule in Germany. Hitler gave us the word given, we follow him forward through dungeons and tombs!"

There you and you see the way to the Third Reich. He leads you to the dungeons and your Family members in the graves.

_Hunger, penitentiary and gallows, that is the ideal of Hitler gangs,_

who lived here as in Oldenburg as the vandals who attacked workers, women and Children and little girls with knives stabbed with iron batons and coupling belt belabored, with 30 men, who were heavily armed, to single unarmed Workers rushed and beat them to the ground. Everything they were performing under the protection of Police.

Scheringer, the Ulm Reichswehr lieutenant and former Nazi who has recognized what the NSDAP really means. In his letter to the KPD he stated: The Nazis have long and completely renounced socialism, they have the capitalist Private property canonized. They represent the interests of German and foreign capitalists and are taskmasters of Young slavery, they have the Versailles Contract and the enslavement of Germany recognized and are now ready to work with England, France, Italy the bloody war against the Soviet Union at the earliest opportunity by to break the fence!

The Hitlerites are the sworn enemies of the working people in town and country, they will, even if they still harvest here in these elections some success, more and more by their Politics come with their own followers in opposition.

Provisional needs Mr. Brüning the Nazis not in the government, he has the Social democracy, his hunger and dictatorship plans every support be given leaves.

_The policy of social democracy is linked to the death with capitalism_

The SPD has only one object, the bankrupt capitalist system from the wrath of Masses, to protect them from the proletarian revolution. Almost every word in the politics of Social Democracy is for the glory of capital and vulgar defamation of Soviet Union. The Social Democratic lies and promises are miserably collapsed. We turn also from this point to all matey Socialist supporters and class-conscious to the members of that party. We please ask your question:

Where does the coalition politics? For socialism, as has lied to you, or not contrary to fascism?
Where was boosting the economy, with the one you acceptance of the Young Plan tasty made, where is the wage increase and job creation for unemployed, the but by Nationalization, economic democracy and determined arbitration beings and should arrive safely?

Do you want to watch any longer, as your leaders Panzerkreuzer for the war against Soviet Russia build, grant a three-quarters of a billion for the Army, are openly support program of hunger dictatorship Bruning, for all emergency regulations may occur,
sometimes apart beyond protecting Stahlhelm and murder bandits often and in operate primarily in the fight against the revolutionary proletariat?

_Battleship, bread usury and scabbing - this is the policy of the Social Democracy_

The authorization of the armored cruiser burns like a stigma on the forehead of Social Democratic leaders. But the armored cruiser socialism is surpassed by the following fact:

The Social Democratic Reichstag deputy gang Schiele Rogge support Commissioner, this fine "socialist", bought from State resources, of our tax dollars 800 million kilos of bread grain, rye, on, it can be intended for human consumption render useless, it raises the pigs to devour out or let it rot.

The unemployed who sometimes grab hunger for knitting and the gas cock, which we, the Communist Party, helping by our communist applications in the Reichstag wanted, got the best lesson by this vote. Our Communist applications, this bought in quantities of grain to the hungry, the Unemployed to enter the old invalids and pensioners, were scornful of the whole bourgeoisie, by the Nazis to the Social Democrats, voted down. This Man still got his salary of over 18,000 Mark his Reichstag diets of about 9000 marks a special reward in the Rye breakdown assistance operation of 20000 Mark in 1930. We expose publicly these Corruption phenomenon. But the biggest scandal is that - after this 800,000 tonnes fed and partially rotted are - now the same government of Holland 40000 tonnes Corn buying up, where they the Russian grain through merits of capitalist Intermediary with 20 marks more must pay than the seven weeks ago Soviet Union had offered the German government. This sum ye must, must toiling masses in Germany muster!

These people venture into their Oldenburger voters newspaper set up the impudent lie:

"What in reality in Russia is going on, is a limitless exploitation of the workers in favor the Russian state and its rulers."

Even the leader of the Austrian Social Democrats, Otto Bauer is forced in his new book "Capitalism and socialism after the war" demagogic following admit:

"Just in time, in the nationalization economy in the capitalist world its end was approaching, the Soviet Union, the results of nationalization period has passed it to assume, to transfer them to the Soviet Union, it and to build a new large industrial exploit the transformation of agriculture and thus the foundations of a socialist lay society."

That says Otto Bauer in Austria to cheat with new maneuvers the masses. The Facts speak. It is known that the Soviet Union not only already thousands of German workers are the existence, but that in the near future to carry out the
Five-Year Plan further half to two million skilled workers in the
Soviet Union are required.

The Social Democrats, who, in Oldenburg Landtag arm in arm with the Nazis, center
State and People's Party, the KPD proposals systematically recorded and agreed
Casterbohmregierung against the working people supported, they must and such lies
access to such incitement.

To talk about the State party still is not necessary, since they are becoming more and more the
Expiration approaches. But a remark. As the Finance Minister Dietrich to Oldenburg
Voters came, he said on May 12 in Varel, inter alia:

"If the previous summer was yet over lightly and the kingdom since November not
needs more credit, so the situation is complicated by the fact now that unemployment in the expected
and hoped scale does not go back. A final judgment is of course currently not possible, but
one must be prepared that the worst can happen."

That says the Minister of Finance, who with Brüning and Schiele the new hunger program
should help against the working people in Germany einpeitschen. All parties, People's Party
and center, State Party and big business party, the German Nationalists, the Nazis and the
Socialists are the pillars of the Brüning dictatorship, the cheerleaders are the
Hunger Action against the working people. With them, the workers and the unemployed must,
the employees and officials, the small traders and craftsmen now
keep payroll!

But a question remains to be asked especially from this point: as boundless the
Not in the city, is so immense

*Not in the countryside*

The agrarian crisis rages with uncanny force against the poor and middle peasants. Nobody
is there to help those exploited and ruined layers. Hugenberg, the
German national cheerleader of fascist reaction has, throughout Germany and also
Here the slogan issued "Make way for the rights!", while the assertion
erected, thereby "saving agriculture" was possible. Today everyone knows
politically minded peasant, or he should know when Hugenberg "Agriculture" says
he means the big landowners, which the trust capitalist government in Germany
huge charitable gifts zuschanzte that the sole beneficiary of the anti-popular
Customs usury, let the working people starve in full barns! Why
silent Hugenberg that the German Nationalists are quite sure that rent usury
and usury poor farmers turn the neck that German national
Landowners ruined small farmers chase away from the land, the land under them
feet wegschachern. The Land League and the Rural People's Movement also work for
the pockets of big farmers and landowners!

*The Communist Party and the proletariat rich to poor farmers brotherly hand
to fight Coalition against the bankrupt system!*
We must recognize that not only the workers, staff and lower officials, but also the laboring peasantry by the crisis and by the policy of capitalist ruling class is taken most seriously. The fascist means agricultural policy of the Brüning Schiele government with the support of social democracy annual subsidies, gifts of love to the Junker and kulaks at the expense of working Masses amounting to about 4 billion marks. But the "Osthilfe" that this only part Politics is, are the East Elbe Junkers and finance capitalists 2½ billion. The Nazis and the "Green Front" have against this robbery billion in favor of Big landowners nothing wrong other than that he still does not go far enough to them. On the other hand, this policy is consciously and according to the impoverishment, ruin of directed existence of the toiling peasants. Dramatically, cynical and open are the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, the center man Dr. Steiger, which in its memorandum on Pigs to Germany. This memorandum of 14 April d. J. is particularly suited to small and medium farmers of northwest Germany eyes open.

The center Minister Steiger explains it as a healthy development that in Northwest Germany the peasant pig perish and for the east, the East Elbe Junkers this branch of production, the pig, is secured. Triumphanty notes that Agriculture Minister, that already in 1930 a Decrease in the pig population in the rural northwest, and a substantial increase has been achieved in Ostelbien. This center Minister also stated bluntly, with what means the Brüning government has brought this done. By resorting to high Feed tariffs and corn monopoly! Even the fascist tariff policy of the government alone ruined all the planned toiling peasants! These taxes, debt interest, rent expense, which come Impact of unemployment on the peasantry, etc.

The capitalist, zerfaulende system, the fascist policies of the government and all bourgeois parties, from the Social Democrats to the Nazis means Impoverishment, ruin, beggary for the toiling peasants! In increasingly toiling peasants dispossessed by seizing and foreclosure and also of the sold plaice.

84 Junker have four times as much as of 34 000 smallholders

Let a fact and some figures speak. 34432 dwarf and small farmers in Oldenburg, half of the entire agricultural community has 15526 hectares for Management. 11441 holdings 2-5 ha farming 36827 hectares. 84 Landowners have almost four times as much ground as 34431 farmers under 2 hectares. While the number of landowners 1907-1925 in all agricultural areas Germany has decreased and their percentage share of bottom fell, she strangely, increased in Oldenburg.

60 percent of farmers have only one-twelfth of the soil in Oldenburg.

What Engels once said that the large company on the small business across is how the Locomotive on the wheelbarrow, seen here in your land Oldenburg. Schiele, Bruning and Dietrich have the approval of the Social Democrats and Nazis Mass misery of the poor farmers substantially increased. The feed costs amounted to 1913
per 100 kilograms liveweight gain in the pig for East Germany 70.70
Mark, for Northwest Germany (Oldenburg) 67.80 Mark, in 1930 for East Germany
70.90 Mark, North West Germany and the Oldenburg pig 92.40 Mark. There
must but given the fact that the pig market prices on the livestock markets today
72 amounted to 75 marks per 100 kilos and this trend continues, the farmer based
go.

This purposeful policy of charitable gifts to the East German pig and
Large-scale farmers and the feed price increase for the Northwest German peasants were
Oldenburg farmers, are contingent on the pig, more and more in the
Ruin herded and today
the last piglets auction to usurious loans and leases and tax totals
to pay.
The Oldenburger Farmers noted the tremendous impoverishment in the cities, of the
same government forced decline of the consumption power of the masses, which no longer
are capable to meat and eggs, milk and butter to leisten. Die so-called "Western aid"
is the fraudulent new form in order to stifle the bitterness of the peasant masses.

The people's revolution is the small farmers, the land of the big landowners

The enemies of the people go to the villages and lying to poor farmers before: "The Communists
want to take away the land. The Communists bring you the last cow from the stable.
The Communists want you wearing the church of the village. " In fact, many
Farmers particularly in this area nor the Center Party, the Agrarian League and all
particularly the Nazis gave the faith.
We present here the Oldenburg toiling public and before
entire public in Germany, the shameless Hetzlügen pilloried. We say:
Farmers, eyes on! The Brüning government and Schiel Ash agricultural matters, and tax policy
Dietrich and approved by the Social Democrats decline in real wages and the
Degradation of social legislation, they drive you to ruin.
The capitalist state sends the bailiff, fetches the last cow, the last piglets
out of the barn and you auctioned the land. The Kalisyndikate grow from thee,
and agricultural machinery factories attract you with their exorbitant prices the fur
over the ears. Nazi, center, country folk and German National, People's Party, State and Party
the Social Democrats, all while standing protectively in front of the big landowners, they all speak the
Landlordism holy and drive the poor peasantry to ruin.
But the Communist Party has in its program of social and national
declared liberation of the toiling German people before September 14:
The people's revolution led by the Communist Party is also the toiling
Farmers bring freedom. The first accelerated measures of proletarian
dictatorship will bring immediate assistance, without compensation expropriation of the
Landowners and land allocation to the small farmers. deletion of
Debt burdens, complete elimination of usury and eliminate all lease charges,
Exemption of small farmers from all taxes and fees.

In Soviet Russia the farmer is no longer a slave but Lord!
These are not just empty election promises. Go to the Soviet Union! Ask the small 
Bauer if he did not receive land from the expropriated landowners by the Soviets 
Has. Ask the millions of mass of the Russian peasants, which they control usury, usury 
and lease usury know.
They will laugh at you, and will reply to you that there is in the socialist 
Soviet Union no longer!
But the Russian Soviet farmers will tell you that it's best from the Soviet Government 
obtain breeding seeds and breeding stock at cost price.
The Russian peasants will tell you how their sons to the agricultural 
Universities of the Soviet Union and are sent there with the full support of 
Soviet Union to study the modern agriculture.
The Russian peasants will tell you how the Soviet state the best fertilizer and 
the most advanced cultures all over the country imports.
And the Russian peasant, see the progress of the nationalization, the voluntary 
einsahen that a small farmer with 2 to 5 hectares, not a tractor or 
Machine plow or can afford a combine, have to collectives 
together. These collectives have fixed agreements with the Soviets in the 
Cities met. A huge part of the Soviet industry produces tractors, 
aricultural machinery. Much of the huge Elektrowerke electrified the 
Russian village. help hundreds of thousands of tractor leaders, technicians and agronomists 
the Russian peasants in the modernization of Russian agriculture.

For the small farmer wants to quit and has ceased servant and object of exploitation to 
be. With the help of the Soviets, he is a person who works 8 hours a day, the 8 
has hours for his education and entertainment and also free 8 hours time to 
rest for the next day.
The Oldenburg and many poor farmers in Germany have today 14, 15 and even 16 
working hours per day. The Russian peasant dresses decently, wants to live as a man, he 
has its wireless, he hears the enlightening lectures, he takes in his 
four-week vacation. And if a farmer in the Soviet and in the collectives particularly proficient 
is and exemplary works, then he goes at the expense of the Soviet Union to the Crimea, in the 
former Tsarist palace Livadia and sleeping in the rooms and eating at the table, at the earlier 
the Tsar with his parasite gene Throw sweat and blood of the people with his mistresses 
squandered.

The Soviet Union opens the farmers new prospects, he can next to the proletariat 
highest positions in the state apparatus and in the Soviet attire.

Under the tractor or on the tractor

In capitalist countries, the tractor remains the big landowners reserved, and the 
Landowner eats the small farmers. In the Soviet Union the tractor for the remains 
Millions of small farmers reserved, and the small farmers there, the big landowners and 
the rich peasants devoured. Some examples of this development were in 1930
6 million farms = 24 percent collectivized, in March 1931 regulate 12 million Farms will be collectivized. Soon in all capitalist countries is the reduced Ansaatfläche but expanded in the Soviet Union.

In 1930, an extension to 10 million hectares, in 1931 already Expansion to 15 million hectares. The area sown per farm was in spring 1930 2.7 hectares, in spring 1931 already per farm 5.2 hectares. The grain harvest was 71.7 million tons in 1930 already 87.4 million tonnes in the year 1929th The Grain delivery to the State 1929 was 18 million tonnes, in 1930 already 24 Million tons.

A substantial increase in the material conditions of the farmers is reflected in the collective. The average annual income of the individual farmer was before the war a year 242 Ruble. With this sum he had to buy everything. The average annual income the collective farmers on much larger reductions as previously in czarist Russia was the case, is already 500 rubles a year, and will in the near future really step up. The individual farmer harvests there on average 26 quintals cereal, the collective farm but reaps already far more than doubled, on average 59 quintals Cereals. The rapid pace of development of the peasant masses to millions Collective not taking place, as the bourgeoisie falsely, by coercion, but by the voluntary decision in practical life and thought, and by the Decision of the poor peasants and middle peasants themselves.

The agrarian crisis in Germany is also the German farmers face the alternative: Either with the Communists under the banner of our freedom program, for which Victory, on the tractor - or with the Civil and fascists, then you come under the Tractor and will trample.

The Communist Party calls for the active support of the peasant struggle!
The plenum of the Central Committee of 14 and 15 May dealt with the immense Bauernnot. So far, our work was too little real mass work among the toiling peasants, a lot to parliamentary work. We now have a

continue essential step. As we entered the industrial working masses and in new oppressed social layers, so we must now also as the only savior of the working People more from this deep crisis and deeper into the working peasantry layers step into. The Communist Party calls on the workers, employees, the struggle of toiling peasants to support their existence, together with the peasantry prevent garnishments and foreclosures.

Only the Communist Party is fighting for the interests of the working Peasantry. Compared to the program of charitable gifts for the Junkers and big farmers and the destruction of the existence of the toiling peasants proclaimed the Communist Party the

Program of assistance to the toiling peasants!

In this program, the big landowners and big farmers are in vain something for themselves search. It is a program of struggle, a challenge to the monopoly capitalism, against the big landowners and usurious Customs politicians.
Under stormy cheers reads now comrade Thalmann the each Points of Bauer utility, which we publish at the top of today's main blade.

In Germany, hundreds of thousands of peasant farms are threatened in their existence. These The fact is of immense political importance. They shattered one of the foundations of Rule of the bourgeoisie, its hegemony over the peasantry. The mass of ruin peasant private property shaken the faith of the farmers also to this capitalist system. The years of betrayal of the toiling peasant masses with the Campaign of "Osthilfe", the new incipient fraud by setting up the campaign "Western aid" must be brought to the farmers to consciousness and our party given the opportunity, bold and offensive to defend our peasant policy and represented. Of course, we say quite frankly that the stoppage of the fight demands on does not mean their fulfillment paper. The toiling masses of the peasantry must by their

Self-help and initiative

together with the Communist Party and the entire revolutionary proletariat resolutely for their Receivables fight.

The Communist Party and the proletariat associated with it is you in this Struggle loyally. It is stronger than ever go to the village and the whole mobilizing peasantry. It is the stamp on the sites and in the large farms Get urban proletariat to aid for farmers.

You will in all public meetings of all parliamentary tribunes, everywhere, proclaim great distress of farmers and call to fight for the farmers. As recently a Delegation of the Eifel region appeared at a communist rally in Cologne and their enthusiastic support for social and national liberation program and to Policy expressed the Communist Party there, symbolized the closest solidarity and the alliance of the proletariat with the toiling peasants.

This must occur much more in evidence everywhere. To rescue the commercial Middle class in the struggle against finance capital and its government must in the city and included in the country these needy layers in the large class front will. Our demands for all these layers are known. You need much more propagated and represented. We call from here and everywhere in Germany:

For people Action for labor, land, bread and freedom, against the Hunger Action of the United Enemies of the people!

The toiling peasants are with indent in the front of the Socialist People's Revolution under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. As for the workers and Workers, for the millions of unemployed, for the officials and employees and the urban middle class, it is also for the millions of small farmers, the mass hour redemption beat with the victory of the people's revolution, the victory of the socialist, proletarian revolution! No capitalist government, no capitalist party is landlordism expropriate that land-poor farmers will draw the government. No economic system except of communism is the small farmers out of necessity help the agrarian crisis, open up to him the ascent to humanity and socialism.
There are in Germany after published by the Statistical Office Reich Statistics Income and property tax assessment for 1927, which has now been published in the Years 1927 2465 millionaires. This two and a half thousand parasites possess a fortune of 5.58 billion. The moneybag dictatorship protects these people. In the land of socialism in Land of the proletarian dictatorship is for these parasites no room. There are in the "Nation" two nations, the nation of the rich, the satiated, those minuscule Minority -and the nation's poor, the hungry, the millions of oppressed Front Toilers. The showdown between these two fronts is inevitable. Through elections tomorrow in Oldenburg this decision will not fall. The Millions of workers, civil servants and employees, laborers, SMEs and the hosts of Bauer layers, they can free themselves only when they not only on the election beyond Communist Party will vote, but are willing to in accordance with the Liberation program of the KPD to stand up for their own liberation everywhere to fight and also to win. We are the only party that is independent of the bourgeoisie. We carry out the Election campaign not to ministerial posts and state sinecures. Our big battle is in the laid down principles of our freedom program. The millions of working women in Germany, the downtrodden and oppressed proletarian young workers, which in boundless Not living rural proletariat, the peasants, they are all in this great Army increasingly with queued. Communism is today the only force which the future belongs.

*Our revolutionary way out of the capitalist chaos is the only salvation!*

Morning is still selected. We know that many still do not understand us now and not yet cast their vote, but tomorrow already are those who elected them, have already expose, betray their own electorate. We have nothing to promise during the election campaign, than that you only by your own Mass struggle against the bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the Communist Party you out rid of this miserable situation can. We mobilize and equip this mass struggle. Our freedom banner we unroll on all fronts of social life. *Our party and with it the mass revolutionary front is marching forward! Our fight goes against today's Young System, now Young Germany is! Our Ground battle is also the better future, the victory of a Soviet Germany, where Labor, land, bread and freedom is given and guaranteed all working people. In this Meaning forward with us to new battles and new victories!*

*The Red flag,*  
*05/22/1931*

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Let us recall the history of the predatory Young Plan. There are today in Germany no longer man who would dare the excruciating toll loads this slave Pact defend.
And how was it a half years ago? In that time, as in the Reichstag on the adoption of the Young Plan, the German people were the ears vollgeschwatzt about the "facilitation" and improvements that bring the Young Plan. Today we can imagine how far that time was the deception of the people hardly. I just want to give two examples of the former statements of the leaders of the capitalist Germany enter.

At that time, said the Minister of Finance Moldenhauer, representatives of the German People's Party, in Reichstag on March 7 last year:

"In addition, you must be clear about the foundations of this building you can not get if you discard the Young Plan. Because then you have to pay taxes that go far beyond that, what we require today. Then you do not get the Kreugeranleihe. We want on this build basis ... to create a better Germany and for the broad masses again Job opportunities to win. So we see things and therefore recommends the Reich Government to accept the Young Plan."

And the social democrat who spoke to Young Plan, Reichstag David explained, March 6, also in the Reichstag:

"The Hague Convention (ie the Young Plan) represents a major step forward for Liquidation of the war and to bring about a secure peace between the state the war involved nations. The burden it imposes on us are difficult, but they are essential lighter than those that were imposed on us for years. For these reasons, we agree with the Agreement to."

This was said then. And now these promises compares these words with which, what has really come. Had the Communist Party is not one hundred percent right, when predatory from the first day the real character of the Young Plan as a Slave Pact unveiled the masses when they spoke of the "inner" Young Plan? The Communist Party has said then the masses the truth about the Young Plan. Today, it is confirmed by the facts, no one can deny more.

The Communist Party has also explained in January, when Mr. Brüning, one should not speaking of disasters, turn the masses demonstrated the real development. they has said that is to think of any improvement that the crisis exacerbated the misery grow, the catastrophic policy of capitalism will cause even worse calamity. Today it is proved that, in turn, only the Communist Party to develop properly rated and the people telling the truth!

That is the reason why the authority of the Communist Party among the masses always longer growing, why ever new thousands turn to and the vast masses comprehend: Here is the only party that has us never lied and cheated! The only Party that tells us the truth!

And this difference between our predictions confirmed by reality are to be confirmed by history - and the bourgeois social democratic Prophecies whose mendacity historical development always in the shortest possible time before the masses exposed - this difference is a huge and comprehensive evidence of the accuracy of the communist doctrines and methods, is an unprecedented triumph of Marxism!
Imagine again: On the Kieler SPD party congress in 1927, the SPD preached by the former speakers Hilferding the splendid theory of "organized capitalism". Of the today's monopoly capitalism should the teachings of Karl Marx on the anarchy of lift capitalist economy out of position and, so to speak peacefully transform without crises in socialism. That was the theory of Hilferding and German Social Democratic Party on her Kiel.

Two years later, in 1929, the Magdeburg party took place. During the Communist Party time at about the same time on their Weddinger Congress already complete clarity the further development of the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge due Marxist theory could point and consequently all their predictions by the further historical development were reaffirmed, produced the SPD in Magdeburg still the old Kieler Plunder. So, for example, said Dittmann on the Party Executive the Magdeburg party two years ago now:

"We no longer live under pure capitalism, but already in the transition to socialism, economically, politically, socially ... Today, in the democratic republic, the state authority emanates from down from from people, the government is determined by the Riksdag, the 20th of all men and women elected representatives of the people. Therefore, can be prevented today that the Government unilaterally the interests only of the capitalist classes perceives as the War."

That was the melody of Magdeburg. And today? Today, due to the immense crisis, of unbridled mass misery and enormous radicalization revolutionizing Masses all the talk of "organized capitalism" so ridiculous become that Social Democracy itself suddenly a presentation on the capitalist economic anarchy had to be stopped.

And Mr. Tarnow from ADGB, the speaker on the economic situation, said in Leipzig that the "organized capitalism - once he used this word - the economic Civil war of man against man in a gang war economic " have increased.

Literally Tarnow said:

"But the war has remained and its destruction have grown. Organized Capitalism shoots with grenades where the unorganized capitalists change gunshots."

This is the perfect acknowledgment of the absolute bankruptcy of the previous reformist theory. This is the perfect acknowledgment that everything the Social Democracy has told in recent years the masses what they see on their Party days in Kiel and Magdeburg has produced its adherents as a theory, empty Dizziness is!

The Communist Party appeals to the Social Democratic and classmates appealed to their socialist feeling. Yes, comrades, we offer you his hand to common struggle, we are ready to fraternally share with you the front of revolutionary class struggle that some popular front against the bankrupt capitalist System and against the Brüning government to close.

We ask you, Social Democratic classmates: Will you fight for Brüning or for socialism? This is the ruling that today before each Social Democratic workers, standing in front of each Social Democratic functionary. After his own class instinct, by his own class consciousness of the SPD must Workers make the decision, and this decision can only be: With the Communists against the capitalists, against fascism, against the government of Implementation of the fascist dictatorship, against Bruning and all that for Brüning Front. count
We know very well that it is no small thing for a worker who might
be organized for decades in the social democracy, to draw the line of demarcation and
come over to the camp of communism. But higher than any attachment to a
Party, is the fidelity to the class, the proletariat.
We offer the SPD workers hand! We know very well that the
Social Democratic workers has persuaded in the Communist Party there would be
no proletarian democracy, was also a party apparatus, the above members
away goes. And when the dictator does not mean Thalmann, he called Stalin.
We say in contrast, the Social Democratic workers: Come to us, convinced
yourselves that in the Communist Party at any revolutionary working his right
takes place and has a say in the fate of the Party, the revolutionary
Job. Come to us, you will as equal members of our Party to shoulder
Shoulder carry with us the struggle for socialism. The choice can each worker
believes in his class, not be difficult. On the one hand the party of
Police socialism, the armored cruisers, the emergency regulations, the party under the scepter
Bruning marches, the party in which no class-conscious word, let alone
any socialist action is allowed, the party in which the leaders of the masses
abuse, as was repeatedly the case in Leipzig.
On the other hand, the party of the revolutionary class struggle, the party that strikes the
the worker inserts and supports, the party which the revolutionary way out of the crisis
shows that, for the unemployed and factory workers, employees and officials
the urban middle class and the needy peasants fighting, the party of the
is hated and persecuted bourgeoisie, the party in the struggle against fascism
Most successes achieved and has brought most of the victims. The party of the revolutionary
Marxism, the party of victorious socialism in the Soviet Union, the Communist
Party!
Therefore, comrades, appealed the KPD to you, to the Social Democratic workers and
the non-party working masses in town and country help, the liberation struggle of
Working class.
There is only one party in Germany that the after September 14, according
Reichstag elections, could remain faithful to their policy. Only a party that what they before the
Elections the masses said, do not use today to deny. Only a party that no
has broken promises. Only a party that has nurtured false hopes.
Only a party that stands by their actions to their words: We are the Communist
Party!
Before us, the elections are in Prussia and in several other countries. I have about
spoken Prussian politics of social democracy. It is clear that we as communists
such a campaign, as it will sooner or later take place again, not under the
operate point to get a few dozen more seats, but as a
revolutionary mass mobilization for the general revolutionary class struggle. And
Here I should like to appeal to the masses:
It is our present policy, our present struggle, your present work on the
Election decides the Prussians elections may now or in the fall, it would seem, in
next spring, take place!
Our policy is expressed in the Freedom program of the KPD, that program
the national and social liberation of the German people, which we before 14 September
the public gave, gains from week to week, from month to month
growing importance. It is a program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. It is
the program of the people's revolution, which will replace the bankrupt capitalist system
will put the victory of socialism, the rule of a workers and peasants government.
Our freedom program is the backbone of our policies! But we are not content with the general line of our revolutionary struggle, but also show the individual Layers of the working Germany practically and concretely what the Communists them have to say. Thus we have the Bauer utility of the KPD to the public, to the masses of the creative peasantry also the way out of the misery and ruin, capitalist agrarian crisis and the mismanagement of the bourgeoisie and of the Junkers for identify joint struggle with the working class.

Our farm aid program that is already in the vast masses of struggling and struggling farmers of Germany as a ray of light in the darkness of peasant misery is referred to, the signs must be, both the industrial workers the way to fraternal fight alliance with the working people of the country, the creators of the villages shows how the peasants the way shoulder to shoulder with the workers against the bankrupt capitalist system to storm! What the farmer assistance program for the Country people, that is the job creation plan of the KPD for the millions of mass Unemployed in Germany. All this shows millions of job-creation plan KPD the way of not abolishing the capitalist crisis, not to eliminate unemployment leads at all - because that causes only socialism! - But in which the alleviate today's boundless misery of unemployment and overcome to a certain extent would.

But the masses who suffer distress and hunger, they will understand that the Job creation plan the KPD no party thing, but a matter of millions, one thing of all the working people, for it is to fight!

The bourgeoisie and social democracy the Communists often hypocritical accusation made that we "only criticizing", but "no positive policy" operate. We laugh about this silly silly argument. What party in the world can in such a vast Notify unqualified successes of their policies, such as the World Party of Communists. On a sixth of the earth, where we govern, socialism is built! And what does this mean? In all countries, crisis, decline, misery, unemployment, decline in Production, ruin the peasantry, exasperation of the masses. As the Soviet Union always new factories, new gigantic works of industry and agriculture, the total Elimination of unemployment, the complete overcoming of all capitalist remnants by the triumph of socialism, by the gigantic progress in Implementation of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

*From the speech at the Sports Palace, Berlin, June 11, 1931st*

*Contained in the booklet "Disaster or socialism"*  
*Berlin 1931*
On the offensive against the class enemy!

Speech of Comrade Thalmann to red referendum
before the worker functionaries Berlin

From several minutes of clapping and loud Red Front Call Welcomes held the leaders of the Communist Party, Comrade Ernst Thalmann, in the official meeting of the revolutionary mass organizations Berlin, on Friday, July 24, in the "New World", Hasenheide, the following speech:

The current extraordinary intensification of the crisis and the threat of inflation fully confirm the forecast of the Communist Party after the elections on 14th September and in January Plenum of its Central Committee. At that time we proclaimed, in Unlike the hopeful illusions of the bourgeoisie and social democracy at that the crisis bottomed out yet not achieved. And even then we prophesied as as with the adoption of the Young Plan 1½ year ago, the coming inflation.

How did it come to this immense aggravation?

With the German-Austrian Customs Union, the German bourgeoisie had to attempt a aggressive foreign policy undertaken. She wanted to with Customs Union the way to the Southeastern Europe, right into the spheres of influence of French imperialism (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc.) open. But already at the Geneva League meeting this attempt led to a complete defeat for the capitalist Germany.

In connection with this sharper onset of the German bourgeoisie in the Arena world politics continued the campaign of foreign, mainly of French capital one that wants to oust the German competition. Since September 1930 are not less than 4 to 5 billion short-term debt, of which since June 1, 3 billion om abroad been withdrawn from Germany. The course shook the Financial Services and Banking.

French imperialism wants not only the imperialist appetites of Germany a rapid end to, but he fears above all the safety of his in Germany invested capital that the result of the crisis and the tightening Class antagonisms are endangered. Thus forcing the rapid escalation of the situation, Brüning government to feverish efforts to the impending disaster escape. Therefore, the trips to Paris and London, of which Brüning and Curtius in Signs of bankruptcy vulture returned.

The Hoover action does not help
By this the Hoover action does not change the slightest. She had three motives:
1. The fear of civil war and the threat of social revolution in Germany, the
   destroy all capital invested in Germany and the revolutionary wave in the
   would strengthen world.
2. The final inclusion of Germany in the anti-Soviet front, whose leadership the
   United States assume.
3. The intention of the United States, France in the American allegiance
   to bring England and isolate this. Hence the concessions to the
   French imperialists to their dominance on the European continent to
   secure, let the Versailler- and Young system untouched and the military-political
   want to know secured supremacy of France in Europe.

"America and France launched jointly in front against Germany, while the bourgeois
Social Democratic press it tried to show as if the action against Hoover
France was addressed. Of course differences between America and
France. So France wants German deliveries in kind, while America in the interests
its own export tries to throttle the German export totally. On the other hand wants
America the total collapse of the capitalist system in Germany
prevent, because thus the invested capital in Germany - about 60
Percent of the total located in Germany of foreign capital - would be lost.
In this respect, France has no major concerns, since it far less capital
has in Germany.
So great may be these differences, they are still against the opposites of
American and British imperialism only a subordinate nature. And so goes the
Dollar imperialism also in the main with the French
Imperialism before.

"Veiled collapse of all banks and savings banks"

So could bring no relief the Hoover action. Larger loans did not exist, and
if anything accelerated the flight from the marrow, so it was just the Hoover action in
The form and content of the extreme difficulties Germany illuminated brightly.
In fact, it came then also to other credit terminations. The currency outflow increased
from day to day. The Lahusensche Nordwolle Group collapsed. Karstadt fell
in trouble. The Danatbank, both in Nordwolle and at Karstadt strong
engaged, has declared itself insolvent. The run on banks and financial institutions began. The
Government resorted to the means set all banks and savings banks to their payments
leave. This is in fact a disguised collapse of all banking and
Sparkassen.
However, Danatbank had to be dropped because their rescue at the expense
large industrial groups would have been possible, in which the bank loans due to the
industrial crisis are frozen. One last failed attempt more
to obtain foreign loans, was the so-called "Guarantee Action" of thousands who a
joint and several liability of the 1000 largest industrial and financial companies among themselves
In the penultimate Reichsbank card the 40prozentige note coverage was only artificially possible by not the note circulation increased by issuing requiring cover silver coins and bills Rentenmark extended. Due to the former foreign exchange balance, which has an input of 3,500 million in foreign exchange over a having disposal of 3,000 million would now after the abolition of Reparations a monthly foreign exchange surplus of 100 million marks are present. In fact, the situation is quite different. Of the 12 billion short-term loans, the Germany had in September 1930 are only a maximum of 7 available. But her Existence is no small danger for the Reichsbank: because they can at any time subtracted from. One must clearly say: means the entire previous policy of the bourgeoisie with the course on stringent export enabling the capital flight!
For the German capitalists have the foreign exchange obtained for their exported goods largely left abroad. What helps because the already exhausted 100-million-dollar Credit? Heritage Indicates the less, as the deficit in the public finances is not quite is covered. Despite suspension of reparations and despite today hunting

Emergency decrees is the shortfall in government, state and local budget certainly two billion.

*Four Ways, which in fact lead to the abyss*

How should the loss be covered? What possibilities does the bourgeoisie ever to avoid the final sinking into catastrophe? There are four Such options:

1. a general suspension of payments (moratorium) for the longer term. This would, if the financial institutions and bank teller actually closes a long time, the state bankruptcy mean.
2. Reprint and reproduction of paper money, ie inflation, the beginning of which the represents reduction in the cover boundary.
3. Introduction of the dual currency, issuing new Darlehns- or Rentenmark certificates (see the increase in the amount outstanding of not requiring cover by coins Emergency decree from 20 to 30 marks per head of the population). Such a method, in continued a larger scale, is that currency and with their fall the Reichsmark into the abyss.
4. Foreign loans at such a height that characterized the worst difficulties can be solved. As a prerequisite, the complete capitulation before French imperialism, adopting "its political and economic Conditions, the transfer of Germany in the captivity of the French Imperialists.

*Fast ripening of the conditions of revolutionary crisis*

So all these theoretically conceivable way in practice mean a further tightening
the crisis. This mature simultaneously the conditions of the revolutionary crisis in Germany zoom even faster, and we must be prepared as a party, the German to inspire proletariat on his victory and mobilize.

If now the ministers are from London returned with the only result that a check international control committee of bankers is whether Germany more loans is obtained, so this is a new step in the colonization of the kingdom. And a fiasco for the capitalist Germany. As demanded by Germany 2-billion loan is the Water like. Not even the standstill consortium, that is, the union of Central banks to cover any further from Germany peeled short Loans is concluded.

"National self-help" and what it means

Here comes the proposal of national self-help! Two trends wrestle in the camp of German bourgeoisie together. To date, a trend the government policy certainly; their supports are the chemical and electrical industries. This group wants inflation and avoid national bankruptcy and soliciting help from abroad, which, as we have just have seen only by the utter capitulation to French imperialism is possible.

In contrast, others preach layers of finance capital, as part of Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry to Thyssen and the former Reichsbank President Schacht together with the big landowners, the national self-help. It means the introduction of Measures that need to lead from the creeping to open inflation. This would

the 15 billion mark less savings to the banks and savings banks in favor of will finance capital expropriated. The big landowners would like 1923, their debt to this

Remove the manner and the industrialists, thanks to Mark devaluation, the possibility of have spin exports on the world market. The danger of the realization of this plan not low because the underlying circles assiduously Hindenburg and the Reichswehr itself seek to win and also Brüning want to press for their line.

Comrade Thalmann brings quotations from newspapers that openly propagate inflation, and asks: Do you believe that such a newspaper ever done something?

New wave of attacks against the proletariat

Which of these two methods also may prevail - the balance of the proletariat is all his higher misery. Even the credit tightening, the Reichsbank leads to the destruction of small and medium enterprises and thus to increase unemployment. Nice upgraded the government to a new emergency decree, the further to the social spending to emphasize. Already a new wage reduction shaft is introduced. Already is in heavy industry and großagrarischen Scroll the elimination of the Unemployment benefits and their replacement required by natural products.

Clearly, we are approaching serious events, and I say: a nation that national enslaved and to the whip of the foreign and the German bourgeoisie dancing around - the patience of this people will one day come to an end.

Today exists between the objective development and the subjective reaction of the
Workers still a margin. But we must not remain, otherwise we can be taken by surprise. It was a weakness that in these days, when Brüning every day his emergency decree enacted, the working class did not react enough. That is a Alarm sign of the party.

Next in factories and trade unions!

So we now have the courage, determination and unflagging tenacity eliminate weaknesses in the field of operational work. We need expansion in the Establishments. There we have to bring the masses to the position of the carried out the attack. Because with the unemployed alone - as important is their activity - can the proletarian Revolution will not be led to victory. Strongest offensive against the SPD policy ADGB is necessary. Especially our defective work on the internal union front it is attributable to that Obtaining the SPD workers to joint actions not to the extent necessary takes place. And precisely that is more necessary than ever. *Brüning would not be able to continue his policies, if not the bulwark of the SPD there would be.*

We must at all costs or the crisis in the SPD for the highest development. But we can only sharpest principled struggle, through tireless discovery of reactionary character of social democratic policy. And here I am with the question of Referendum.

*Red referendum against Severing-Brüning Policy*

Comrades, comrades! Today already seen large layers of social democratic workers that the assertion their leaders, Bruning is the lesser evil than Hitler-Hugenberg, vertigo and only an excuse for the infamous workers Hostile attitude of the Social Democratic Reichstag Group serves. We have already made clear to the masses that the struggle against fascism not only Combating Nazis means but above all fight against finance capital itself, against the Brüning cabinet when the government of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. It necessarily follows our sharpest offensive position against the Prussian Severingregierung because the strongest is a bulwark of the Brüning dictatorship
And finally tightened our referendum campaign the class antagonisms extraordinary. It gives us the opportunity, in the strongest extra-parliamentary Mobilization to promote the revolutionary way out of the crisis. What absurdity when the SPD of a united front of the Communists with Hitler Hugenberg cheers! But on the contrary. The frank admissions of the bourgeoisie themselves show that we with the takeover of the management of the referendum demagogic plans of "steel helmet, the Hitler-Hugenberg, the People's Party and have thwarted people Conservatives. Where to from Group interest a fight Severing-brown fake, since we as a class seriously the fight.
Comrade Thalmann in this context, the already published by us utterance of "Cologne People's Daily "reflects that the referendum will now led by the Marxists to defeat the Stahlhelm had moved out, there was resounding joy.

*The SPD leaders - these are the allies of the Nazis*

Especially our participation in the referendum gives us the best opportunity, the national-Socialist and German national mangers politics and demagoguery to unmask. ever stronger legal parties sabotage the referendum, the deeper our burglar is in Be the ranks of Nazi followers.

We have, just to the SPD-workers to show the true character of "their" government, issued an ultimatum to the Prussian government, the very modest demands contained. Except one, perhaps for the bourgeoisie and SPD leaders immodest is: abolition of the RFB-ban! (Minutes long, always renewing Applause, clapping hands) Yes, we have made this request because *same SPD leaders and their Severing, who accuse us of alliance with the reaction armed Stahlhelmer- and Nazi organizations allow, proletarian*

But defense organizations ban on the Treaty of Versailles.

Severing the response, as well as the behavior of the whole SPD shows that it and by Braun Severing is no trace of Marxism.

Among the sharpest distinction between Hitler and Hugenberg, even under the heaviest fighting this Fascists we lead the red referendum by which totally Class line our Policy corresponds. Since the referendum, the situation has significantly worsened. Since Severing has taken a number of measures: issued to Sharp shooting adoption, the enforced fascist press regulation, the three-class crisis tax excited etc.

Severing and the SPD have proved social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the sharpest struggle against them must be taken, so is the red Referendum taking advantage of opportunities for legal parliamentary Mass action a step forward in the extra-parliamentary mass mobilization represents. We carry decomposition into the camp of the bourgeoisie. We will our slump in the enhance social democracy and speed up the internal ferment in this party. We will deeper inroads into the Hitler front hit. We are a party of the proletarian Revolution strengthen our ranks, revive the mass initiative and the revolutionary increasing class struggle.

All this will succeed!

*The threat of the party ban*

I want to make this meeting a few facts, so you can see all the seriousness the situation is. As Brüning and his friends drove to Paris, have meetings
occurred, in which particularly the American capitalists to the guarantees asked who could be in the fight against communism Brüning, these Meetings have been consulted also Prussian authorities in order to ban the the KPD comment on.

We still have much more information, which I unfortunately for some reason here can not recite, but the governing bodies to say, we are all informed. We meet our respective activities and challenge you, comrades and comrades, to be on guard.

The preparation of the KPD ban serves the murderous incitement that especially the SPD deployed against us. This agitation will not bear fruit. Because the masses convince more and more of that where the Communists prevail, although also brought victims be, but a sacrifice for the community of the working people, while in Germany the bleed masses, so that others it can make a profit. In Germany's going backwards, in the Soviet Union, where the communists are ruling party, it goes forward!

We march against the bourgeoisie.
We organize the struggle.
We will lead the people to victory red!

The Red flag,
26. 7. 1931

The SPD-workers and the "lesser evil"

On the question of the "lesser evil" I would like to recall a word of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the staff of August Bebel and students of Marx and Engels. He said in 1899 in a Polemic against the then right-wing Socialists:
"The adoption of a new socialist law would have been a lesser evil than the blurring of class antagonisms and party lines by a new state election law."

I want to give all the Social-Democratic workers the advice, the words of the old leader and co-founder of the German Social Democracy, thoroughly by the head to let go. Comparing such views with the current policy of the SPD, so will understand every thinking worker, that today there is only one party in Germany, the based on the traditions of the old socialist pioneers: and that is the CP!

I know, comrades, that it is difficult many SPD-workers to come to us, because he thinking: "Now I have for decades helped to build a party and want it to leave conclusion"? But I ask the Social Democratic workers:

Has today's social democracy nor anything with a socialist party to create? Can you August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht in the ranks of this party imagine, for example, as mayor of Hamburg, alongside the pepper sacks? Or Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as coalition ministers in the government of Prussia? This is impossible!

I still want an example of the gap cite that those socialists today by the Leaders of the SPD separates. In 1910, the question of the demonstration ban was on the Magdeburg party of social democracy. At that time, said the official speaker of SPD Executive literally:

"What should the people do? It had to go on the road, it had to demonstrate in public, because it is also not want to be treated as helots. And if, the police with reckless Brutality let into a corner and attack from behind the front, the workers, then the was spilled blood, then the blood-guilt, then this perishable start is forever remain imputable to the rulers. It is always quiet and smooth had worked out if only the Police let her nose out of the game."

That was the SPD leadership of 1910. And now the counterpart: Severing, today outstanding leader of the SPD, said in his sharp shooting Order of 6 June this year following:

"I will therefore no official who under these provisions of its use of weapons makes my failure protection. Officials are in the smallest detail of their right to teach the use of weapons."

I believe this juxtaposition is hardly necessary to comment. Everything the SPD to Masses told over the past few years, turned out to be lies and deceit. Never has there been a given party that has so completely bankrupt. If the role of the German Social Democrats and their leaders in the history of the German Revolution featuring wants, we must remember those words that in today's second chairman of the SPD, wrote his better days against the party at whose head he stands today. Lord Artur Crispien said at the time:

"The encouragement of counter-revolution, for collecting and resistance is the schieläugigen thanks behavior of right-wing Socialists, who always sought it with the propertied class not to spoil. The mass murder of revolutionary workers in Berlin, Munich, Bremen, Ruhr and Upper Silesia, in hundreds of other German cities are an eternal
The deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party is absolutely right. The only, what we need to add is that this eternal stigma on the forehead Crispiens itself stands.

We know Communists that we, on behalf of hundreds of thousands of speak Social Democratic workers when we of the Social Democratic leaders accuse permanent workers unscrupulous betrayal and call to them: What have you done from August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht party? From a Socialist Party you have a party of the police chief, a party of Minister, made a party, the most incredible class treason against the proletariat commits!

While the Social Democratic workers hungry, just like his communist Classmates, refer the SPD leaders' salaries, diets and pensions, the monthly often four-digit numbers represent.

While the unemployed union colleague is evicted from his apartment, approved a portion of the trade union officers from the union Checkout 10,000 to 20,000 Mark Home loan for a pretty own house.

And the worker who can not afford the two pennies for the tram, very often seen in elegant private cars "labor leaders", the so-called minister. D. or over ditch the director of workers per se. This gap is reflected even sharper in of the SPD and ADGB guide policy again. What the ADGB doing with 4½ million organized workers against the permanent wage robbery, collective redundancies, the Unemployment and Notverordnungspolitik in all fields? Where does the Million party, as it claims to be the SPD but, in appearance?

The Prussian government and the ADGB are no power factors for the working class, but the strongest bulwarks of the Brüning government and capitalist reaction.

The working masses in Germany increasingly recognizing that they are bread and freedom only in the revolutionary struggle, can fight under the leadership of the KPD and RGO. Want that People live, the bourgeoise must die.

Who wants to die is to go with Brüning and Hitler, but who wants to live, must the KPD fight and win!

We ask you, Social Democratic comrades: you want to fight for Brüning or for Socialism?

This is the ruling that before today before each SPD-workers, before any functionary, the SAJ, the proletarian youth is. According to his own class instinct of the SPD must Workers make the decision, and they can only be: With the Communists against the capitalists, against fascism, against the government to carry out the fascist dictatorship, against Bruning and all that for Brüning Front count!

Our call goes out to all social democratic class comrades. We call them: making Conclusion with those who year in, year out, have deceived and betrayed you! Power circuit with the police Socialists! Power circuit with a party whose chief today no longer Wels or Crispiein is, but their policies from the capitalist center chancellor Bruning is out!

From the speech at the Hamburg election campaign
Hamburger Volkszeitung,
09/18/1931
The Hamburg elections are behind us, were of the utmost importance as a yardstick for the development of the revolutionary class forces in Germany. When we Communists after the defeat of 1923, after the year of the occupation of the Ruhr, the Massennot, the Inflation, here in Hamburg 114000 votes in the Reichstag elections of May 1924 received, which was a tremendous success.

Today we have our Communists under storm banner over 168000 followers collected. Today our election victory does not fall within a period after a loss of Proletariat, but in a time in which our party and the entire proletarian Movement in Hamburg as in Germany is growing and marching forward. Our red Election victory was gained in the fire of the attack of the red battalions of the working class. Not after a defeat like 1923, but before a storm, we gained the present Election victory, in a situation in which the proletariat with the internally consolidated Communist Party wins consciousness, attack joy and enthusiasm with an iron, bold and strategic superiority connects. If today the "Hamburger Echo" again, as in the weeks of the election campaign, his dirt bucket over this meeting of Communist Party pours, so that's just a sign of abject fear, the bankrupt leader of the Hamburg Social Democrats before the Communist met offensive.

What factors emerge as the most important aspect in the review of Election outcome?
The intensification of class contradictions has over the past year, the Reichstag elections of 14 September, extraordinarily increased. If we Communists and the Communist International in the spring of this year accelerated from a Maturation of the conditions of a revolutionary crisis in Germany said so can be stated correctly that the Hamburg election result proves the is speeding up this process. This was also the election campaign with his never precedent rouse the masses by the Communist Party. This campaign breathed the spirit of 1918, the spirit of the first revolutionary storm years of Postwar.
The counter-revolution was startled by our barrage and is reminiscent of the Ballot box driven. We were the ones who gave the campaign the direction. We were, who dominated him from the first to the last day by the activity of our trailers.
The Hamburg election further demonstrate unequivocally the advance of communism in Germany.
The KPD has in Hamburg a powerful intrusion into the camp of Social Democracy completed and can win 26,000 workers from the ranks of the SPD. She has also out of the approximately 12,000 new voters that it opposite the Reichstag election of last fall, gave more than half - about 7000 - conquering succeeded.
The KPD, making it the only real winner in this election campaign, which is also the Voices rise of the Nazis is not weakened in the least.
The special significance of this election victory is that it was achieved in a city, in which the firmest stronghold of social democracy was. Hamburg was the German Social Democracy in a sense what Vienna for the Austrian Social Democracy means. Here the SPD had by their reformist apparatus, through the trade unions, through the "production" and the GEG, by taking advantage of their positions in to power apparatus of the bourgeoisie, etc. broad working masses per se and to capitalism succeeded captivate. If we just here such a big slump in the camp of the SPD were able to carry, so this is of particularly fundamental importance. For the evaluation
the election outcome, the question is how far we could go to the influence of the SPD to the body, decisive.

Social democracy is how the Comintern correctly determined at the 9th plenary that social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, the main obstacle of the proletarian revolution in Germany and all over the capitalist world. Against them we had under our struggle against capitalism lead the brunt when we train for want to free overcoming of capitalism. This is the general line of our policy.

On this line, we have a great and decisive success in Hamburg election achievement. The voices success of the Nazis is not a slowdown this revolutionary Meaning of Hamburger choice. This is because, unlike us, the Nazis fortunately turn virtually no votes from the camp of the SPD won. Just in a few electoral districts is the possibility that they had fallen some SPD votes are, which in turn is compensated in other districts.

The planned invasion of Nazis in the labor force is therefore again through our policy been repulsed. The Nazis only other voices of the old bourgeois Front, the bourgeois parties can absorb. Among the new voters they have a lower growth than the KPD. But what especially is crucial: this party wins still parliamentary numerical successes, but her campaign was of very low Activity, lifeless and without any fighting spirit and took place without them even would have made the attempt before the masses a real program of the future roll up. One can justifiably say without exaggeration: the Nazis are today a Party of the indifferent and the opposition petty bourgeoisie.

When numerically still growing, so it gives a Marxist analysis, that has diminished the power of their movement that they have become weaker than z. B. the time of its sensational success in the Reichstag elections of 14 September 1930's. On the other hand, the anti-fascist front has become much stronger!

The activity of these anti-fascist mass front, our revolutionary front, was still never in any campaign as strong and as vibrant as the activity of the red in Hamburg this election campaign.

And finally confirmed the election result the process we noted earlier have: that a certain dialectical interaction between the revolutionary Boom on the one hand and the fascist takeover in the camp of the bourgeoisie on the other. Among all these aspects, the Hamburg elections are therefore also an impact of the KPD against fascism.

The balance of power between the red class front and the front of the bourgeoisie has favor of the proletariat moved substantially. We have become stronger, the other have become weaker. This is expressed particularly in our success over the SPD from, as well as in the greater passivity of the Nazis here in Hamburg.

We have this campaign under proper use of the unit tactics towards the Social Democratic workers out. We have through the Kaschemmenton and reformist leaders not from the line of our political arguments and can relegate political settlement with them. We have succeeded, despite the extraordinary sharpness of our principled struggle against the SPD simultaneously to beat a certain extent a breach in the wall that the SPD leaders and
reformist union leader have erected Communist workers.
We have the election campaign not under any small hamburger viewpoints out of local nature, but in principle at working out the aims of communism

*Kaschea that = groats (Russian)*

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as part of the mobilization in the context of the revolutionary struggle for freedom of German proletariat. This was particularly clearly expressed in our General solutions: against the rich - for the poor! Red Hamburg for Soviet Germany!
And in this great strategic line was also our entire propaganda and agitation set during the election campaign among the masses.
Our revolutionary extra-parliamentary mobilization work in each campaign For us Communists considerable importance was this time with unprecedented success performed. Never before have we here in Hamburg such a large mass activity can achieve any campaign. The way we long four months campaigning led with the greatest energy and deep enthusiasm, as the masses of the working Population, the red election officials, to far beyond the scope of the party beyond this fight participated, as all of Hamburg was dominated by the communist offensive - that was the best proof of the anchoring of our Party among the masses, as well as an increased Degree of Bolshevik maturity of our organization.
These are the most important positive effects. On the other hand, there are of course, weaknesses and shortcomings, which are derived from at the Hamburg election Position of the revolutionary movement showed and it is our duty, together with the proletarian masses these deficiencies go sharply to the body. You all know that we Communists the weapon of Bolshevik self-criticism ruthless and bring in the fullest public before the proletariat apply because we believe that the party with the masses together their own weaknesses can overcome and thus continue to grow and mature.

_Hamburger Volkszeitung,_
_09/30/1931_
Some errors in our theoretical and practical work
and the way to overcome them

At the turn of 1930/31, as to the measures taken by the Brüning government political and economic fields an extraordinary intensification of the political showed reaction and the attack on the standard of living of the working masses, branded the Communist Party of Germany the character of the Brüning government of the Masses of the German proletariat and all working people as a government implementing the fascist dictatorship.

What was the point of our former policy? The Social Democrats, who after her Extracted throw from the national government in the spring of 1930 until the Reichstag elections of 14th September of last year a "radical" opposition bill had operated was after Reichstag elections openly swung into the front Brüning. She covered, enabled and led even the most active all the reactionary and anti-popular measures, the part of the ruling bourgeoisie were initiated. To the fascist nature, the class treacherous content of their tolerance policy for Brüning before the masses to disguise, the Social Democrats invented the theory of the "lesser evil". The Brüning government should - as insured the SPD leaders the masses - a lesser evil compared with a Hitler-Hugenberg government be a bulwark against fascism. Therefore one must support them. Opposite this worker fraud the SPD it was, the masses in the strongest the real nature of the Brüning government and the actual forms in which the Fascist methods of rule of the German bourgeoisie took to make clear. Opposite the shameful attempt by the SPD, the masses from the fight against Class enemy, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, by reference to a first of a Hitler Government impending fascist dictatorship, deter, had clarity on the Class content of Brüning dictatorship, about the real nature of fascism, on the special role of the Nazis and on relations between Brüning government, SPD and Hitler movement are created. Only if it was possible to bring the masses realized that between the full deployed, open fascist dictatorship (of which parties they always be exercised would) and the Brüning government, which was actually at the helm, any class moderate Difference was not, was the hoax of Social Democracy.
be smashed. Only then it could succeed, the antifascist energies
broadest masses for the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their carriers
Brüning-Severing-rule, to make it usable.
The KPD smashed the Socialist lying specter of the role of
Brüning government as "the last bastion of democracy", revealing to the masses that
this Brüning government and in full agreement with her brown-Severing government
designed by the transition to fascist forms of rule in the exercise of the dictatorship of
perform bourgeoisie, and therefore denounced simultaneously tolerating policies of the SPD and
ADGB for Brüning as an aid to fascism.
This political opinion, some erroneous formulations in the analysis
were quickly corrected, it allowed the party, with considerable success, the offensive against
to open the Brüning system and its social democratic restraints. The role of
Nazi movement was in this context than the right one
other extra-parliamentary pillar of bourgeois dictatorship in which to
the bourgeoisie operated mutually in addition to the Social Democracy. Our decisions in
this issue at the meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in January are by
the further development undoubtedly been confirmed.

If today but the whole practical politics and the campaigns of our party in
1931 undergo a thorough review, we need to noting
come that our decisions reached are not always fully to perform. Applies
already by the decisions of the plenary sessions of our Central Committee (January
Of May), it is true to an even greater extent on the decisions of the XI. Plenum to the ECCI,
Although we popularized in our ranks, but not everywhere and not at any time in
have brought our revolutionary work to perform.
Bolshevik self-criticism is for us the most important means to the party and the masses
of the proletariat by the concretization of our class line in solving the enormous
to help historical tasks before the German working class and its
revolutionary leader, the Communist Party, are. Such Bolshevik self-criticism but
makes it the duty of a series of ideological differences and political
Weaknesses, yes even determine policy mistakes of our revolutionary mass work,
which is contrary to the decisions of the XI. Plenum of the ECCI. and plenary sessions
our Central Committee are.
Please tell us the most important error in particular?
First, weaknesses in the fight against social democracy and in the application of
United front policy.
Second, errors in the application of the slogan popular revolution.
Third, weaknesses in the fight against Nazism.
Fourth: thunderstorms deviations even with communists and particularly on the periphery
the party in the questions of perspective and of individual terror.
In all of these four main issues is of course not political
Errors that performed approximately by the whole party and the expression of a certain fixed
and the decisions of the Comintern sprung opposite political ideology
would. Such deviations from the line of the Communist International are in
Germany's Communist Party today, due to their rich revolutionary
Experience, almost impossible. What is it that is rather error, or even
Weaknesses and ambiguities in certain parts of the party, deviations that often
unconsciously, only on the basis of insufficient political education of individual comrades and the staff through the whole party or due to a low degree of understanding arise for the decisions taken by German and international party meetings.

But even for such phenomena has overall Party and the Central Committee in the first Line full responsibility. Would they let pass without correcting them, or even without the necessary conclusions and consequences from them draw, that would mean, on the indispensable, incessant tenacious work on the Bolshevisation our Party refrain. Without a doubt it is our duty to work towards the party with the growing revolutionary tasks anytime greater political maturity to gain and thus the distance between the objective and subjective factor of revolutionary development to reduce the lagging behind of the party behind the revolutionary upsurge to liquidate.

Instead, we would be at each neglect a serious self-criticism that indulge "Vertigo before the successes", as Comrade Stalin half years ago criticized in different parts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and fought.

Of these four major issues in which such weaknesses in our ranks showed we are the first three questions expediently not be separated, but examined together. Because the misunderstandings, faults and discrepancies in our work and policy, which in these three questions of the fight against Social democracy, against Nazism and the application of the solution Popular revolution resulted are inextricably linked.

* * *

The reference to the correct analysis of the party on the role of government in the Brüning January Plenum of the Central Committee was therefore set at the beginning of this article, because these Analysis - as the XI. Plenum of the ECCI emphasized - in and of itself the party the key for a real problem, both in the struggle against the more stringent Social democracy, as against the Hitler movement, as well as in addressing the issues of was development of fascism. In his concluding remarks at the XI. Plenum led Comrade Manuilsky on the issue of:

"Was the main enemy of the working class, is and always remains the bourgeoisie. We do not need new inventing formulas. To be faschisierenden bourgeois democracies, in the fascist States, everywhere, at all stages of the fascist capitalist states is the main enemy the working class - the dictatorship of capital, regardless of their democratic or fascist form. ... This means that in Germany the main enemy today by the Social Democrats supported Brüning government is the government of the implementation of fascist dictatorship that today the whole pressure of the bourgeois dictatorship of the working class embodies. Depending on which wing the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat is based, we must also determine to which side of the main impact of the communists must be done."

Comrade Manuilsky shows here in unequivocal clarity the great relative importance of Brüning dictatorship and its supports, the SPD and the Nazis. It also stresses that from which point the German Communist Party must be guided, when examining the question must be directed against whom the main blow of their struggle. The
Answer to this question must be based mainly on two aspects: first of a concrete examination of the relevant policies of the bourgeoisie under a general analysis of class forces, secondly, of the revolutionary task the Communist Party.

What is now the situation with respect to the first point in Germany? The XI. plenum described the Social Democrats as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie and dismissed the accuracy of this formulation after especially for Germany. In fact, even development since the XI. Plenum in Germany, as in all other countries, fully confirms the correctness of the findings of the Comintern.

In recent weeks, the transformation of the Brüning government took place. It was at that time by a push from the right wing of the center (v. Papen) and by the Popular Party (Dingeldey) initiated. The basis for this policy thrusts, where need for legal development was proclaimed, was the demand of the Industry leaders at Brüning, his political course with absolute determination, according to tighten the requirements of heavy industry. The "government crisis", which thus was triggered immediately before the last Reichstag session ended with not Representatives of the heavy industry, which due to their difficult situation the main carrier inflationary trends are, but rather the confidant of the chemical industry, the IG Farben Industry, the largest and currently leading capitalist group in Germany, Warmbold, as Minister of Economics joined the government.

The further right orientation of the Brüning government in its new form, came into the Disembarkation of the Interior Minister Wirth, the pooling of Reichsinnen- and Reichswehr Ministry in Groener hand and thus the gain of the relative weight of the Reichswehr wing (Groener-Hindenburg) in the Reich Cabinet expressed.

Following this new government found the familiar backdrop of negotiations Government or, Hindenburg and lieutenant general Schleicher (head of News Office in the Defense Ministry) with the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler instead. The outcome of these negotiations, in a press discussion between the "Germania", the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and the "Volkscher Beobachter" its additions found was in the kingdom of scale for the time being a new rejection of the Centre, as the leading government party of the German bourgeoisie, the coalition wishes Nazis. The fact that the center then prepares directly be in this Hesse indulge coalition wishes of the Nazis in all probability, and the Meetings of the Christian union leaders with representatives of the Hitler party show that it is the opinion of the center is a purely tactical and temporary concerns.

One must ask the question now, why the center at all the negotiations in Reich scale allowed. This question can only be answered if one of the role Center as the leading party of the German bourgeoisie contemplates that the represents decisive layers of finance capital. As at the time the Hugenberg German National Party split to its policies as the right course and the whip To operate fascization in total stock of the German bourgeoisie, he sought at the same time to provide the Nazis a mass base for his policies. He went on from that Hitler Party - as it is called the great bourgeois press - "channeling" to, that is in such steer tracks which they of an appropriate tool for the big bourgeoisie in make exercise of civil dictatorship with fascist methods. this function...
of continued training of the Hitler party in the sense of big business put a People's Party multiply itself to take over. Lately, it is now the center itself, which the leading role it long towards the Social Democracy exercises, to take on with respect to the Nazis investigated. The is obviously also the motive in the negotiations of the bourgeoisie and its been Brüning government with the Nazis. we investigated now why these negotiations failed, then for the crucial Layers of finance capital represented excellent through the center, undoubtedly the question of social democracy have been decisive. As before, the Nazis not to a decisive extent in the operational workforce penetrated. As before, the SPD, despite their weakness by our advance, the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie represent and are with their millions in Annex ADGB. and other labor organizations, the most important mass base for securing the capitalist dictatorship and its implementation from. On the other hand grows with the general Swelling of the Nazi movement in the Hitler party an ever stronger support for the bourgeoisie zoom. This process is in the foreseeable future, no later than in conjunction with the Prussian elections, the issue of open government participation put the Nazis on the agenda again, whereby the role of the SPD by no means would be weakened. The center, which even bourgeois by its particular social structure of all Parties alone has a relatively solid mass support, trying for his policies a broad mass base through such institutions as the Economic Advisory Council and the to create working group, in which they related their fascist ideology "Corporative" principle (people's community) and a collaboration of the SPD to the Nazis realized. The class moderate content of Brüning policy is therefore on the one hand by means of Nazis the SPD, this mainstay of capitalism in the masses to weaken, to wear down and rendered all the full exploit (Prussia) On the other hand reversed to keep the Nazis by certain maneuvers in check and to provide a greater degree in the service of the dictatorship of finance capital (Hessen). Reciprocal utilization of the SPD and the Nazis for the dictatorship of Bourgeoisie, the growing use of fascist forms in the exercise of these Dictatorship by the Brüning-Severing-governments and the remains of the bourgeoisie recognized and exploited role of social democracy as a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie - These are the essential facts which would have resulted from the specific investigation Trends in Germany since the XI. Plenum result. not confirm these facts completely the teachings and resolutions of the XI. Plenum? This is true undeniable. Comrade Manuilsky examined in his concluding remarks at the XI. Plenum inter alia the question wherein the retardation of the Communist parties on the question of fascism behind the revolutionary upsurge manifests itself. He stated this:

"Secondly, this lag is expressed in the question of fascism that we the Social Democrats allow to maneuver on the issue of forms of bourgeois dictatorship. And which is now its main maneuvers in a whole historical period. Social democracy strives the crowds to detract from the fundamental questions of the class struggle on a polemical Dispute over the form of their own oppression - on the questions which form the civic
Dictatorship was better: parliamentary or extra-parliamentary. The theory of so-called "lesser evil", by the Gen. both Thalmann and Gen. Pollitt in their speeches have spoken, is currently the main channel, in which the parliamentary illusions move the masses. Social democracy is not just today, but over the course of a whole, Maneuver period over a longer time with their sham fight against fascism and cover up with every conceivable means those basic fact that fascism and Social fascism only two shades of the same social prop of the bourgeois Dictatorship. to smash these illusions of the masses, which ensures the undermining of Mass foundation of social democracy in the working class. 

And at another point of the final definition states:

"And our weakness, the weakness of the Comintern was that we the fight against Theory is not the "lesser evil" in all its diversity to our central task have made ... and not used the plenary to rectify these errors concretely. It will be necessary to wipe out this saddle after the Plenum of the ECCI. In this most serious and responsible work are the least general schemes and memorized Formulas over fascism in place, but it requires a specific consideration of Conditions of each country ... "

We must raise the question from we were in our entire policy in Germany this extraordinarily important principles have sufficiently taken into account. This is not the case. It would not be difficult, this reference to our general agitation and to prove propaganda. You only had any Communist newspaper make Germany or, in all likelihood, the majority of our Magazines, leaflets, brochures, etc. - and it would be seen that more than once instead that concrete investigation and representation of relationships, class forces, as they the XI. Plenum demands occur memorized schemes over fascism.

Such weaknesses, we can not tolerate. The Severing, catfish, and Breitscheid, operate the "toleration" Bruning, has recently been joined by Trotsky, who in his recent booklet openly the policy of the German social-fascists popularized and German workers begging for help for Bruning and Braun. No Wonder that the counterrevolutionary Sold writers of the bourgeoisie in this way the earned enthusiastic applause of bourgeois journalists of Mosse- and Ullstein Group Has.

What is important for us? The masses in the struggle against the step by step lead executive offensive of the bourgeoisie in all fields and in the Daily struggles show the socialist way out against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the dictatorship of the proletariat! Instead this extremely important historical confrontation in to put the focus of our entire propaganda and agitation, we often Percentage calculations on the "degree of fascism in Germany", "stages" theories and like longer produced.

But even worse is the fact that, despite the decisions of the XI. Plenum, despite the masterful clarify these issues as especially in the closing words of Comrade Manuilsky was given a liberal tendencies confrontation between fascism and bourgeois democracy, of Hitler's party and social fascism, shown in our ranks have.

Was it not the outflow of such unacceptable juxtaposition when we in Question of the red referendum against the Prussians government in some, albeit
occasional party functionaries had inhibitions that are not true, as the lignite Severing had only seen like, the strength of our mobilization work for the red Referendum weakened, but later in the respective cells of the party until a Clarification needed?
And is not the fact that the party ever to only on the occasion of the referendum such a sharp hostility towards Prussia government came, a proof that we until then the principled struggle against this strongest support of the Brüning government, these Forward block of the bourgeoisie in the implementation of the fascist dictatorship, neglected? Such neglect is particularly harmful from the standpoint of forthcoming elections Prussia. And it must be to go up to the Noting that even in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat without our Fault subconscious cues were present at least, as if the lignite Severing perhaps a "lesser evil" compared to a Hitler-Goebbels-government Prussia would. Such influence of revolutionary workers by the mendacious Socialist ideology, such remnants social democratic thinking in our Series, however, as we are. In full compliance with the decisions of the XI plenary must say, the worst danger for the Communist Party. How big is this danger that arises among others present in the latest maneuvers of Sociality fascism. The SPD, which, in conjunction with the new electoral successes of Hitler Party and due to their knowledge of the not aborted on forever Coalition negotiations of the center with the Nazis, for their Prussian Minister Seats fears, wants one hand holding her rebellious followers masses at the rod, On the other hand the bourgeoisie demonstrate their indispensability. For this reason she performs a new demagogic maneuver. They "threatened" that, "united front with the Communist Party to make ". The speech Breitscheid in Darmstadt on the occasion of Hesse elections and the comments on this issue in the "forward" show that the Social Democracy with this maneuver paints the devil Hitler-fascism on the wall, deter the masses from the real struggle against the dictatorship of finance capital. And this deceptive morsel indeed only a modification of the other policies of the "smaller represents evil, "she wants to with the sauce an alleged sudden Communists friendliness ("Against the ban on the Communist Party.") Season and for the masses make it more palatable.
We must ask the question: Has the KPD created all conditions to a such new types of fraud, to easily thwart such a deception of the masses? We can not unconditionally say yes. We ourselves have too often a little fascinated staring at the problem of fascism, rather than fascism as one of the forms the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the wider context precisely this bourgeois dictatorship classify. We have the wrong theory of the "inevitability" of the fascist at least partially supported dictatorship of monopoly capitalism invoice, or at least not always a sufficiently sharp struggle against this false and us Astray leading theory unfolds.
War have the necessary tightening this principled struggle against Social democracy is not carried out in full. Just a few examples:
inner layer of the Social Democratic Party and signaled the imminent
Elimination of the centrists, as well as their new party's founding as the biggest crime against
Working class, which in our former Resolution explicit repetition
our right decisions (food, Wedding) about centrist as dangerous form
reformism was omitted. Despite our proper perspective on this issue, we have
but then in the following months, but the need to increase our struggle against
this class treacherous centrist plan undoubtedly neglected.
Had we not done that, but on the right line of that Resolution
decided and fought against the plan in time for the new party, so would the
Seydewitze, these harmful elements from the standpoint of revolution, with its SAPD,
the party of centrist swamp, now play a much smaller role.
The fact that such. B. in our revolutionary trade unionism united front Deals
from above, at borough ADGB guides or other instances of the reformist
Bureaucracy could be made (Ruhr), proves also that our principal
Fight against social democracy has not led decided enough such errors
impossible to make.
A similar case is the impermissible formation of anti-fascist committees by
United front from above with "radical democratic groups" (the little mass support
own) and similar wavering figures, instead of the preponderance of gain
the antifascist struggle front - as it happened right in Braunschweig - in the farms
and to lay down on the masses
What results from all this? If Comrade Manuilsky in the sentences quoted his
Final word aufstellte the demand, according to the XI. Plenum fighting the theory
the "lesser evil" wipe out all existing loopholes, then the KPD, of
all parties of the Comintern most called and was obliged to still
not say of themselves that they were indeed as their "central" task regarded this
and have solved.
And yet the fight in the first place against all democratic illusions, particularly
against the fact that the Social Democrats a "support in the struggle against fascism" was a
essential precondition for mobilizing the masses to fight the
fascist actions of Brüning-Severing dictatorship and beyond for the overthrow
of capitalism.
The ultimate conclusion, which. From the decisions of the XI Plenary for
German party had to give, was, as we have seen: the main attack against the
to address social democracy as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie!
After Hamburg election victory of the party we had for some officials, including even
Top officials of the party, recorded moods that this the importance
Election success Decrease due to the growth of Nazi votes
wanted to. It is in this case also be necessary later to those phenomena
account in which an underestimation of Nazism and
Neglecting his fight by our Party expresses. But how is it
as regards the assessment of the Hamburg election result?
Despite the electoral success there were significant shortcomings and weaknesses detected and
were criticized. But there we succeeded, after all, in the firmest stronghold of German
beat Social Democracy breached when a steeper slump yet
succeeded. There we succeeded from the ranks of the Social Democratic workers
to win tens of thousands of communism. For every Communist, of the
Principle recognized that our main attack must be directed against the Social Democrats,
therefore had to our success over the SPD the ultimate yardstick for
his entire assessment of the election. If it was true that the fight against
Fascism is first and foremost the fight against the SPD and should be, then signified the tele
Success opposite Hamburg's Social Democrats has also recorded a success against the
Fascism.
Yet there were those moods that the front of the Nazi trees
Socialist forest not want to see. Because the Nazis in
Hamburg were able to achieve a considerable electoral success, underestimated these comrades
the importance of our fight against social fascism, the importance of our success
against the SPD. It expressed itself undoubtedly characteristics of departure from the
political from line duty to direct the main blow to the SPD.
These wrong attitudes towards, we must note with sharply: the
Fascists can ever be beaten only when the SPD, their alliance with
fascism, their service to the class enemy of the masses of workers and unveiled
This detaches from the SPD leaders. The SPD beat principle, in the factories and the
Unions ADGB as among the millions of unemployed, their anti-working class
Politics debunk - that is not possible by loud shouting and swearing (as
was sometimes become lately in our fashion), but only by the facts
our revolutionary politics. By the united front policy to fight for their
realize their own class interests, we are creating in the sozialdemokratischen
Workers and the proletarian youth new confidence to our party as the only
Leader of the proletariat.
We must go one step further in the methods of this policy for the production of
red united front of workers from all camps to common class struggle. We
must SPD-workers by comradely education and their own experiences
in the common struggle of virtually of the treacherous role of their leaders and of
convince fact that only the Communist Party, that only we through for their own class interests
Fire going. We need the Social Democratic workers the main everywhere
Suggest struggle demands for the production of red united front against the
Bruning Severing system, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their supports, against
Hitler Party and Social Democratic leadership addressed.
The best example of the proper implementation of the line of the main struggle for the SPD
Workers and the application of the united front policy as combat policy Braunschweig:
About the local output of the referendum did our party newspaper in Frankfurt
Main only to report "rejected plebiscite in Braunschweig", a sign of
outright parliamentary ossified thinking of that editor. The party
and the revolutionary working class measures our advance in Braunschweig with a
other measure. For playing extraparliamentary factors such as political mass strike,
revolutionary demonstrations, Fighting Red united front, etc., the decisive role.

On the question of the main thrust against the SPD, the core problem of the communist infected
Politics in Germany. We have already demonstrated with reference to the policy analysis,
so due to the policy of the bourgeoisie, the Brüning-Severing-governments, our
Fighting the SPD is the central problem of our revolutionary mass work. In
followed, we want to approach the same question from another side, the
is closely linked to the first question, but beyond all the fundamental
Importance of this problem unrolls.
I mean the problem of the struggle for their own class. For every Marxist-Leninists
it must be understood that the first requirement of the communist policy
Struggle for the recovery of their own class, the proletariat, must be. Only if we
win proletarian majority for communism, we can further objects
attraction of allies of the proletariat from the middle classes to the
realize anticapitalist battlefront and thus the conditions for the
create people's revolution in the sense of Marx and Lenin. Any blurring of these
Principles, any waiver of the placing of the struggle for their own class is broken
with Marxism, breaking with Leninism!

How does Lenin this problem? In the debates in drawing up the program of
Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia in 1902, Comrade Lenin particularly
thoroughly and in detail on this issue an opinion. Both in his criticism of
two then worked out by Plekhanov draft programs, as well as in its
Comments on the draft program of Martov and the Commission later appointed
developed by Lenin in the strongest Marxist position on the question of the relationship
between the proletariat and the working people. He here draws the conclusions for
entire policy of the proletarian socialist party. He writes, among other things:

"I fully share the view of V. Zasulich, that it is possible for us, a much larger number
of small producers and much earlier (than in the West) to win for the Social Democrats - that we,
to achieve that, everything in our power, need to do - that this "request" in
Program "against" Martynov and consorts must express ...

But we must not overstep, as does V. Zasulich the bow! One must not desire
confused with reality and, moreover, with the immanent reality necessary, which alone
our declaration of principles dedicated. It would be desirable, all small producers to
win - of course. But we know that this is a special class, a while with the
Proletariat by a thousand threads and transitional stages associated class, but a special
Class.

It is absolutely necessary to first distinguish it from all and only, solely and
only secrete the proletariat - and to explain only afterwards that the proletariat all
will deliver that all calls, all prompts.

I agree with the "after", but I ask only the "first"!

With us in Russia the hellish torments of have "toiling and exploited" mass no
caued people's movement, as long as the "handful" factory workers not to fight
began class struggle. And only this "handful" guarantees this fight, its sequel,
its spread. Especially in Russia, where critics (Bulgakov), the Social Democrats (today
we would say: Bolsheviks E. Th.) Accuse the peasant hostility where the SRs
talk of the need, the concept of class struggle by the term ,, struggle
to replace all the toilers and exploited ", - (Wjestnik Russkoi Revoluzii # 2..) just in
Russia we must first by a very sharp definition solely of
Class struggle, solely of the proletariat, distinguished from this rabble - and only then
explain that we all call, record everything, do everything, be extended to all be ...

However, the Commission "expands" and forgets delineate!! And I accused you of
Narrowness, because I demand that the extent these "demarcation" forward-chic? But
that's a twist, gentlemen!!

The tomorrow inevitable impending struggle against the combined critics and some
radical men from the "Russkiye Wjedomosti" and the "Ruskoje Bogatelayo" and the
SRs will necessarily require of us that we draw a line between the
Class struggle of the proletariat and the "battle" (Is it a struggle?) "The toiling and
exploited masses ". The talk of this "mass is the trump card in the hands of all
unreliable and the Commission has worked them into the hands and deprives us of the weapon
to fight against half-measures ...

These sets of Lenin that the crucial principles of Marxism-Leninism
include, revealed to the practical tasks of the revolutionary work of the KPD.
applied, despite some disparity able but that and also our priority
as the central task of the struggle for their own class, the struggle for the recovery of
Proletariat, or its majority, its decisive layers must be. Which
Conclusion follows but this?
The unconditional consequence that we have to the conquest of the proletarian majority
sake must direct the main blow against the party that still crucial

has a mass base in the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is not the
Hitler Party, but the Social Democrats.
Without victory in the fight against social democracy, we can not fascism
beat, that is against the force exerted by the fascist methods of dictatorship
Bourgeoisie successfully fight. Without the fight with the SPD decisive break through,
we can not possibly cope with the tasks in the mass base of the center
decisively penetrate and the other pillar of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie alongside the SPD,
the Hitler party whose mass base proposed especially the middle class, successfully
berennen and beating.
These are the obvious conclusions that the from the entire strategy
Leninism result. Comrade Stalin asked in his "Preface" to the book "On the way
October "on the" October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists ", etc. following observations made:

"But how was handled by the party this guide, on which line they took place? These
Leadership proceeded along the line of isolating the compromisers-parties, as the most dangerous
Groupings in the decision period of the revolution, on the line of isolating the
SRs and Mensheviks the ... The fight was no longer between tsarism and
People but between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In this period, the petty-bourgeois formed
democratic parties, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, the most dangerous social
Prop for imperialism. Why? Because these parties paktierenden parties were at that time, the
Parties of compromise between imperialism and the laboring masses. It is therefore
of course, that the main shock of the Bolshevik were then directed against these parties, because
have isolated without these parties, it was impossible for a victory of the Soviet revolution
expected. Many at that time did not understand this peculiarity of Bolshevik tactics and
accused the Bolsheviks of "excessive hatred" towards the Socialist-Revolutionaries and
Mensheviks and the "disregard of the main objective." But witnesses the whole period of
Preparation for October eloquently language that the Bolsheviks only through such tactics
were able to secure victory of the October Revolution."

Everything we previously about the weakening of our struggle against social democracy
said with regard to the basic struggle, as well as everything that regards a
insufficient application of a united front from below against the
add Social Democratic workers would (a more detailed list of
Examples of the latter territory is not necessary here, since this issue within the party to
has already been explained elsewhere), - all this proves that we of those basic rule
Leninist strategy and tactics, as she describes Comrade Stalin, is not enough in
our practice account.
The whole question of the weaknesses of our struggle against social democracy, as social
Mainstay of the bourgeoisie is of course the question of the struggle for their own
Class, so as not to separate the conquest of the proletarian majority. Without doubt
the Social Democrats, the SPD-workers in addition to the unorganized, as we have to
January Plenum of our Central Committee stressed a main reservoir for us in
Attracting workers. This discovery is the work of the Party as especially the RGO in the factories, the unions and the unemployed of the utmost importance.

* * *

The problem of the struggle for the majority of the working class for us in the closest Connection to the question of the application of the slogan of the people's revolution. It was not always this slogan applied entirely properly. Even place in an official document, the illegal formulation of the "triple alliance of the proletariat, the peasants and the urban SMEs" without the necessary sorting out the proletarian hegemony (and in the editorial layout of this resolution by the central organ even Formulation "Triple Alliance of the working people"). In contrast, we have previously described the basic expositions of Lenin on the question of the proletariat and the petty-bourgeois Layers, the shafts of the small producers, led. In the XI. plenum led Comrade Manuilsky regarding the concrete situation in Germany regarding the Use the slogan popular revolution, that:

"Comrade Thalmann was right when he pointed out in his speech that one of the task Conquest of allies for the proletariat not the task of conquering the majority of Working class must face. These tasks are intimately related. The closer the Communist Party of the conquest of the majority of the working class comes to so longer growing their power and their influence on the other, non-proletarian strata of the population. Does this mean, however, comrades, that we in Germany already the solution, the object of conquest, Settle the majority of the working class from the agenda? Not at all! That remains the basic main task, the strategic task for Germany."

This is indisputable. But that the CP is not always and everywhere is equally true has practiced this correct understanding of its policies. In other words, in the Use the slogan popular revolution we have not always with sufficient sharpness Popular revolution in the sense of working class politics as a synonym of the proletarian socialist revolution applied. Errors in this sphere are but both a violation of the strategic task, the fundamental principal task: the Conquest of the proletarian majority, as well as to the elaboration of those basic class line of our policy, the essence of a Marxist-Leninist Party accounts; a violation so against those principles, as Comrade Lenin in the previously cited remarks on the program of the Russian Social Democracy (later Bolshevik!, E. Th.) So decidedly and vigorously defended. Is there such a mistake with us? In special accumulation they result in the magazine "propagandist". In its December-Number 1930 treated the editorial "popular revolution against fascism" the question, which forces "to fight against fascism and to prevent his victory must be mobilized". The article rightly observes that only the proletariat, as the only to the end of a revolutionary class, overthrow the capitalist order and in its place the can put socialist. It is then but continued:

"But it does mean that the proletariat alone, without allies, his socialist revolution can do and must do? Certainly not in the countries where the petty bourgeoisie a
Compare these formulations with the relentless clarity of Lenin. Then results
is that here the revolutionary strategy is turned upside down. When Lenin with all the clarity
the "First": the demand, "demarcate solely the proletariat" and "only
Then": to declare that" we all call, take it, do everything possible to expand on everything
will". In "propagandist" instead: "Here it comes ... mainly depends on the
to gain petty-bourgeois strata of the proletarian revolution, or at least
neutralize". That certainly very important and to be underestimated at any cost problem
Extended to the allies is the central question of revolutionary strategy
applicable and tactics, which is relevant mainly. That is, the solution
Popular revolution not interpret the meaning of Marx and Lenin, not in terms of policy
the working class, but "pre-revolutionary" in a sense of, and with Marxism
Leninism has nothing in common.

That this is not just about a false lilt, but one, though
"Unintentional" and "unconscious" aberration from the Leninist strategy is, yields
from other formulations of the same article. The article deals with the
Concept of popular revolution in the context of the Russian October Revolution and continues that
this term "in all advanced capitalist countries, especially in
Germany, indispensable "was. It is then:

"Because in this concept lies immediately the concept of hegemony of the proletariat, the leadership
all exploited sections of the population, in the first row of the toiling peasant masses by
the proletariat in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. Want that
Proletariat this its hegemony, this actually his role as the champion of all the exploited
realize, it must organize the "people's revolution". This is particularly important in the present
Time in which it is to undermine the petty-bourgeois mass base of fascism, the toiling
Layers in city and village by the Nazis and fascism ever
pull away and turn them into allies of the proletariat."

So: in the term people's revolution "connected directly to" the concept of proletarian
Hegemony. In fact, a convenient way! Because if the proletarian hegemony
already is "directly" about people's revolution, is "infected", as is the
Proletariat and its party so all the difficulties for making this proletarian
Hegemony relieved. And really: the article writer in "propagandist" teaches us that
the proletariat to the actual achievement of its hegemony only easily "the
organize people's revolution "must. The humble reader, simple and propagandist
Party workers is certainly curious about how to go about it. But the editorialists of
"Propagandist" retains its wisdom (if he is the partaker) for itself and reveals nothing but
this meaningless scheme: the proletariat must "organize the people's revolution". Yes to
to complete the blurring and confusion, the next record already employed in
bold leap with the "petty-bourgeois mass base of fascism".
As the proletariat is the champion of all the exploited, as the hegemony of
is the proletariat actually realized, it is not divulged a syllable. We
do not expect any concrete and practical answer to this question, because the whole treatment
of the proletarian hegemony in his mouth to be an empty phrase.
But that is indeed the case. The article is silent that the proletariat under the leadership
of the Communist Party of its hegemony only realized on all workers by
it his policy, the policy of the working class, without compromise, without weakening,
revolutionary performs until the end.
In counter salt to this liberal dilution of the solution is found in the people's revolution
January number 1931, the same journal in an article by Comrade JL "The
fascist dictatorship and the propaganda of the anti-fascist struggle "a right and
Leninist approach to the problem of the proletarian hegemony over the working people.
In this article, the other in some issues (revolutionary situation, etc.) specific,
now by the January Plenum of the CC. already contains corrected error, is to
running problem of hegemony of the proletariat that this hegemony only realized
can be when the mass proletarian struggle itself - strikes and
Unemployed actions - assumes sharper forms, broader masses detected and "characterized the
cowed masses of peasants and petty bourgeoisie shows that there is a force that
is more powerful than the capitalist oppressors, the power of the revolutionary
Proletariat ".
This opinion is correct. The small producers in town and country, toiling peasants
and non-performing SME, are by no means in all circumstances ally
revolutionary proletariat, but on the basis of their class position as good and just as often
Ally of reaction. They are by Lenin only regarded allies when they
to "renounce" from capitalism, as it is possible, they "pull over" to the proletariat.
forget this fact, the class role of the proletariat, as the only up to the end
revolutionary class, cover up, even if it recognizes in words.
An insufficient understanding of these conditions under which alone the solution
People's revolution can be applied Marxist-Leninist, is found not only
in the aforementioned article, but also in a number of other issues of the
"Propagandist". In an article by Comrade AE about "Proletarian Revolution and
Popular revolution "in February-Heft 1931 z. B. the" spontaneous popular revolution "with the"
Enthusiasm of the masses "equated, the only" by the organizing and political
leading occurrence of the proletariat to the proletarian revolution convert "was. It has to be
Although the terms of reference for the first part of the bourgeois revolution since the mid
19th century are, but it proves hitting the utter confusion, with the here
Slogan "people's revolution" is treated. This confusion is further not
managed in the world, that in the same article later follow some proper formulations.
It is not at random and only occasional deviations, but
real error. This proves the July 1931 number of the "propagandist" in its Executive
Top products. There we read:

"The mass - the people, enter into the fight against the bourgeois state, against bourgeois
Class domination - against the system of the bourgeoisie.
The mass - the people want to fight. "Better an end with horror - as a horror without end"
already call thousands upon thousands decades organized Social Democratic workers. " 
What a Babylonian language confusion, behind the confusion and
Vermanschung all terms hides! Soon it will be "weight", now it is "the people" soon
are there "the Social Democratic workers." It is undeniable that these phrases Schwall
with the task of Marxist-Leninist clarity and cleanliness in the definition and
Analysis has no more in common the least. This is not "propaganda of Marxism
Leninism ", as it is announced on the cover of this magazine, but the
complete opposite: the confusion of all Marxist-Leninist terms!
It's just a continuation of this rough theoretical error when the November issue
of "propagandist" 1931 in the editorial of AE's:

"What is the bourgeois revolution? It is a political revolution and not social."

And at another point of the same article:

"Had been only the bourgeois revolution on the agenda in November 1918, it would
the betrayal of the Social Democracy not so monstrous in size, so would be "their" November-
"Achievements" enormous."

This means a total opportunist corruption of Marxist theory that
Every revolution is a social (bourgeois also). That means in addition to
clean break with the Leninist question about the role of the proletariat in the
bourgeois revolution. AE, the downright proof competes for the fact that in a
bourgeois revolution, the SPD - ie, reformism - the proper management of
Working class would make so denies all experience the Bolsheviks fighting with
Menshevism in the Russian Revolution of 1905-06 and the findings of the
Comintern on the role of the II. International and its parties in the bourgeois
democratic revolutions of recent times (China, Spain, etc.). He emerges as a

"Theoreticians", the one of which he is not to liberate the eggshells of social democracy,
could smuggle as falsified "Leninism" in our ranks tries.
It is understood that the party decided against such deviations and errors
making front, overcoming the misconceptions and as soon as possible clarity
must provide.

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We have seen how the weaknesses in the implementation of the line of the XI. Plenary - the
Main shock lead against the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, the SPD - closely with
the deviations and errors in the application of the people's revolution slogan connected
are. The third problem, which we briefly turn our attention here
want the major weaknesses in the fight against Nazism, closely related to the
previous questions together. We already dealt with the phenomena
an overestimation of National Socialism, the individual comrades a clear view of
a class-even analysis and a class-scale with this problem
darkened. But this is of course not the only type of error compared to the
Nazism.
Next this opportunistic deviation and the cited serious opportunist errors in the question fascism and democracy, there are also very serious "Left" error of underestimating both the importance of fascism in general Framework of the class struggle, as well as the special role of the Nazi Mass movement. If such errors to the German party yet?
We can all, not acquit the entire party and its leadership, thereof.
Let's start with some theoretical omissions. We have (this also applies to the Report of the German party on the XI. Plenary by the author of this article refunded. E. Th.) Fascism including the growth of the Nazi Movement to one side and mechanically just as the antithesis of the revolutionary Recovery, as the defense of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat considered. These Assessment was correct, but they alone are not enough and thus became a scheme that was dialectical, reciprocal process of class relations not quite fair.
Only recently has this defect was seriously corrected. In the XI. plenum led Comrade Manuilsky from the closing words:

"Fascism reflects the dialectical contradiction of social development. He holds in both elements, both the element of the ruling class offensive, and the Element of their decomposition. In other words - the fascist development, both at a , As well as lead victory of the proletariat to defeat. The question a decision of the subjective Factor, ie the class struggle of the proletariat."

And at another point his final word Comrade Manuilsky sat under justified ridicule deal with that theory, as from the growth of fascism so to speak, the victory of communism preparatory:

"The tasks of the Communists would highly simplified in such a position of questions will. The solution to these problems would be almost as an uninterrupted triumphal march appear. Overcoming of fascism - nothing easier than that! He rots and disintegrates entirely from alone. The petty bourgeoisie is already disappointed itself from fascism and turns his back. but Has fascism in trying to penetrate the establishments fingers burned, we could, starting from this setting, easily return to the erroneous conclusion, that he was already beaten. If the old Guesde when he was still a Marxist, said that the war is the mother of the revolution, we still have to say that fascism - not the father of Revolution is."

Is this question a minor issue? Not at all! How dangerous for us all even slight deviation in the direction of the criticized Manuilski rightly so sharp "Theory" is arising just recently made some observations of the German Social Democracy.
The SPD is to realize that the bourgeoisie of their assistance in the exercise will not renounce dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, even if it later in a Time the Nazis in the implementation of fascist forms of rule of capitalist class rule can participate within the national government. So prepares them gradually forward to the support and a Brüning-Hitler government instead before today Brüning-Groener-government.
While the SPD on one side "left maneuvers" with the "threat" of a Together walking performs with the KPD, they invent other hand, already a new edition the theory of the "lesser evil". After a Briining Hitler government is still
be a "lesser evil" compared to a mere Hitler government. No more and no less than this splendid theory Herr Breitscheid at a public rally in Emden, a few weeks before his new "confession" of Darmstadt, developed. The Nazis in the German Government - that was not so tragic, because the more quickly they will their stupidities wean.

With this theory, the Nazis in the government "to Abwirtschaften" to leave, wants the SPD lame the antifascist struggle will of the masses and from the outset also a possible imminent Brüning-Hitler government prepare the way, so as it has done in the past with the Brüning government.

But this education of the masses to passivity reflected so well in those mechanical theory resist as if fascism only a product of the capitalist crisis and the degradation in the camp of the bourgeoisie is, railed against Comrade Manuilsky. Would we therefore tolerate such a theory in our ranks - and that is at least in part may be - so that would mean the new social democratic hoax give And so we come to the serious errors of underestimation of Fascism in our ranks.

In an article by Comrade Kr. In September 1931 booklet of "propagandist" found the following passage:

"A Social Democratic coalition government, a battle incompetent, fragmented, confused Proletariat against states, would be a thousand times greater evil than an openly fascist Dictatorship of a class-conscious, fight resolute, united in its mass proletariat confronts."

This shows a completely wrong assessment of fascism and of what a fascist dictatorship mean in practice. It is almost the similar call for a Hitler's government, which will already easily be beaten, as in Breitscheid. at Breitscheid is this conscious of the euthanasia of the masses. When "propagandist" it is a Expression for a certain sectarian fatalism against the fascist Development, the counterpart of opportunistic panic other comrades. Here is a two-front battle the party an absolute necessity. stood Earlier once a "propagandist" (December, 1930 issue, editorials Comrade S.) the Formulation: "even before fascism to power comes before the fascist Dictatorship triumphs ...

The "triumph of fascist dictatorship" is therefore "inevitable" already in sale taken. This is a purely defeatist opinion, with our line nothing in common Has.

We must instead identify with all severity that both the fascist Development in general, as well as on the development of the National Socialist Movement in particular, in a decisive way the revolutionary class struggle of the Proletariat decides.

We must succeed, the defeatist moods in the working class against the Fascism, as they are bred by the SPD leaders to overcome completely. Otherwise avoid risk that the bourgeoisie cold way to open
fascist dictatorship could proceed without the resolute revolutionary up to the highest forms of struggle fear resistance of the proletariat must. The KPD can undoubtedly recorded some successes in the fight against the Hitler party. But just as undoubtedly it is clear that the recent rise of Nazi shaft up to a certain point on a weakness of our due defensive action is. We have at the rapid pace of the disintegration of the old bourgeois parties the rapid growth of the Nazi movement certainly can not escape. But the communist movement in Germany today already strong enough to at least significantly alter and influence the development to.

However, This includes a significant reinforcement of our ideological mass struggle against the Hitler party. It is not enough to deal only with her murder terror. Rather it is necessary - and this is one of the most important lessons that we from the various choices of late have to draw - a serious policy against National Socialist Party to its anti-working class character as a protection force for the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to unveil protection force for entrepreneurship. We must by our policy only party of the struggle against Versailles and Young and for Liberation of the toiling Germany by rolling up our freedom program the "national" discover and smashed demagogy of Hitler party. We need to show masses that the Nazis on the question of national Liberation struggle beyond the barricade are mortal enemies and this struggle is. These Question is a crucial part of our mass struggle against Nazism and is one of the important issues of our entire policy.

This applies to a much greater extent for now in the strongest onset Attempts by the Nazis to positions with the help of their HIB-action ("Into the Enterprises") to find among the proletariat. In addition to the provision of essential Tightening our principled struggle against social democracy, which is also the Position of the struggle against fascism in general and against the Nazism in particular represents the core problem is the most determined struggle against any intrusion of the fascists in the establishments and for cleaning up the operations of fascist cells an absolute necessity. The same is true of the Unemployed movement and the work among the employees. Moreover, standing in front of the party in the strongest of the struggle for the attraction of toiling middle classes to the proletariat, we improve immediately and energetically must make and lively. As we this issue of attracting Allies of the proletarian class struggle, the problem of the people's revolution in Marxist-Leninist sense and not in the sense of liberal deviations of who ask to "propagandist" (which multiply in the party press, emerged), which is has already been shown above.

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have: ambiguity in the matter of perspective and tendencies of individual terror. We do not need in this theoretical study the silly scams refuting the bourgeoisie press and social democracy as if it the in the KPD or its affiliated organizations "illegal terrorist formations" were or had been. Such pathetic inventions of policemen souls and ink pens in the newsroom the "forward" and civil tabloids Ullstein, Mosse and Hugenberg, with the Nazi dirt organ of Mr Goebbels on a very ostentatious Sensationalism successfully compete, judge himself. However, what interests us, are real phenomena in individual workers, inside and outside the revolutionary movement that is conscious through the relegate provocations of the terror of the line of the revolutionary mass struggle blank and, more or less consciously, the Socialist Revolutionary ideology of individual Terror, shootings, adventurous things and the like prey, fall. In such isolated phenomena to two expresses:

First, workers who may be pushing for this route have not Marxist understood analysis of the present situation and the development perspectives and recognized as they represent the Communist Party and the Communist International. Already in the XI. Plenum, we found for Germany with complete clarity that we are at that stage of the revolutionary upsurge, in the as yet the immediate power struggle of the revolution itself is on the agenda, but the Conditions of a revolutionary crisis in Germany accelerated zoom ride. Who recognizes this perspective the KPD and the Comintern, must also understand that today before every revolutionary workers and front of the whole party, the central task is: tenacious, tireless struggle for the conquest of the proletarian majority and above, the recovery of allies for the proletariat of all toiling Layers for a common struggle against capitalism under proletarian hegemony. This means that the struggle of the working class, the strikes of the factory workers, the Mass actions of the unemployed, the mass struggles of all working strata, tenant Strikes, tax strikes, defense against evictions and foreclosures, etc., with In other words, the mass struggle against the emergency decrees of the bourgeoisie to to organize mass political strikes and other higher forms and Kamp to bring development. A series of mass political strikes in recent times (Braunschweig, Nowawes, Riesa) show that this work is going forward. Who takes the place of this tough, relentless, revolutionary mass work the game with the sets turret or hand grenade to a time when the conditions for an armed struggle of the masses are still not given, - denies the analysis of Situation and the perspective of development, as they enter the KPD and the Comintern. It it is clear that we have a duty, if we consider the role of our party as the leader of the class want to meet, against any such putschist and sectarian tendency our to direct ideological fire. That is one side of the problem. Second: Those workers who with from the planned Nazi provocations for Defence same methods of individual terrorism misled, remove in terms of Methods of the proletarian struggle for freedom from the principles of Marxism Leninism. Because of individual terrorism has in the system of Leninism nor Place as the cowardly, miserable liberal chatter of the social-pacifists. This mortal enemies of Marxism pride themselves that they also of revolutionary terror as a method violent suppression of enemy class by the proletarian dictatorship and so the proletarian revolution at all "reject". You shudder against any violence
back if it is not the violence of the civil police saber or
Reichswehr machine guns is.
Needless to say that we affirm Communists violence, without which no
is historical upheaval conceivable. Needless to say that for us as for Karl
Marx "violence is the midwife of every old society which with a
new pregnant goes ". Of course, we the revolutionary terror
struggling proletariat under the immediate struggle for power and for securing the
affirm conquered power of the working class, as it the victorious Russian proletariat to
October 1917- applying an end to the destruction of the counterrevolution.
But all this has nothing to do with the individual terror, which the Nazi
will entice murder wave the revolutionary workers. If class-conscious workers to
leave of the tasks of mass work distracted to this area, they exchange the
Armour of Leninism with the history of the labor movement long
disproved methods of SRs from the time of Russian Tsarism.
Why sit we tactic of the Social Revolutionaries from? Comrade Lenin has in a
Essay from 1902, "Why should the Social Democrats (the later Bolshevik
Party, E. Th.) The SRs announce a resolute war? "The answer to
given this question. It states, inter alia:

"Because the SRs, the record on terror in its program, and as a means of him
propagate political struggle in its current form, so that the movement seriously
Starting (the most severe) damage and the inextricable link of Socialist Labour with the
Mass of the revolutionary class destroy. The word most protestations and
Incantations can not refute the undoubtedly existing fact that terrorism, as it SRs apply today and propagate, in no connection with the work in
the masses, is for the masses and with the masses, that of the party
outgoing organizing terrorist attacks our numerically extremely low
organizational forces of their difficult and unfulfilled by far the task
Organizing a revolutionary workers party distract that the terror of the Social Revolutionaries in
fact is nothing but a duel, the condemned the experience of history completely
Has. Even foreign socialists starts the noisy terrorist propaganda that our
SRs unfold now to trouble. In the Russian working masses but this soweth
Propaganda downright harmful illusions, as "constraints of terror the people against
their will to think politically ", he would" secure a position as a month oral propaganda,
the opinion of thousands of people on the revolutionaries and the meaning (!!) of their activities to
change ", as he is capable," the wavering, discouraged by the sad outcome of many
Demonstrations Shattered infuse new forces ", etc. These harmful illusions can
only a rapid disappointment and weaken the work on the rush of the masses
absolutism prepared, lead."

And in an article in the "Iskra" from August 1, 1902 "Revolutionary adventurism"
Lenin employed again and in greater detail with the question of terror:

"The Social Revolutionaries not notice naively that their tendency to cause terror on
intimately connected with the fact related that right from the start off of the workers' movement
were and continue to stand apart from it, without being even anxious that the Party
to be revolutionary class, which leads its class struggle. Zealous swearing causes often
aufzuhorchen and doubting the inner truth of what a sharp stain requires. And me
must often think of the words: "How will the swearing not tired?" - when I
Protestations of SRs read: 'We are pushing through terror the work among
Masses not in the background '. Asserting that but the same people that the of
Social Democratic Movement (the later Bolshevik !, E. Th.) That actually the masses
legs brings, have already moved away and continue to move away from her, being in itself
Fragments soon cling of one, now the other theory.
As excellent explanation of what is said can do that from the Social Revolutionary Party
published pamphlet serve 3 April 1902nd ... The leaflet of 3 April mimics with
slavish loyalty the template of the "latest" evidence of the terrorists after. ... The time, "because
the working people out of darkness occur "and" powerful popular movement, the iron will propose goals in pieces ":)" is unfortunately !! "(literally the saying: unfortunately!) not even once come, and terrible is the thought of how many victims there will be there! "Bring it not these words: "Unfortunately, not once" the complete lack of understanding of the Mass movement and the lack of faith in it expressed? Is not this assertion deliberately to mock the fact contrived that the working people to stand up already begins? Finally, if even this trite assertion were well founded, as it does not make sense in reality - so would particularly palpably from her unfitness of Terrors arise, because without the working people all bombs powerless manifestly powerless ...

How many reams of paper SRs may also prescribe to assure that push them through their terrorist propaganda work among the masses not aside, not disorganize - it will not succeed in refuting through their verbiage the fact that the real state of mind of the modern terrorists just by the cited leaflet is correctly reproduced. ... That the only hope of the revolution, the "crowd" is that against the police solely to fight a revolutionary organization can, the (in fact and does not this amount in words), that is a truism. It would be a shame that still need to prove. And only people who have forgotten everything and learned a nothing could "Reversed" arrive at the outrageous, outrageous nonsense to assert that Soldiers absolutism front of the crowd, the police him before the revolutionary organizations "Save" can, but before individual that make the Minister Hunt, could save nothing !! "Each duel of a hero awakens in us all the spirit of struggle and courage," says one us. But we know from the past and see in the present, that only new forms of Mass movement or the awakening of new layers of the masses to independent struggle really bring in all the spirit of struggle and courage. The two fighters but, just to the extent Duels of Balmashows (social revolutionary student, in 1902 the Tsarist Minister of the Interior Sipiagin killed and was sentenced by court martial to death. Me E. Th.), call immediately only a quickly passing sensation produced, but lead indirectly to apathy, for doing less Waiting for the next duel ...

The immediate tangible and Sensational results confuse SRs with the practical purpose. The demand, inflexible on the to persevere class standpoint and to maintain the mass character of the movement, is for them a "Vague theorizing". Clarity is for them: follow every mood slavishly and ... consequently helpless standing there with every swing. It begin demonstrations - and of these people is a bloodthirsty rant, a talk about the beginning of the end. The Demonstrations listen to, let his hands fall and before you even the soles has expired, already the shouting begins, "the people will not even once ..."

The Social Democrats (Bolshevik Party, E. Th.) Is always warn against adventurism and relentlessly expose the illusions which inevitably lead to complete disappointment. We must not forget that a revolutionary party only worthy of the name when the Indeed, directs the movement of the revolutionary class. We must not forget that each Popular movement assumes extraordinarily diverse forms, constantly working out new forms, old stripping and changes or new connections of old and new forms produced. And it is our duty to participate actively in this process of working out of methods of struggle and ordnance participate. ... We close our eyes to the difficulty of this task, but we will work energetically and steadfastly at her, without letting us swayed by the objections that one "undefined distant future" is. Yes, gentlemen, we are for the future and not only for the previous forms of movement. We put on a long and difficult work what a future, the "easy" repetition of what already from the past has been convicted before."

What Lenin says here about individual terror as a method of struggle, we can with full Right as the classic formulation of the Marxist standpoint on this issue apply also to the present. Certainly there may be situations where the terror in Meaning the actions of individual groups playing a revolutionary role. Lenin made in the
Revolution of 1905 with respect to the guerrilla groups often described (similar to playing also in China and in the Russian Civil War after October 1917, the Red Guards, "Partisan groups, etc. a major role). But the prerequisite for this was a general situation in the armed struggle, the uprising of the masses already on the Agenda was. In which, to use Lenin's formulations The 1902,

already a collection of masses began demonstrations, even armed. Demonstrations took place, however, was a time of revolutionary upsurge of yet had not led to the revolutionary crisis, let the revolutionary situation. The same is true of the current stage of development in Germany. So is the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party from November 10, 1931 against the individual terror far as the bourgeois press the revolutionary workers wants to tell, only a "tactical maneuver" that to secure the party before a should serve ban, but in reality "not serious" would. On the contrary, the The main reason for this extremely serious and significant decision was just the conviction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, that any neglect of Bolshevik struggle against individual terrorism and any conciliatory toleration. This compared with only the Nazis and thus the bourgeoisie ever their game for deflecting the working class of the crucial tasks of the revolutionary would facilitate mass struggle. The main reason for the decision of the Central Committee So our aim was, the party and the working class not to be distracted by the Field of organizing strikes, unemployed actions tenant strikes, tax strikes, political strikes, etc., from the fight against hunger offensive of the bourgeoisie. Passing on the burden of the crisis and the imperialist Tribute to the working Masses. A second major reason was the point of our fight against Nazism successful shape. The murder terror of SA-bands is not so last also a means for the Hitlerite party, the masses of Nazi followers through a heated atmosphere as possible bloody clashes against to make communist enlightenment unresponsive. Moreover, Hitler tried Party by the confrontation with the revolutionary proletariat to the field seeks to urge shootings and stabbings, their own large capitalist to disguise policies before their followers, while simultaneously pressing the exercising government in the direction of the prohibition of the KPD. Also for all these reasons the decision of our Central Committee was necessary. He has So not a weakening, but on the contrary, the maximum tightening our ideological mass struggle against fascism for goals. It takes into this regard scarcely be only pointed out that the decision of the Central Committee does not intend, the mass struggle of the proletariat and Toilers Defence fascist murder terror in the least mitigate. On the contrary, the example of Braunschweig in this area, which we already pointed, shows how the correct application of the proletarian united front policy antifascist mass struggle is delivering the greatest successes. The decision of the Central Committee will contribute in the future this line even more determined and more successful apply. The phenomena in which slipping of the line of Leninism to the policy of SRs, facing methods of individual terrorism, accurately reflect how
the weaknesses ideological-political nature on the other three main areas, which we employed previously, a significant deficiency in the implementation of decisions the XI. Plenary and our Central Committee meetings. Us while it is insufficient in this case, the Concretization of our analysis and our perspective and their lack of Popularization among the masses as the basis for such sectarian errors slipping on individual terror emits.

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It is not the task of this article to point out the great and positive achievements that we reached in the last years. Also, we are not dealing here with different major weaknesses of our revolutionary practice (strike leadership, united front policy, RGO, operating labor, work among the youth, etc.). These questions are naturally with the treated here along problems. So what shows up? It turns out that despite the great achievements of our party their Is theoretical level, the ideological and political level of our party work unsatisfactory and a substantial improvement necessarily requires. Are our decisions properly and correct? No one can deny it. In this article, the attempt was made to hand the XI. Plenum of the ECCI to prove that all the mentioned differences, Weaknesses and mistakes would have been impossible at a sufficient, thorough Study of results of the XI. Plenum. Or it may defects in the decisions of the German party, due to their can explain the ideological weaknesses and errors shown? Also not true. All you need is from the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in May on the Decisions of the XI. To quote Plenum of the ECCI some key phrases that just with employ those questions in which our work weaknesses and deviations of the line of the XI. have shown plenary. It says the resolution:

"In the present period the bourgeoisie goes over to, increasingly fascist Methods of rule to apply. But it is incorrect to assume that the fascist dictatorship under all circumstances and in all countries necessarily the only form of capitalist must be domination. The fascist dictatorship is not a contradiction in principle for bourgeois democracy represents, is carried out under the the dictatorship of finance capital. in the Transition from the democratic to fascist methods of rule expresses itself rather only a change in the forms, an organic transition from the veiled and hidden to open and undisguised dictatorship, not a change in the class content from. In Germany, the SPD, as a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, the government is trying of Implementation of the fascist dictatorship, the Cabinet Brüning as the "lesser evil" compared to to portray a Nazi government, which the fascist character of the methods of rule the Brüning government to cover up. Here would any tendency of a liberal opposition of Fascism and bourgeois democracy as a principle of opposing systems in particular Dimensions support of the Social Democratic fraud of the working masses and a Weakening of mass struggle against the implementation of the fascist dictatorship mean. A particularly sophisticated role in mass social-democratic fraud currently playing again the "left" Social Democrats. To the class against the treacherous policies of the SPD and indignant to stay away from her loslösenden masses at this party, they result in a demagogic opposition without any political consequence by ...
In Germany, taking place at the time an increase in the requirements of the revolutionary crisis.

... Task of the party is, by the run of their combat actions of the masses in the process
Setting the objective conditions to promote and to accelerate its pace ...

The Prussians policies of the SPD is the mainstay of this Brüning course and has the black-red-Golden Prussia made a stronghold of the dark reaction in Germany. The fight against
Prussian Government is therefore a crucial part of our general mass struggle against
the capital dictatorship and fascism ...

These few sentences from the resolution of the May Plenum of the Central Committee. the KPD like as
serve proof that with a thorough evaluation of our decisions throughout the
Party work were omitted the cited errors. One has to say it but that in
our party, and despite their great experience, despite their Bolshevik development
their maturation process to Leninism, even petty-bourgeois weaknesses of
Neglect of theoretical and political work and the serious study of decisions
are the Comintern and the Central Committee present. If only occasionally, so are
but, moods available, in which insufficient understanding of the inextricable
Bonding of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice expresses. moods,
which sometimes involve just when discussing theoretical issues related

Meetings of the Comintern and the Central Committee of the party were loud. There are comrades
who believe in the discussion of such problems, one must now "from the lofty perch of
Theory descend back to the ground level of the rough practice. "Such sentiments and
Estimations have nothing in common with the Bolshevik views. Each concession
to such moods means neglecting the internal political
Educational work of our Party and thus weakening our practical ground work.
Without the gain and substantial deepening of this educational work, the
necessary two-front battle against the main danger of right opportunism and the
"Left" deviations are not performed successfully. We have the decisions of the
meetings of the Communist International and our Central Committee
passionate, serious and active study in our ranks and the right
bring implementation in the proletarian masses.

We need, just as we in our revolutionary practice, the lag of the party
want to liquidate behind the objective possibilities of revolutionary upsurge, a
make resolute turn to overcome the weaknesses of the theoretical field.
This is not a question that only the top officials of the party, the upper and middle
Lines are concerned, but a question of our entire Party work, 'by the Central Committee
to the cell.
Take this work in attack, align the party line, the fire at all
Weaknesses, deviations and errors concentrate and reducing the level of total
raising party, bring unity between theory and practice within the meaning of the Leninism -
it all means: the requirements for even greater success of the revolutionary
Mass work, provide for an even stronger rise of communism!
This theoretical work and efforts, all problems sharper and fundamental to
filters, is also a prerequisite for the party to approach the great task
can to it by the VI. World Congress of the Comintern was made: the creation of a
to allow the program of the German party to the VII. World Congress.
In the XI. Plenum of the ECCI was especially Comrade Piatnitzki, of the work of all
Sections of the Communist International in various fields of
"You must decide clear everything out of the way, what the real twist in the work
Party, of Communist Youth Associations, of the Redden unions and of the
Union opposition prevents so the Comintern, the Profintern and all its sections
successfully organize the proletariat, lead, and in the coming battles against the dictatorship
the bourgeoisie, can lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat to victory."

We need to get used to it, every step of our daily practice of revolutionary
Class struggle to compete with the highest standards of revolutionary theory. Only then
We will realize the degree of responsibility, which in a revolutionary party
its entirety at any time must show. It is clear that the directives of the Central Committee
in all political questions, down to the smallest cell of a relatively long way
return. There is a danger that these directives for them to members
reach, often less qualified, less clearly worded, weakened or under
Circumstances be even a little "bent", sometimes even "lost"
go. That's partly the difficulties and the pace of revolutionary
Mass work of our Party founded. A significant protection against such phenomena
but the increased work for the general improvement of the theoretical level of the party,
the general political training and strengthening our squad.

With the intensification of the class situation, the intensification of the class struggle and the
Growth of the revolutionary movement to rise to the tasks and requirements for the
Party. The development of the party zeitigter an inner process of transformation of our
Official body of such in many places new, younger members to the site
Comrades brought, not with the revolutionary development temporarily or permanently
to keep up were able. This has meant that in the past one to two years
about half of our functionary rod was replaced. This development
welcome undoubtedly. But it brings with it the great duty of the party, these
younger comrades that through constant tireless political and ideological education work
to gain spiritual knowledge they require for their responsible work.
Only then will they be a role model for her classmates to real leaders
are working class that are deeply connected to the work experience and the
creative development of the initiative of the masses by our revolutionary work to
highest Elan develop.

The consolidated unit of the party, both the product of its internal maturing process as
is the general consolidation of the revolutionary class forces, the party represents the
substantially before the emergence anti-party tendencies, groupings or even
Fractions. All the more is the party just committed due to their unity, their work
any time to check with an open and unrestricted Bolshevik self-criticism and
to improve. Bolshevism grew, in an irreconcilable struggle against the right
Opportunism and Trotskyism, must all of us as a particular example and role model
serve.
The education of the party is always also work to enhance their combat effectiveness. If we
go with all forces it to raise the political level of our Party and to
improve, so that is also working on the masses and for the masses to the party and
with it, the working class action enabled for large and heavy tasks of
revolutionary freedom struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of
* Proletariat to make!

Forge the red united front!

Hunger Winter has begun. The prevailing financial capital, the ruling bourgeoisie
introduces new blows against the proletariat, new strikes against the working people. All loads
the capitalist crisis, all burdens of tribute slavery of the German people by the
criminal policy of the German bourgeoisie in alliance with the international
Financial capital is subject, be passed on to the shoulders of the masses. distress and
Reaction accept unacceptable levels. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is with
aggravated forms performed. Governments Bruning Groener and Braun-Severing
issued every week new emergency decrees. While the bankrupt capitalists
Hundreds and thousands of millions of marks from the tax dollars of working people in the
insatiable jaws are thrown to secure their risk profit, are the
Workers reduced wages, the unemployed robbed the support, the officials and
Staff salaries, the noose around the neck of the non-performing medium-sized company is
and the creative farmers drawn even tighter. whizzes The hunger whip of capital
All layers of the working population down.
Shall we call numbers of misery? Numbers of suicide statistics? Should we
always kärglichere paycheck of proletarians with the diets of the Supervisory Board, the
Directors-General, the big bankers and subsidized landlords compare? Shall we starving calling for work unemployed, the lot of their Families and screaming for bread children with the well-fed and rich of Compare capitalist gang? In Germany the emergency decrees speaks the dumb Not that naked misery of the masses far too eloquently than that we still documentary evidence of this plundering of the working class and the working people require in town and country. While the bourgeoisie always new measures against hunger the masses carried out and thereby the boundless love services of social democracy operated while the Economic Advisory Board of the Brüning government and its brown-Severing branch in Prussia the so-called union leaders of all shades to the peaceful contribute new raid against the workers and empty this participation among some Phrases meaningless protests seek to disguise, amplified by the other wing of capitalist front forth the Hitler party their efforts on the enslavement and Impoverishment of the people "involved" to be allowed. The deep betrayal of social democracy in all interests of the workers and the toiling People always drives broader masses of disappointed petty bourgeoisie, workers, farmers and also parts of workers who previously in the camp of bourgeois traditional parties stood in the ranks of the Hitler party. If there are no Communists and not revolutionaries were union opposition, even tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of would Social Democratic workers from the membership and following of the SPD, thanks to the land policy of Wels and Breitscheid, Braun and Severing to Hitler. There is only ONE Wall that prevents these workers and fields: the front of the revolutionary class struggle. By the Social Democracy and reformist trade union bureaucracy in particular Opportunities still the name of "Marxism" for their class treachery abuse and defile him, they drift grist to the mill of mendacious Nazi and other civil agitation "against Marxism". Without the SPD there was no such rise of the Hitler movement in Germany. Without that Prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League by social democracy there was no wave of fascist murder terror, the already not only Communists and former Members of the RFB, but also Social Democratic and Reichsbanner workers victim fall. Without examples that Severing, Grzesinski, Schoenfelder, Zörgiebel and all the others have given their press, demonstration and assembly prohibitions, would there is no Klagges, the Nazi Minister of the Interior of Brunswick, who it can afford, even SPD newspapers to ban. Without the strike-breaking tactics reformist bureaucracy, the Social Democratic leader ADGB there would be no fascist mass party in Germany that a "Socialist Workers Party!" name and yet openly fighting the class struggle as the highest goal proclaim and almost as open their followers as scabbing hordes for entrepreneurs can move up. Social democracy always told the workers, Hitler alone was fascism and Brüning other hand, is the last line of defense of "democracy”. Now, after the unveiling of monstrous Arbeitermord-, Streikbruch-, hunger and hard labor program of the Nazis, make Reichsbanner leaders meetings with the appeal to the Brüning government: "State cross to!" And want so that workers consciously deceive, one could with the same Bruening, who leads constantly with Hitler coalition negotiations, against fascism fight. Again, the Social Democratic leaders do everything to the development of
Mass force of the Social Democratic workers in the red united front of struggle that to inhibit development of own proletarian class power.

We say to the workers: Fascism is a weapon of the exploiters. Fascism and Democracy is one of only two forms of the same thing and this thing is: capitalist class rule, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

The Social Democratic leaders have today with a forthcoming Government Admission of Nazis resigned as an established fact. Almost half the years the SPD has its toleration policy for Brüning before the masses with the hypocritical fraudulent "argument" defended, it would have followed a "lesser evil" support against the Hitlerite fascism and thereby fend off Hitler. These Politics had in reality only one meaning: the masses from the struggle against the real Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to hold against the real evil and thus the progressive Reaction that was Severing who was Brüning to compensation in case the masses procure. Brüning, Braun and Severing reigned - thanks to the Social Democrats. They have adopted emergency regulations on emergency decrees. You are one step at others moved on in the course of the intensification of political and social reaction.

Now comes the second stage of the policy of the "lesser evil". The SPD leaders want in Germany against Hitler skip some stages, whose path reformists d'Arragona in Italy only after years of the fascist regime open to the page Mussolini led. Abbreviating, is the slogan of Breitscheid and catfish. And so proclaim, given the growing tendency of the bourgeoisie, their Nazi Henchmen some places more to the manger of the capitalist state apparatus grant, the Social Democratic leaders: a Brüning-Hitler government was always even better than a Hitler government alone, still a "lesser evil". But because the SPD leaders learned from the demise of their mass influence for years have, that they bow their anti-working class policies towards its own Trailer masses have stretched too sharp, is the latest maneuver by the sudden Phrases of Breitscheid and Co. on 'united front against fascism "veiled will. Just as in war, the modern army their maneuver their attacks under a to hide artificial smokescreen searches, so it drives the SPD at its latest stages the workers treason. the Social Democratic leaders forming a really, German Workers had forgotten what a Social Democratic member of parliament of the Tribune of the "high house" proclaimed Lieber times with Groener, ten times the Monarchists, ten times with the Reichswehr General than once with the Communists!?? Make it a really, the workers had the Socialist word of Hamburg Mr Dahrendorf forgotten: Dear ten Nazis as a communist in Bureau of Hamburg state!?? They underestimate the memory and the mind the German workers thoroughly.

We say to the workers: Fascism does not begin when Hitler comes, he has long began. We say to the workers, to a future, more open and more ruthless Form of capitalist dictatorship you can not fight by today Capitalism protects, tolerated, supported, but by every hour the brunt directed against the actual dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their decisive support! The Naughty fraud of social democracy to the masses unmasked today itself. One and a half Years tolerance policy for Brüning, supposedly to keep out Hitler, and what is the
Success? The ministerial chair for the Nazi Minister be repaired. Just as the SPD this
Hitler government social democracy with the new editions of their theory of the "lesser
Evil "social mainstay of the bourgeoisie stay!
Prepare the fight against the threat of Hitler government or Hitler Brüning government -
ie against today Brüning-Braun-Severing-governments the sharpest struggle
to lead! The Social Democrats and the Free Trade Unions, which is still growing despite the
Rebellion of their own followers hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers and
Workers tie the hands to the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie
hold, to restrain the strike against wage predatory plans of entrepreneurs
keep them away from the mass struggle against the fascist terror, besides the
Prussia government Braun-Severing the main bastions for today Brüning
Germany and will also be a Hitler Germany the most important bulwarks.
The transition of the bourgeoisie of the veiled dictatorship behind democratic
Facade to open and undisguised vollentfalteten fascist dictatorship - a change in
the methods, not in the class content - can only be done when the bourgeoisie in this
Tightening their attack masses of working people and the masses
classified proletariat in its fascist Front can. Speculation of
Finance capital on the Hitler party in this respect only partly some success to
recorded. The penetration of the Nazis in the front of the operating workforce is from
Position of fascist reaction insufficient. But the Social Democracy provides
this basis for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie today, where the company sign Brüning-Braun
Severing government is, tomorrow, where it may be called Hitler-Brüning-Severing.
Beating the fascism, ie the working class from the bonds of social democracy
redeem and reformism! That is what we tirelessly the German working class
must inculcate day by day, hour by hour! If the Communist Party the
Main thrust of their struggle against the treacherous Social Democratic leadership, against the
treacherous ADGB bureaucracy directed, it is because this is the way to the power of
Proletariat in the class struggle against capitalism and fully victorious in the balance
to throw the story. Invincible is the working class, when in their
awakes decisive majority of the full class consciousness and to the entire height
its historical role as the most advanced, than the class of future rises. The
Communist Party, the only party in this class line of the proletariat
marches, defends this historical class goal of the working class, and therefore the
only party of the working class, working tough, unstoppable and with cold-blooded
Determination in this work: the majority of the proletariat under the banner of
revolutionary Marxism gather to fight for their own class goals! Without this
Fight leads the Communist Party with unbending determination, would be the
Fascist Germany a thousand times more advanced today than the now
Case.
For years, is already taking place in Germany, the advance of communism. In each
new election, as a certain indicator of the state of class forces, reflected the
Growth of Communist influence. And this growth represents both the

Power of the working class in Germany. Only in the camp of the revolutionary
Class struggle can the proletariat to develop its strength and apply.
Reformist contamination means impotence, means suicide of the proletariat.
Communist education means development of combat power, the bold panache of
Working class.
The Communist Party has no party interest that the addition to the class interests
Worker stands. Your "party policy" is working class politics. That is why the
Communist Party alone can, with the call for the fighting red
to turn a united front to the proletarian masses, without ulterior motives, without tactical
Maneuvers, without reservation and without conditions except one: that this united front,
the real united front, is forged to fight for the interests of the class
Proletariat, the struggle against capital, against the bourgeoisie, against the class enemy!
We call upon the Social Democratic workers, shoulder to shoulder to fight with us.
We make them this united front proposal in honest and brotherly intention. We
give them sincere and comradely our hand. We stand by their side in
their daily needs and struggles. We never forget for a moment that they our
Class brothers are suffering and exploitation are just like all the workers in
Germany. That is why we forge together the red unit with them.
We do not demand of them that they do from one day to suddenly Communists
turn, our program, our ultimate goal to recognize and the Socialist
to exchange membership card with our. We demand only one of them: that they with
us fight against the class enemy!
Who is willing to work with us Communists and the RGO against wage-robbery of entrepreneurs
strike, which is, whether by organized or unorganized, our ally, our
Comrade!
Who is willing to work together with us to fight against the dictatorship and Notverordnungs- policy
take the bourgeoisie of Brüning-Braun-Severing-governments, with which we want
stand together shoulder to shoulder.
Those willing to join us in the self-protection of the working class and the working people
perform against fascist terror with which we want to go!
Who in the fight against usury taxes, the tenant strike, in the fight against evictions and
will stand foreclosures in town and country his man, which applies our appeal!
Who us the mass struggle of the unemployed, their mass actions for work, bread, for
Winter assistance to enforce their claims and all needy, against the
wants to organize support robbery of the bourgeoisie, which is welcome!
Our struggle demands, which are nothing more than the demands of the proletarian
Working class itself, are the best proof that the call for the red united front
for the KPD no "Party cause" is, but the class policy policy of the proletariat! Because
We were, we are and always will be, what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in
"Communist Manifesto" aufzeigten: the vanguard of the proletariat, which no other
Target knows when the target class of the proletariat and the class this goal all partial interests
and special interests are superior.
Our whole strength applies to a target, the red united front of the fight against poverty and
forge reaction to gather the masses and to lead forward: against Brüning,
Braun, Severing! Against Hitler and Hugenberg! Against wage robbers, scabs and
fascist workers murderer! Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! For the class struggle of
Proletariat! For the victory of socialism!
We will wrestle fascism. The working class must and will conquer!

The Red flag,
11/29/1931
The center, the leading party of the German bourgeoisie

The recent political events - the adoption of the emergency decree and Brüning speech - have again the accuracy of the communist analysis DER class struggles in Germany and our Strategy hardens. The Brüning government in the kingdom and their brown-Severing branch in Prussia as carriers of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie come with the new emergency decree and clear unconcealed than ever in appearance. Incontrovertibly it proves how right the Communist Party has, in the Brüning-Braun-Severing governments decisive combat support of the fascist policies of the German bourgeoisie, which in turn the Fascism, ie the transition to the fascist forms and methods of Exercise the dictatorship, operate in practice. Within this general confirmation our analysis and strategy by the recent political facts also characterized the Role of the Centre, as the leading party of the German bourgeoisie, with special Distinctness from.

What is important to ensure the successful implementation of the policy of our Party?
What is needed is the self-understanding of the masses about the real situation, the role of Bourgeoisie, of the social democracy and Nazis and above their Interrelationships, and on the need - in the context of the fight against Main enemy, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie - the main attack against social democracy to judge as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. It is clear that this full clarity in our own ranks over all costs linked to these issues special Problems is absolutely necessary. A full understanding especially for special Role of the Centre, which in recent years increasingly the decisive represents sections of the German finance capital and its policy. The Centre, its policies, its structure and its past is therefore the devoted following items. The party has to the significance of the center Due to the political development of recent years already explained several times. On various meetings of the Central Committee was the leading role of the center as the Treats Party of the German bourgeoisie a greater or lesser extent. But it remains a fact that for our practical work the necessary conclusions were drawn from those findings still insufficient until now. Only in the last Therefore weeks presented the Pol büro of the Party Central Committee the question of the center and its control in the context of the last center meeting its Agenda and took a number of decisions, which should help the weak our revolutionary mass work in the struggle for the recovery of the Christian to overcome workers. This article will therefore serve two purposes: firstly, to he contribute by clarifying the role of the Centre to the theoretical understanding of the whole policy of the party, for their assessment of the situation, the grouping of the forces of Class enemy and the forthcoming development, as well as for its strategy in the fight deepen against the class enemy; secondly, certain ideological foundations for the Improvement of our struggle against the center, especially in the Catholic areas Germany to create.

The most important task of our investigation was to consider is that due Main factors, today's role of the Centre as the leading party of the German Bourgeoisie results. Answering this question gives eight main points, in which this can be broken down factors. Before special on some of these points, according to their Importance from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle, enter in detail, it is required clarification this major factors first. Which points are?
First, the center represents a party the class alliance between Industrial capitalists and big landowners to share plunder the toiling Masses. His leadership is entirely in the hands of big industrialists and
Big landowners, the decisive influence of the Rhenish-Westphalian and Silesian feudal nobility, the heavy industry next großagrarischen Strong interests represents, plays an important role. The center is thus to that political force, the balance the pursuit of heavy industry after industrial tariffs and the Agrarian Party of causes to agricultural duties, what of course only at the expense masses and with partial suppression of the interests of the finished goods industry is possible. Second: The center is the only upper-class party with a certain Mass base that has remained "relatively stable. We are in more detail on the particularly important for our policy fact of the transmission belt that with the center the masses of Christian workers and youth connect, enter. Through this great its mass base is the center despite its binding to specific parts of the Big bourgeoisie, to heavy industry, and large landowners, but to a party whose policy more the overall interest of the capitalist class embodies, as certain Special interests. Thereby, the center z. B. differs to a certain degree of the German Nationalists who primarily an advocacy of Junker and parts representing the coal and steel industry, although Hugenberg made variously attempts to pose as representatives of the general interests of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand due the Preponderance of the center from the German People's Party undoubtedly also on the Fact its stable mass base. Important for the role of the Centre this is the way his demagoguery. This also avoids the agitation every principle "enemy" Position against the capitalist system, such as those the SPD or the Nazis occasional use. Thirdly, by the center with its policy advocacy of the whole class of Capitalists operates, it is not to the particular inflationary tendencies Big landowners and the mining industry tied. Precisely because it is particularly capable of Implementing to surrender to the French and American Imperialism aimed foreign policy as the decisive layers of the German finance capital operates. The standing behind the German Nationalists and Nazis Montan industrialists and Big landowners strive inflation increasingly on to become debt free and advance to the dumping exports. In contrast, z. B. apply the chemical industry and their decisive Group, IG Farben, the same time the largest German Group ever is against inflationary tendencies. This Group is both less debt, as for example, the Steel Trust, who is in danger of collapse. on the other hand is the paragraph IG Farben to 70 percent in the domestic market and is also, as far as around Export sales are governed by international treaties and relatively secure. These sections of finance capital, which currently play a decisive role need Thus an inflation means as much as the standing behind Hitler-Hugenberg Heavy industrialists and big landowners. The decisive factor for the negative position of these Layers of finance capital is the fact that they shrink from the dangers the inflation by further intensification of class antagonisms and revolutionizing Masses for the capitalist class rule brings. By the center operates the policy of these layers, it is the main support of those Foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie, to agreements with the foreign Financial capital amounts and corresponding concessions to the French and
is willing to make American imperialism. It is clear that the center of these
foreign policy, the policy of fulfillment, can perform smoothly than z. B. Germany
national and Nazis.
Fourth: the center is due to its strong position in southern Germany and its
Conjunction with the Bavarian People's Party, the most the particularist

Tendencies represented the party of the German bourgeoisie, balancing a
between the particularist tendencies countries and the interests of the imperial power
embodies. This position of the center itself z. B. markedly different from
current role of social democracy and its policies. The focus of the entire
Social Democratic policy, even in those countries and in the kingdom of scale, is now the
Maintaining their positions in the Prussian government. Your Empire policy states - not in their
Total line that's determined by the interests of the bourgeoisie - but probably in their
individual measures and tactical moves partially only appendages of their Prussian policy
represent.
Fifth: In Prussia, the center has the crucial key position and
is characterized the party that from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie as a whole the best
Utilization of social democracy as social mainstay of the bourgeoisie for the
Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie secures and enables.
Sixth: Conversely, the Centre is its close ties to the
right-wing military organizations and by its ideological affinity with the
fascist ideology, which we shall discuss in greater detail, including to the
other bourgeois parties, above all the Hitler-Hugenberg-groups, in a certain
Key position. The center thus provides in increasingly the function,
the Hugenberg himself, or the German Nationalists had intended: namely, the function
to Hitler's party as the new fascist mass party within the meaning of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie
"Channeling", that is, to educate and guide them on the right track.
Seventh: The center has the strongest organizational foundations within
youth. While the SAJ has according to official figures about 54,000 members, which
is undoubtedly indicated significantly too high, while the Hitler Youth officially their strength
estimated at about 20,000 - to a large-Berlin official conference but was only
a number of 6000 called in Reich scale -, the center has
Youth organizations for male and female youth with approximately 1¼ million
Members. These millions Organisation of center youth is now no direct
Fighting organization, such as the aforementioned other fascist or social fascist
Youth organizations, but it has nonetheless to be a particularly firm support of
Brüning system proved.
Her great, from our standpoint exceptionally grave importance lies
especially the fact that it plays a leading role in the fascist education of youth.
The focus of their work are ideological, religious questions. The greatest value
is the activation against the revolutionary workers, against Bolshevism
placed. Your social composition comprising the Catholic Youth Movement
Young workers, young farmers, urban middle class, students and sections of the youth of
Bourgeoisie. A special guide organization dedicated primarily of priests
composed, will be the youth movement.
It is clear that these solid influence widest layers of the youth, the role of the Centre
in implementing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the fascist takeover in the forms
Eighth: The counterrevolutionary Holle the Centre in Germany, such as the Catholic Church and the Vatican on an international scale, affects likewise in the direction out that the importance of the center as the leading party of the German bourgeoisie is increased. The fact that the center in particularly against the "Battle Bolshevism" is enabled, that is for the fascist suppression of revolutionary workers inside and for the action against the Soviet Union in the Foreign policy, this fact counts undoubtedly among the main factors that make up results in the dominant position of the center and the role of the Brüning government.

The above factors constitute the main basis for the present role of the Centre, which finds its expression in the Brüning dictatorship. For this role, the nature of the results Bruning policy as to both the last conference center, as well as particularly in the new emergency decree, the de facto state of siege and the Brüning speech on the occasion the emergency decree disclosed.

The second task which we must address in our study is that Answering the question of how the center to the identified functions in the current policy of the German bourgeoisie and thus its present role as leading party of the German bourgeoisie has come. To answer this question we have in the history, in the historical development of this party deepen.

How and when is the center come about? The actual Centre Party in 1870 founded. She was originally a Prussian creation and presented a defense of Catholic circles against the prevailing Prussian Protestantism and against Liberalism. By the Empire in 1871, following the German Prussian War, the center became a Nazi Party, which both class terms, as their political tendencies after, was first thrown together colorful. Their leading members were conservative and anti-Prussian to a considerable extent, antibismärckisch set. In particular, from southern Germany came forth in the Centre Party very strong tendencies to particularism, ie the independence of central imperial power breakthrough. On the other hand were just here under Catholic elements in southern Germany and the smaller states certain groupings worn by artisans, small traders, farmers and workers against the Junker-Prussians were set as a stronghold of reaction.

The management and financing of the party was already at that time exclusively in the Hands of the Silesian and Westphalian feudal nobility, who in addition to his vast estates had strong heavy industrial interests (coal, iron, cabins). was from these circles the "Germania" established in 1871 that today the central organ of Centre Party is.

In the period after 1871, until about 1878, it came to the "Kulturkampf" against Bismarck the center. In this cultural battle the hitherto inconsistent Centre Party was due to their oppression and persecution relatively strong welded together.
Bismarck based the Kulturkampf primarily on liberalism, ie on the young capitalist bourgeoisie of Germany. Consequently, the center worked with his defense with a certain anti-capitalist and social demagogy. Just by the Catholic clergy and the Centre Party were able fixed positions under the Catholic working class, especially in West Germany to secure. Lenin writes about the "Kulturkampf" Bismarck towards the center:

"By this struggle Bismarck only strengthened the militant clericalism of the Catholics, he damaged only the cause of real culture, because he moved rather than the political divisions in the religious Foreground and so drew attention to some of the working class of the urgent tasks of the class and revolutionary struggle in the direction of a very superficial and hypocritical bourgeois anticlericalism from."

The further development of the Centre Party that from an opposition party against the Bismarckian Prussia-Germany Germany to a fixed support of the unfolding made imperialism, had different roots. Bismarck's Kulturkampf ended with a Setback. After about 1875 reaches its climax, was the Kulturkampf under Bismarck's policy in 1878 with the adoption of Socialist Law superseded by the struggle against the Social Democracy. The growing strength capitalist bourgeoisie came to see rising labor movement, mainly due to the Unification of the two directions of Lassalle and Eisenach at the Gotha Unity Congress opposed. This development drove the liberal bourgeoisie, how the play within the 48er Revolution already, albeit in other forms, had, increasingly in the arms of the feudal and conservative nobility. In the struggle against the proletariat, the various internal friction surfaces had abrade between the sections of the bourgeoisie. As for the capitalist classes and the Feudal nobility, so, has this succeeded on differences confessional nature and effect of Approximation of the Catholic capitalist party with the rest of the bourgeoisie and to the absolutist power structure.

On the other hand, the center was due to the interests of the Catholic feudal with the Conservatives in the common front of the struggle for high protective tariffs. While still the Kulturkampf raged most fiercely, the Centre approached the issue customs policy already the Conservatives and National Liberals. Thus arose the first Approaches for the future duty block the three capitalist parties. In the further development of the National Liberals were the elimination of their liberal-petty-bourgeois wing finally to large capitalist party. Then mastered this Dreigespann the Conservatives, National Liberals and the Centre to World War Politics of Imperial Germany in its entire development to imperialism. From 1893 covered the center and finally on the line, the military and Armament policy of Wilhelmine Germany. The same was true of the colonial policy and, as already mentioned, of the customs policy. In this development of the center, the conditions for a current role as are leading Party arise in the exercise of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Germany.

* The third question, which we want to turn our attention, is the problem of
Mass Annex of the Centre Party. The management of the Centre and its dependent Mass organizations is entirely in the hands of the big bourgeoisie. It is significant that still a decisive influence of the Rhenish-Westphalian and Silesian Feudal nobility with its großagrarischen how heavy industrial interests in the Centre Party is. This influence is particularly expressed dramatically in the Ownership of shares of "Germania", which since the founding of this newspaper - have changed little - so for more than 60 years. The majority of these shares is known of the gentleman. Papen represented, for years the most active for the is legal course of the center operates. After the shareholders' register from 1927 still belonged The following representatives of the feudal nobility led v. Papen to the shareholders of "Germania": Count Ballestrem, Prince Lowenstein, Savigny, Baron von Frankenstein, Count Henckel-Donnersmarck, Graf Praschma, Count Rechberg, Baron. v. Haxthausen, Baron. v. Ketteler, Baron. v. Twickel, Graf Gahlen, Baron. v. Heeremann, Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg, Baron. v. Wendt.

The decisive representatives of heavy industry itself in the management of the center are to call: Klöckner, General ten Hompel, lawyer Lammers, representing the Big banks Louis Hagen from Cologne (formerly Levy). How can it be explained that such a pronounced upper-class party like the center under such a guide anyway - as opposed to the People's Party, partly also to the German nationalists - but has a relatively stable mass base? A crucial role plays undoubtedly the religious and church affiliation of Catholic masses to the Catholic clergy and at the same time at the center. About that However, beyond the center relies on a number of mass organizations that the Party and the affiliated Catholic clergy find their mass base. This is both to church as to professional organizations. These special transmission belts cause the peculiar relationship between the center and the masses. It is clear that just for the Communist Party and its struggle are towards the center of these issues are of particular importance. According to the social structure of the center that its as big bourgeois party Trailer masses of the proletariat and all working strata recruited and they with Help Catholicism binds to the upper-class politics, is both the ideology as the organization of the Centre Party set out the class character of capitalist society to cover up. This goal is served by ideologically ie denominational loyalty. For the same reason others is their character as so-called "ideological" party, which is necessary for the center, in building his Organizations related classes to tear and class terms with them enemy layers couple together. This principle is used to build the Center organizations to professional principles. Herein, already expresses the Approaching the fascist phrases from from corporate state. What are the main mass organizations of the center, the main Transmission belt of the Centre Party to the different layers of the working class and the working people?

1. Workers, Professional Employees unions.
2. The People's Association for Catholic Germany.
3. The Catholic Workers' and journeymen's associations.
4. The women, virgins, young men clubs, youth and children’s organizations.
5. The school organizations (teachers’, parents, school and student organizations).
6. The professional interest groups, such as Catholic commercial
   Association officials associations (which have nothing to do with Christian Trade Unions),
   Research and associations for detecting the intellectuals, scientists and
   Artist, craftsmen and Trader associations, Farmers- and
   Vintners’ associations.
7. The Catholic welfare and welfare associations and organizations.
8. The many sports, Wehrsport-, hiking, cultural, convivial situations, books, and Lichtspiel-
   Theater associations, organizations and associations.
9. The religious orders, monasteries, mission agencies, educational institutions, large
   Publishing organizations for newspapers, books, pamphlets, tracts, etc. - a
   operate generous capitalist mass exploitation.
10. The salaried Church itself with 70000-80000 state and from mass taxes
    Priests facing with huge religious and legal power perfections
    are the believers equipped.

The occupational principle in the center of organizations is only in the Christian
Unions breached because against the proletariat due to the capitalist
Developing other methods of mass detection than by a Christian
have class organization fail. Abandoning the occupational principle and
Application of class-principle in the Christian unions was however
of course, only a forced concession to the given facts. The
Origin of Christian Trade Unions in Germany falls about a quarter of a century
later than the establishment of the Centre Party. She was at the mid-nineties of
last century. Both in its structure as in its propaganda presented the
Christian organizations a distinct competitive invention against the Outdoors

Unions represent the Social Democrats, the time still to a greater extent than after
Turn of the century class struggle organizations were.
gave these reasons the competition with the social democratic unions
the need for both the class-principle in the constitution as the formal
Affirmation of the "fight" principle and the "strike". Naturally, this was done only in phrases
and meant no inhibition for the worst servility before the deeds
Entrepreneurship and boundless betrayal of Christian workers' interests to the
Capitalists.
To what extent the disclosure of professional principle in the case of the Christian
Unions only one, forced by the facts, demagogic concession
Center figured by the one proletarian masses the more upper-class to the
wanted to tie policy - resulting from the treatment of the question of organization
in the camp of Catholicism. In a collective book on "The Social Question and the
Catholicism "writes the Christian trade unionists Rudolf Greß among others in a
Examination of the history of Christian Trade Unions:

"From this fact (Greß thinks the danger that the mere class like organization the
Class consciousness, or at least threatens to give the class instinct of the organized workers. E.
Th.) Explains the lasting deep dislike of the Christian ethos against any of the
How far this "dislike" is showing the fact that the competition as to Christian trade unions of the leading Catholic layers themselves the "Association Catholic workers' associations "was brought up, the formally each" battle "principle towards entrepreneurship declined and open to any defense even of lowest economic interests and instead of the "inner balance" entered. All other mass organizations of the Centre, if one Christian of the Unions aside, therefore, are also completely on the professional principle built up.

The Christian trade unions, whose official name is well known Christian-national Unions, (German Union Federation) are members of the DGB. The number of members of Christian organizations the end of 1930 was 1,370,793; these are 6.4 percent of the total number of workers and employees. These 1.37 million members spread out themselves the in the DGB combined workers, salaried and Official unions in such a way that the unions 778,863 members belong. Here, however, the Christian Association of the Transport and Civil Servants included, which includes tens of thousands of officials.

The Christian-national "general association of German employee unions" (Gedag) includes 13 professional associations, including the German National Handlungsgehilfenverband with 380000 members and the Association of Female Commercial and Clerical Employees with about 90000 members heard. We will return later to the importance of Membership of such, under German national, partly Nazi leadership standing organizations such. as the German National Association of Commercial Employees, the Christian organizations for general ideological development of the center and its mass organizations belongs.

In this context, we want only the numerically great importance of Christian trade unions point. Among the employees, agricultural workers, etc. Play the Christian organizations partly an equivalent and more important than free trade unions of the reformists. But even among other strata of the proletariat, among the industrial workers of the Catholic areas they have significant, in individual Establishments the reformist organizations numerically coming close or even places superior positions. Although not in the realm scale, yet just in major centers of heavy industry resulting from this fact particularly for Work of RGO extremely important consequences.

In summary, we can conclude that the various illustrated Transmission belt between the center and the masses of the working class and the Working people in town and country without a doubt one of the key causes of both for today's role of the party, as well as for their relative stability despite crisis Capitalism and form despite revolutionary upsurge. That finding gives naturally also that our struggle against the center this complex Conditions and this particular organizational structure of the so-called must bear center "turmes" bill.
The fourth question we want to answer in our study, is that of the special role of the Centre for the development of fascism in Germany. It is clear that the center of the leading party in the exercise of the dictatorship inevitably to fascist bourgeoisie a decisive role in the transition must play of this dictatorship. In the following, however, we want the special causes illuminate a little more detail, on the basis of which the center especially for this change in the forms of rule, the methods of rule, ideal is.

We already have the occupational principle in the organizational structure of the Centre considers that a close relationship with the fascist phraseology from Ständestaat having. This fascist note found at all in the whole ideology of Center as a so-called ideological party that the class antagonisms cover up capitalist society and reconcile hostile classes together to wants a united "harmony". We need not only to point out that it is here is the fraudulent demagogy with which the masses to capitalism and the bourgeois class rule to be bound by them of the essence Capitalism and bourgeois class rule seeks to conceal.

The fact that the policy of the Brüning government of extreme price of Social reaction and the political enslavement of the masses again and again with the phrases of "National community" and the like is obscured corresponds, quite the fascist ideology. These are known facts. The problem, however, we in this connection will turn our attention to something more, are the particular compounds of the center to the various other parties and Organizations of the bourgeoisie from the extreme camp of fascism. Through the feudal nobility and the interests großagrarischen the close link between the center and the Land League - and thus between the center and the German Nationals - added. The spin-off of the moderate wing of German Nationalists (Lambach, Westarp Treviranus), who was particularly close to the center, of the Hugenbergpartei, no attenuation is herein occurred. On the contrary, this breakaway group with close links to the Centre Party was to a certain extent as a bridge for further fascization the center. Similarly with the Christian trade unions. These associations, which we call the have identified to the masses main transmission belt of the Centre Party, simultaneously affect as a lever for the fascist takeover of the center. We saw that in the question of the central trade unions under the pressure of circumstances, the occupational principle has been abandoned in favor of the principle of class organization.

What had been but in a sense "sinned" in the organizational structure was in the ideology of these organizations stronger recouped. Even in the Christian trade unions is the close link with the German Nationals and recently also partially added to the Nazis. We have already seen that under the Staff associations, the the Christian-national German belong 'Federation, the leading organization of German-national represents Handlungsgehilfenverband. Similarly, the Federation of the German Officials' Trade Unions, the German national vehicle available. Even among
Christian-national unions found the Confederation of Christian Agricultural workers, which is a very Landbund organization. The all, in the Christian-national umbrella organization combined unions are therefore certainly not only pure center organizations, they include rather partial direct German national (or even locally Nazi), partially mixed and interdenominational organizations.

These compounds with the German Nationals, and in part with the Nazis. However, only one of the factors on the basis of which the Christian trade union movement becomes a lever and a support for the fascist policy of Brüning-center. On another crucial factor is the close relationship of the Christian trade unions the paramilitary organizations, as it is in particular operated by Stegerwald long. Here are relations to the Jungdo, a werewolf, to collar Oberland and partly the steel helmet. Opposite the helmet these relationships are naturally less developed because on the part of the Stahlhelm itself because of its attachment to the yellow Associations inhibitions exist. How much the bonds Stegerwald these fascist military organizations, resulting z. B. from the time of "Forward" established fact that in the infamous Fememörder Schulz, the Nazi leaders today, a photograph Stegerwald with very friendly dedication found has been.

Stegerwald, the current minister of labor and long-time leader of the Christian-national Unions, has its fascist attitude at different ideological Clashes in central and repeatedly expressed in Christian trade unions. As is known, took place in 1928, a dispute between Wirth and Stegerwald instead of. Stegerwald held a district meeting of Christian Trade Unions in Duisburg March 4, 1928 Unit, where he strictly pursuant to the teachings of Fascism "Corporate state" in contrast to the class orientation, and the "proletarianization of Workers "proclaimed. The German governance must, as explained Stegerwald time already, "like Mussolini in Italy, economic consciousness with the Popular consciousness connect ". He turned back then against the "democracy" and polemised z. B. against Wirth, because this "strongly influenced by the French democratic thought world stands ".

A year later, shortly after the formation of the first Brüning government Stegerwald spoke again in Duisburg. He said that a working group was absolutely necessary, not for wage struggles, but to "the levers on the framing of economic policy and Economic Transformation "to be set. He then explained:

"Today, you will need to come nearer to the idea that the various union Associations form an economic general staff, who in also largely wage movements all would regulate. ... Must also the board of the Reich Economic Council for general economic general staff in Germany to be expanded."

All these formulations fully meet the fascist ideology and find exactly as in the omission of the Nazis. This ideological, like the mentioned organizational linkages of the center to the right are thus characteristic symptoms that the center through its structure, as indicated by its Ideology was destined from the beginning to the leading role in the implementation of
A small example would be the reference to the role of the various its center Minister for the overall policy of the bourgeoisie in recent years. In Prussia is the center man Hirtsiefer years Welfare Minister. His exposed Role in the fight against rent control and the dismantling of social policy is sufficiently known. Hirtsiefer emerged from the Christian trade union movement, comes from the local metalworkers' organization. In the kingdom, it was the center Minister Brauns, of the Minister of Labour the first serious attacks of the bourgeoisie on the Unemployment benefit and other social rights, the German the Proletariat had remained of November 1918, performed. Brauns was secretary of Catholic People Association. Bruening as Steger Forest come from the Christian Union movement, whose leader known direct Stegerwald was. Through its policy in the implementation of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, we do not need here detail to speak.

This center policy in recent years is only the continuation and culmination of their role since November 1918. As befits the bourgeoisie therefore acted in 1918, the capitalist class rule against the first onslaught of the proletarian secure Revolution and defend the center availed itself to a decisive Dimensions of Social Democracy. With the consolidation of the political power of the bourgeoisie sat it is the attraction of German People's Party and eventually even the German Nationalists through, wherein the SPD has been pushed back up to a certain degree. Today, the Centre support the policy of mutual utilization of social democracy and the Nazis for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile here is the emphasis, of course in the social democracy. And that is certainly, considered class terms, in the future for Germany to his proletarian revolution of the case. But this fact is not quite in Opposition to a possible development, through the Social Democracy respect the formal exclusion of the management of the government, one more Kick on the part of the bourgeoisie, the loss also of their Prussian government positions, would suffer, while the Nazis to indent in the national government.

Because the role of social democracy as a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie is based, even before Only on the class-structure their followers, on the fact that they the represents the main force in the service of the bourgeoisie, the proletarian masses the System of bourgeois dictatorship chains. Whether this in the form of government participation, is it in the imperial or country scale, or even under the guise of a Slip opposition happens is not critical, but only of tactical Importance.

It would therefore be a fatal mistake when the cancellation of today's Brüning government to the Nazis in the question of their participation in the Reich government wanted to draw any conclusions regarding the further perspective. Whether the bourgeoisie invokes the Nazis in the realm scale in the government depends meanwhile on a number especially foreign policy, but also domestic political issues, which are not yet clear. The A but is, in particular on the basis of the example of Hessen, solid: principle is the center for such appointment by the Nazis and joint government formation quite prepared and quite capable. Last but not least it is the Christian unions, which, as we have seen, such a can facilitate development particularly. It is no coincidence that such. As the organ of Christian trade union movement "The German" several months ago in the treatment
an editorial of the Nazi leader Gregor Strasser, who under the title "Brüning and Hitler" was published in the "Volkischer Beobachter" stated:

"The Nazis are however have to prove through their whole future attitude, that they are also willing seriously to create the conditions that a cooperation allow the Christian trade unions. At present, the conditions are in the camp of NSDAP still (! E. Th.) Quite unclear."

In this tone is the center press, including the press of Christian Unions, since consistently voted. The current turn of Brüning government is thus a purely tactical opinion of the center, as it is indeed from the Hessian government negotiations between the center and gives Nazis. On the other hand, it is the particular task of the Centre, through its powerful Influence on social democracy, this together with the reformist trade unions forever more open forms of coalition, to make even the Nazis, ripe. The done both by the influence of the center in Prussia, and by the Cooperation with the SPD in Reichsbanner, and especially by the influence of Christian trade unions on the ADGB. In Reichsbanner where the Social Democratic Workers in most unbridled form with the fascist ideology of are fed and poisoned people's community, the ground for the "is quite large Coalition "of Severing to Hitler prepared. Likewise, it corresponds to the dual role of the Christian unions that on the one hand get closest connections to the Nazis upright, on the other hand the biggest ideological exert influence on the reformist trade unions to this as their role prepare bulwark for an eventual Brüning-Hitler government. This dominant influence of the center and the Christian trade union movement on the ADGB expressed not only in the appearance Stegerwald at Frankfurt ADGB-Congress made, but also in the settlement negotiations, which lately between the reformist, Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions have taken place. The aim of these negotiations was the intensified and final Fasciation the reformist trade unions in connection with their Merger with the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions. Even if this organizational merger has not yet been reached, then showed yet when complete press discussion, which took place on the occasion of these negotiations, especially in the infamous Article Leipart, ADGB Chairman, that this process is ideologically has already reached the highest levels. expresses itself also herein the significance of the center for the fascist methods of rule of the German bourgeoisie.

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The fifth issue is the importance of the center from the standpoint of counterrevolutionary terror against the German proletariat and the imperialist Warmongering against the Soviet Union. We just want some particularly characteristic Facts cited. It is no coincidence that the same Jesuit Muckermann, the anti-Bolshevik in Warmongering plays a particularly notorious role today as a confidant of the Centre and the Christian unions secret negotiations with the Nazis operates, as it was found in food a few weeks ago. located in the same line but the overall policy of the Nazis. If Muckermann in an article in the Zentrums- "Tremonia" after "sword against the order disturbers" calls, so is the center not stopped at words. In autumn 1931, the center is rather to passed, for the "valiant fight against communism" to form a
secret terrorist organization move. This organization, which in the steel helmet military issues has taken contact, was in Trier on a secret conference of Center under the name "League for defense of the faith" founded. Expressly was emphasized that one of the by Catholic morality "in the defense go property to killing "could. are similar messages like Trier now even from other parts of Germany before.

This creation of terrorist organizations with the aim in the name of Christianity, operate "killing of communists", located in the same line as the entire Pogrom propaganda of the Centre and the Catholic organizations. In the "Germania" appeared November 12, 1931 article on the results of the campaign of the "People's Association for Catholic Germany "against Bolshevism. Thereafter, during the period January 1930 to June 1931 over 1,750 conferences, training evenings and meetings held against communism. In the first half of October 1931 for the Increase this counter-revolutionary campaign in the current winter at 22000 Catholic Sacred speech material shipped. In the last half of October a leaflet against the was sent Bolshevism in 680000 copies and the Christkönigstag in town and country "A unified movement against Bolshevism carried out". The article further informed that a special research center on Bolshevism and has been founded freethinking, and an information center in Berlin "with a own Russian interpreters ". Also steps "to create an international Working Group on Bolshevism "were introduced.

It is known by what unscrupulous counterfeiting, dirty slander and Lies under this Catholic Action of warmongering and the counterrevolutionary Incitement working against the revolutionary proletariat. From the "socialization of women" in Soviet Russia and similar inventions to the falsification of Lenin quotations there is no Agent would the gentlemen too dirty for their dirty purposes. In addition to the II. International as an agency for the preparation of the war against the Soviet Union you can now long speak of a Catholic International who viewed has provided same task.

Our struggle against the center therefore assumes particular importance for reasons international nature. The peace between the Vatican and Mussolini in Italy, the role the Catholic clergy in Spain and in Mexico as a strong bulwark of counterrevolution, the role Seipel and the Christian Socialists in Austria are only mentioned as an example here well. Above all, yes, the smear campaign of the Catholic Church and the Vatican for war against the Soviet Union, from the center to a large extent in Germany was taken up, the best proof that we are dealing with a mortal enemy proletarian class to do not only in Germany, but on an international scale have. Fascist terror inside for holding down the proletariat, warmongering outwards for the war of intervention of the imperialists, for their crusade against the Soviet Union - the is a political program which gives the center the full opportunity to closely both with the counter-revolutionary Social-Democratic leadership, and with the Nazis, the party of the working murders, the Fascist gallows and scaffolds, cooperate.

To summarize, we have: It is likely that the exercise of the dictatorship of Bourgeoisie - by whatever methods and especially when it is fascist Methods are - for now and in the longer term to a large extent in the hands of
What conclusions can we learn from our previous study on the
drag role of the Centre? These conclusions are, as I noted at the outset,
twofold.
First: Our overall findings about the center corroborate the analysis of the party
in terms of class forces of bourgeoisie, also the basis for our
revolutionary strategy delivers. They harden our policy against the masses to fight
the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, gathers for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our policy, the
Masses primarily against the present form of the bourgeois dictatorship, against Briining
Braun-Severing dictatorship to mobilize, and to lead in the fight attempts because this
at the same time the main form of a real fight against the threat of Brüning-Hitler or
represents Hitler dictatorship. Our policy, which is why the main thrust against the
Social Democracy, as the social mainstay of the bourgeois dictatorship, and against her
Mass fraud, the so-called theory of the "lesser evil" leads.
Second, our findings demonstrate both that the party their previous
must overcome neglect the fight against the Centre under all circumstances.
It is clear that it is this weakness to a damaging legacy of the entire
socialist workers' movement is. In this issue, we have regrettably
just some bad traditions of pre-war social democracy in our ranks
preserved.
An important practical question for the reinforcement of our fight against the center and
is against the Christian trade union bureaucracy that we are not this fight
with special Hervorkehrung the religious question of the Christian Worker us
separated, but on the line of attachment to the class question for obtaining the
lead Christian workers for the common class struggle against capitalism
have to. This also applies to the remaining Catholic toilers in town and country, under
we must develop our work to fight under proletarian hegemony to
they, according to the given possibilities, either as allies to the proletariat
over pull or at least to neutralize.
Of course, this opinion is not the slightest concession to the
Theories of "religious socialism", not the slightest surrender our view of
dialectical materialism. But we are in the sense of Lenin obliged still
existing religious ties Christian worker masses under any circumstances as
to look at a wall of separation, which could prevent us from using this class comrades
together, shoulder to shoulder, for the proletarian class interests and
Class demands to fight.
This line must be maintained in the work of the revolutionary free-thinker who
In the past many times - even if only in certain places - clumsy methods
served and the religious feeling of Christian workers, workers and other
Workers injured, whereby the position of the revolutionary class struggle
adverse effects occurred. The freethinkers movement of the ideological education
Proletariat occupies a significant position, faces the task, such errors to
overcome, their work on the concrete Verhältnissen the various districts and

Methods of revolutionary freethinkers work even under socialist or already

with the KPD sympathizing workers in Berlin or Hamburg another character

must wear as among Christian center workers in Rhineland-Westphalia or

Catholic peasants in Silesia.

If the revolutionary freethinker now about only under the spell of the Church already
detached workers act and dispense with the work among Christian proletarians,
to this "not in front of offending"? That would be a completely wrong and unacceptable

View. It is rather a question that even the freethinker organizations'

Work among the Christian workers consideration for their emotional, yet
existing religious bondage with a proper link with the class issues
must connect. Then they will succeed more easily, and these workers the
Understanding of the role of the church - whether Catholic or Protestant - and also
to provide for the historically conditioned role of religion.

Our guide on this question must be the position as of with absolute clarity
was explained Friedrich Engels and Lenin. Engels continues in the "anti-Dühring" with

the sham revolutionary proposal Dühring apart religion in socialist

Company to prohibit. In contrast, asks Engels of the proletarian party "the
Ability to patiently work on organizing and educating the proletariat, a
Thing that leads to the death of religion, and not one in the adventure
political war against religion to overthrow ".

The same view does Lenin. In an article published on the occasion in 1909 a
Speech by the socialist deputy Surkov was written in the Duma, Lenin leads
among other things:

"It follows that the atheistic propaganda of the Social Democrats (Bolsheviks !. E. Th.) Of their

Fundamental task must be subordinated, namely the development of the class struggle of the
exploited masses against the exploiters. "

Lenin then selects the example of a strike in any area or
Industry, in the class-conscious addition of an advanced socialist layer
Workers rather backward, religious and church-based workers are present,
and writes:

"The Marxists must necessarily back the success of the strike movement in the foreground, must
decided in this struggle of separation of workers into atheists and Christians
counteract must vigorously combat such separation. Atheist propaganda can
under such circumstances not only unnecessary but harmful. The preacher of atheism
would afford at such a moment and under such circumstances, only the priests feed that
nothing that desire more than to, the classification of workers according to their participation in the strike
to be replaced by one according to their faith in God. ... We must all workers to
have faith in God still preserved to the Social Democratic Party (Bolshevik Party.
allow not only E. Th.), but they use with redoubled energy. we are sure
against giving the slightest offense to their religious beliefs, but we want to use them in order
to educate in the spirit of our program, but not so that they actively fight against us."

Lenin studied and also answers the question of how this education "In the spirit of our
Program "must be carried out:

"The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of the region, but a dialectical materialist, i.e., one which does not abstract the struggle against religion, not on the floor of a abstract, purely theoretical, is always constant propaganda trips, but concretely, on the bottom of the class struggle, which is really going on and the masses most and best educates."

In another article of Lenin from 1905 on "Socialism and Religion" is also:

"It would be absurd to believe that in a society based on unbridled oppression and brutalization of the working masses is constructed purely propagandistic religious prejudices could dispel. It would be bourgeois narrow-mindedness to forget that the on humanity oppressive pressure of religion only the product and the reflection of the economic pressure is within the company. By no brochures by no propaganda can the enlighten the proletariat, if it is not of the by its own struggle against the dark forces Capitalism is cleared up. The unity of this real revolutionary struggle of

the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important than the Uniformity of opinions of the proletarians about paradise in heaven ... This is the reason, why we, the proletarians who have preserved this or that remnants of the old prejudices may not prohibit the approach to our party and not prohibited. The scientific Belief we will always propagate the inconsistency of some Christians to combat is indispensable for us; but that does not mean that one of the religious question the first place that certainly does not belong to her, must move ...

Is about a contradiction between these conceptions of Lenin and the other
Demand, as Lenin after the seizure, for example, in 1922 in a Introduction of scientific institution "Under the Banner of Marxism" aufstellte? There he wrote:

"The atheist propaganda must be worn in the most varied form in the masses. they must be familiar with facts from the most diverse spheres of life, one must soon, soon approach them in one way to the other type, to arouse their interest, they made to awaken the religious sleep, of a variety of sides and with the shake varied methods, and so on."

This demand for atheist mass propaganda is not only not a Contrary to the previously mentioned position is Lenin, but on the contrary: both Tasks are inextricably linked. They meet under various concrete conditions and at different stages of history Development with the requirements of the revolutionary class struggle. That is precisely this as is the case, such as the fight against Lenin the "Gottsuchertum" against the group by Bogdanov in 1913 (see Lenin "Materialism and Empirio" Collected Works, Vol. XIII). For us, the atheist propaganda in mass Connection with the fight against the culture of reaction is an important factor of Class struggle. The decision of the IPF on the creation of a theoretical organ for this work is therefore to be welcomed.

Such dialectical issue in the treatment of religious problem, as we underline with the above citations from Engels and Lenin, is our struggle
against the mass influence of the center and for the recovery of the Christian workers a
absolute requirement. Would we these principles of Marxism-Leninism
hurt, so we would complicate ourselves our struggle, if not to
Failure pleadings.
That this struggle offers great opportunities for us that even in the camp of the Christian
Workers makes a growing radicalization noticeable, there can be no doubt
be. This opposition currents in the ranks of the center were reflected
un in the opinion of individual center leaves to the then imminent
Emergency Ordinance Brünings resist. In a similar way the "left" SPD press sometimes
an apparent opposition to the policies of their party pretends because the pressure and
Ferment among the membership make such a maneuver necessary, wrote the
official central Cologne Journal, the "Kölner Lokalanzeiger", on December 3, 1931
rather sharp words against the policy of wage robbery and the deceptive
Promises on price reduction by the Briining government. It states:

"Should it really come as the time being unchallenged statements say, then the
large and broad masses of wage earners remain alone as a victim support. The
Price reduction will also not come, because sooner or later in their receipts
narrowed salary and wage earners again fobbed off with the much abused phrase
are: the economy has its own laws, since nothing can force '",

This "abandonment" of the Brüning policy is undoubtedly only a shabby maneuver
to keep the Christian workers in line. But the fact that such maneuvers
necessary shows that the bottom of the masses of Christian Workers movement
is present, which we give from the standpoint of our class policy the necessary direction
have to.
It is no different with those Catholic workers and laborers who today
the so-called Workers 'and Peasants' Party Vitus Hellers are detected. In the management of these
Organization show tendencies of approaching the fascist group to
Strasser and Captain Ehrhardt. Among the supporters of the will to grow
revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system under the leadership of the Communist Party and the
RGO.
Our task is, the Christian workers of the way to the red united front
fighting class-conscious proletariat led by the Communist Party
show. Our task is, in the factories and on the stamping stations with the
Christian classmates, as with the Social Democratic and the other workers
to close this front. Our task is, among the masses of the Catholic
Working people to move into urban and rural areas, the rural poor and small farmers as
Ally to the proletariat for the common struggle under the leadership of the working class
over pull to neutralize the Catholic middle peasants. Our task is, among
Catholic artisans and small businesses to develop our agitation.
The existing weaknesses must be liquidated, must our struggle against the Centre
improved as part of our entire revolutionary mass work and mass politics
will. The implementation of the decisions taken, the Central Committee in this direction
has, therefore, is an important requirement among others, to make way for new growth
Success of communism in Germany vacate!
Some remarks on the work of the youth organization

In a world scale, as particularly in Germany, the current situation is characterized through the intensification of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the capitalist or proletarian-revolutionary way out of the crisis. The special ones Conditions of this heightened stage of the class struggle for the give mass revolutionary work of the party, must also for the Communist Youth Association, according to its special task, find their application. This results the main conclusions, both for the task, as well as for Slogans and methods of work of KJVD. As a central strategic task is the goal of German youth organization, the majority of young workers for the to win communism, ie, the proletarian youth and under her leadership the toiling youth ever to fight for the defense of vital interests, Page by side with the proletariat to mobilize adult, and these struggles in connection with the general revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat and as a part of this Class struggle in the fight for the proletarian solution to the crisis be reconciled. The entire policy of the youth organization must therefore turn to two tasks primarily: the preparation, initiation and management of strikes of apprentices and young workers and in closest connection so that the organization and mobilization of young unemployed for
Mass action to defend their bare existence and to the struggle of their Requirements. The location, as determined by the emergency decrees of the bourgeoisie for the young unemployed male and female sex was created, making just this last part of the work to a field in which the greatest Possibilities and an extraordinary responsibility and revolutionary duty for the KJVD result.

The importance of our revolutionary work among the masses of young proletariat and the young working people in town and country is the experience through all Class struggle underlined. You also stems from the policy of the class enemy, the Policy of the bourgeoisie and its auxiliaries. The method, as the bourgeoisie press, School, church, university in the service of ideological gagging of youth and their Clamping for bourgeois dictatorship in the ruling order of capitalist System provides, as before the war in Germany Prussian militarism, in Wars the "patriotic" contamination of youth, after the war in the revolutionary Disputes all national, fascist and pacifist forms of anwandte Gehirnverkleisterung for restraining the working youth, is for us the best Proof that our opponent is aware how much of his system for the conservation of Attracting young people depends. On the other hand show the revolutionary traditions the proletarian youth movement the great opportunities - and especially Lenin us given these teachings for the work among the youth - which for the revolutionary party the proletariat and for the marching under their leadership revolutionary Youth organizations from a Bolshevik work among the young adult. one needs in this regard only to the role of the revolutionary socialist Youth Movement to remember during the war and the revolution, according to initial major ideological fluctuations under the influence of Lenin and the Bolsheviks became an active support of the left wing and at the Zimmerwald Founding of the Communist International and its sections in a number of Countries participated.

Today the importance of revolutionary work is still growing among the youth. On Because of capitalist rationalization takes the youth work (and sometimes even Child labor) in the age of the dying, decaying capitalism again becoming greater role. For the work of the proletarian and other working youth

Germany arising special conditions from the fact that the process of putrefaction of monopoly capitalism in Germany by the dual phenomena of the crisis and the shackles of the Versailles system came already in a tougher stage. Here can the bourgeoisie of youth - especially the petit bourgeois youth - no Future possibilities, no prospects of a rise, a development of their skills more to offer. Your only ways to capture the youth, are military Romance, Nazi fanaticism and revenge incitement to take the place of bleak and hopeless class reality the illusion of a structure coming "Third Empire "or similar illusions put. The proletariat and its vanguard, Communist Party and its affiliated, led by their Communist Youth League, are alone capable of the masses of the young proletariat and the young Working people a genuine way out of the current excessive misery, the way to a to have a better future. The proletariat as the only class of the future is to appointed, the whole mass of the exploited and needy working people under his
The object of the Communists, as a conscious vanguard of the proletariat, the working class to raise the level of their historic task. The Communist Youth League has through his work, the proletarian youth to guide the masses of young people Toilers empower. He must understand, these masses to define clearly caused that only socialism the future, the rise means during each Extension of the capitalist system a permanent mass misery for millions, the physical destruction forever new hundreds of thousands and above all for the proletarian and laboring youth, the truncation of all prospects means. Today, when the whole world Done by the contrast between the two systems, socialism and proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the decaying capitalism in the rest of the world is governed, where the Bolshevik party at the head of the Soviet Government the second five-year plan for the construction of a classless socialist society passes after the first five-year plan for the foundations of socialist economy End led - now offer the Young Communist League of the shining examples and facts of socialist construction in the Soviet land, arguments for which he only use needs to among the youthful masses a really broad and comprehensive to unfold mass socialist propaganda.

While all the political directions of the bourgeoisie, including the Social Democracy, Nazis, etc. Unlike the mop the generations Part is actually available, is played partly consciously, thereby the masses of Adults and teenagers over the class contradictions of capitalist Company deceive or distract from it, it is one of the factors affecting the Strength and superiority of the communist movement represent that in her three Generations - party, youth, children movement - a perfect unity in the direction represent objective and connecting their work. This fundamental agreement and insoluble connectedness has nothing whatever to do with such errors as often carried out with regard to the harmonization of working practices. In overcoming Such an error of a schematic acquisition of methods of the party is one of the Main tasks of the youth organization. Only in proportion as it succeeds the Youth League, his special methods of work, corresponding to the conditions of work under the to develop youth, and from any imitation of the external forms of party agitation detach and propaganda, he will be able, in fact, the directives of the party fruitful and beneficial to evaluate in its mass work and meet. The leadership of the youth organization of the Party is not merely a political question, not merely a question of monitoring and control, not a question of Kommandierens and the instructions of the party at the Youth League. This is true both in the central, as in Measure of all districts, subdistricts, local groups and cells. This guide can only be realized through maximum Matey education and active help. The obligation of operating cells of the party, to create youth cells from where the Youth association itself was not capable, is an important part of this Support. But beyond that it applies to all bodies of the party, from the cell to the Central Committee, in the daily work of the needs of the youth organization to consider the Youth League in the campaigns in line with its tasks and its scope to turn and reverse the campaigns of
Virtue Association to procure the necessary share in the work of the party. These
Setting of the party youth organization must turn in the work of their KJVD
find appropriate reflection.
This is especially true of the large central campaign of KJVD in
drove coming weeks and months in urban and rural areas must, in preparing the
Reich Youth Day. It is understood that this campaign for the Reich Youth Day
with the general policy of the party campaigns - presidential elections,
Prussia elections, etc. and their significance for the extra-parliamentary mass mobilization
must be connected to strikes and mass actions closely.
In questions of the organization and their inner life is in front of the Youth League yet
urgently than before the party the need to overcome the fluctuation. As for
the party as a major area of their intra-organizational tasks and the politicization
Revival is given the operating cells, it also applies to the KJVD, the inner life of
Organization according to the needs of youth more interesting, attractive and
to make more vivid. A main object of KJVD is in the area of the press. The
Refinement of the "Young Guard" a real mass organ of life
reflects working-class youth and the young working people in town and country and the
youthful masses to become a real leader in all battles "and in their
able to be development and mass advertising for the "Young Guard" have with
utmost determination to be tackled.
The decisions that the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International
has taken with regard to the work of KJVD, find the perfect support of
Central Committee of the KPD. Task of the party is, these decisions not only
agree, but practically contributing to it that the decisions made that
criticism of the Youth International in the work of the youth organization to improve
Labor, exploited to eradicate the weaknesses and mistakes and as a lever for
Rise of the dressing is applied.
Lenin in his great speech at the congress of the Russian Communist
Youth League in March 1920, the youth of the Soviet country explained that
Communism is not book-learning and can not be learned from books. Lenin
said at the time:

"How do we teach communism the young generation growing up? You can to
Communism only learn by each step of their education with the ever
stationary struggle of the proletariat and the working masses against the old exploitative
Company connects. When you talk us about morality, we say: the whole morality of
Communists lies in this solidarity conscious discipline in conscious mass struggle against the
Exploitors. We believe no eternal morality and we covering fraud the old fairy tale.
Morality serves that lift up humanity and free from the exploitation of
Job. To achieve this, it requires a generation of young people, which the Near
unwavering disciplined struggle against the bourgeoisie conscious people grows. In
this fight will educate real Communists and every step in their education and
Education must connect to this struggle, subordinating him."

In this sense, our party makes a tremendous educational work at the young
proletarian generation. Our party expects from the Communist Youth League that
he in the future in a much greater degree than was previously a real forces reservoir for
entire party in its functions from below going up top.
This may be the youth association only when it relentlessly and ruthlessly in practice
Directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International realized.
Free of bureaucracy and personal sensitivity to the squad with KJVD
full force and Bolshevik Ernst to carry out the tasks assigned to them
approach.
It must be said openly that the switch to the factory and mass work in the sense
the Central Committee decisions can not fully satisfy. The pace of this change must
necessarily accelerated be so up to the last operating cell in the last local group
and village cell and into all the revolutionary mass organizations of the youth a
done real revolution in the practical work.
This improvement in mass work, the overcoming of all right-opportunist
trends and deviations, sectarian attitude and the general improvement of
ideological political levels of KJVD presupposes.
The leadership of the Communist Youth League - in the previous article the
Will for self-criticism and correction of all errors, deficiencies and weaknesses of the work of the
Youth League shows - must be clear about that greatest effort and
a conversion of the entire methods need to really the entire membership of the
adjust Youth League on the Bolshevik accomplish the tasks given.
Here the youth league has a huge to do ideological work, the only in the closest
and can be carried out co-chaired the party. Here only want to
one of the urgent tasks to be pointed, namely that the Communist
Youth International of the KJVD rightly an active participation in the review
of the history of the CYI previously published materials which have a range of policy
contain errors and unbolschewistischer representations, may require. The "Young Guard"
must the ideological campaign on the error Rosa Luxemburg and Karl
Liebknecht continue with much greater energy, the importance of this revolutionary
Leader against all attempts to forge the SPD and its Seydewitz- and Brandlerfilialen
must be defended without reservation. You must learn it, in much more comprehensible,
jugendgemäßer way to present this question in conjunction with the daily
Fighting the paramount role of Lenin and the Leninist Communist
Youth League of the Soviet Union in the Youth League and the Young Workers masses
bring consciousness.
The course of the January movement and the strikes in the past years has
relatively large activity of the young working masses shown. It is the case
encountered political and organizational shortcomings and weaknesses quickly to
overcome.
In the campaign for International Women's Day, which is carried out in close
Connection with the presidential election and the preparation of Prussia elections must
show that the youth organization understands how to a greater extent than previously, the shortcomings in the
eliminate field of our work among young workers.
The current acute exacerbation in the Far East is committed to youth association that
most attention to the study of war and issues the mobilization of the
Young workers against the imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union and
the Soviet territories direct.
The presidential election campaign, the Prussians election campaign, International Women's Day,
the 1st May and in particular the implementation of the International Youth Day offer
Communist Youth League, the most comprehensive options for development of his
Youth policy and the full transition to methods really Bolshevik Mass work. The Communist Party will do everything within the meaning of Decisions of the XI. Plenum of the Comintern and the decisions of the Communist EK to conduct Jugendinternationale the KJVD in its Bolshevik work and support.

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1932
The revolutionary way and the KPD

Speaking at the plenary session of the Central Committee  
the Communist Party of Germany  
on 19 February 1932 in Berlin

I. The international situation

Comrades, a small point: At previous plenary sessions of the Central Committee was the Speakers usually the object of all the important issues on the agenda and to treat areas of party work in the department. Want in today's meeting of the Central Committee we depart from this rule earlier. The Unit will therefore, as I expressly would emphasize consciously restrict and focus on certain major problems roll up and reproduce the position of the party leadership to do so. Here I draw the attention of the whole party to two important additions. 1. the fact that the CC members submitted a special statistical material was to thereby shorten my paper in time and to provide greater opportunities treat the fundamental questions, and 2. that we have to try - the object of the discussion - to the various Questions to comment and the presentation of concrete from different areas Work and politics supplement. In this way we will try to a greater extent the encourage collective work of the entire plenary session of the Central Committee and to increase. It must suffice, when clearly defined the essential elements of the development in the Unit are, from where we our conclusions for the strategy and tactics of the Party have pull. I remember the January plenum in 1931, where we employed extensively us with the character and the prospects for development of the Great Depression. We put and realize that a number of factors inhibit the crisis and its Duration and depth of zoom. The XI. Plenum of the ECCI extended these findings and created extreme clarity in all crucial issues of development of the crisis. Since XL Plenum of the ECCI and the Plenary session of the Central Committee in May last year, rise to a number of new facts, by which the current world economic crisis from all previous periodic crises differs.

The decomposition of the capitalist credit and financial system

We experience internationally and in different countries since last summer a substantial decomposition of the capitalist credit system. The novelty - compared with the previous cyclical crises of the capitalist economy - the fact that these Vibration of the credit system, and soon everywhere and the financial system, in the main, is only provided from the higher forms of the Great Depression, while in her previous Crises was usually already connected to the development of the crisis, with its first phase. By the extraordinary shock to the capitalist credit system in tougher Stage of the economic crisis in the various countries will overcome the crisis even more difficult. The spread of the crisis on the capitalist credit and financial system are in turn industrial commercial crisis a new impetus.
Where facts now expresses this decomposition of the capitalist credit and financial system?

A crisis of the credit system we will soon in all capitalist countries, while a crisis of currency not yet everywhere is visible.

In such countries as Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, we see a growing aggravation of the crisis of the credit system since last summer. The breakup of larger banks, as we him in Germany and other countries - see Danatbank etc., the Creditanstalt in Austria, the National Credit Bank in France, the Commerziellen Bank in Italy, the Trans American Bank in the United States, etc. - have experienced, is another fact.

The abolition of the gold standard for sterling in England allowed the English bourgeoisie, tentatively to save their financial system from bankruptcy. By lowering the price of the pound sterling by 20 per cent were in a single day the internal debt of the country by about 30 billion marks and the foreign capital contributions decreased by about 20 billion marks.

We continued to the fact that the public finances of most capitalist states are broken and have huge deficits, so we from the beginning in each country need to speak of a national bankruptcy.

Finally, the fall of stocks and shares on all stock exchanges (except the shares of war and armaments industry) and in particular the fact that already in 36 capitalist countries the monetary system is shaken violently and inflation has begun.

Our resolution says about all these phenomena quite rightly, that they "The last remnants of the Social Democratic legend about the organized nature 'of Monopoly capitalism smashed."

Thus we see in a number of capitalist countries an extraordinary aggravation of the crisis, while at the same time those countries, the longest of the Crisis were spared, such as France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavia, having also an extension and deepening of the crisis.

The index of production, turnover in trade and the world price is in all capitalist countries in unprecedented dimensions declined. The mass unemployment has reached an unprecedented level. A capitalist out of the crisis is becoming increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie.

The problem of the redivision of the already divided world is increasingly in the asked forefront of international politics. The question of imperialist war against the Soviet Union takes every day to new and more recent forms.

Facts which exacerbate the global economic crisis

Which factors are the main thing, the special nature of their crisis cause depth and duration and increase?

1. The global nature of the crisis in all capitalist countries;
2. In contrast, the existence of crisis-free socialist economy of the Soviet Union;
3. the integration of industrial crisis with the world agrarian crisis;
Development has been completely confirmed. We need much more than before the finding in the Masses popularize that and in this confirmation the correctness of our line Decisions clear recognition of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific Socialism reflects. Never before has the historical development of the Authority of Marxism-Leninism so bright, so unequivocal, so overwhelming hardens as just at the phenomena of the current global economic crisis.

**The intensification of the struggle for markets**

I now turn to the question of the intensification of the struggle for markets, for current phase of the crisis in economic and political terms of great Importance.

Since Maiplenume our Central Committee has the international struggle for markets out on the basis of intensified crisis a huge exasperation and aggravation. The capitalists strive to finding a way out of the crisis for a new Plunder the colonies. They develop an increasingly ruthless competition among themselves. Consult all means and methods to each other's markets abzujagen.

The protective tariffs, import quotas and import bans, termination of Trade agreements and exchange control, including the deliberate inflation policy, how and especially British imperialism with the abandonment of the gold standard the devaluation of the pound currency has initiated, these are all weapons of Imperialists to make the markets mutually contentious. The tariff war has not begun to turn in the trade and customs policy of England. The customs policy of protectionism arises from the nature of monopolistic Capitalism. The protectionist policy has come to a head during the economic world crisis and worsens still further, according to the degree of Depth of this crisis. The pound sterling fall in connection with the task of free trade in England, the new tariff policy of British imperialism plays a special Role. This policy of the English bourgeoisie, which operated from the MacDonald government is aimed equally against the working people of England whose Living is lowered by inflation, as against the competition of the other capitalist countries. Based on inflation British imperialism tries on the world market, the to undercut prices to operate a dumping exports. The English social fascism, supports this policy of the English bourgeoisie, this policy tries before the masses
The policy of the English imperialism leads to a new aggravation of imperialist antagonisms and sharpened the existing contradictions between the imperialist England and its colonies to increase.

The imperialist war has become a fact!

But not only the pound sterling policies, but in general the intensified struggle of Imperialism for markets intensifies all imperialist conflicts. The struggle for Redivision of the world and the conquest of markets intensified. The governments of the capitalist countries apply the methods and weapons of the economic attack with especially sharp against the Soviet Union (Increase in tariffs, administrative Import bans, etc.). Particularly aggressive acts of American imperialism The Soviet Union. The threat of war assumes new and more recent forms, both in the Escalation of conflicts of the imperialists among themselves, as especially in the direction

the imminent intervention war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The Events in the Far East show that the imperialist war one of a danger to has become a reality to which we, the greatest vigilance and resolute must set fighting spirit of the masses.

What does the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism in China? He is the Illustration of our finding that the imperialists resort to war as a Means of overcoming the crisis in the capitalist way. Japanese imperialism, which with the full support of French imperialism both its incursion into Manchuria and its invasion of Shanghai, Canton and the other major port cities in China has made, will the partition of China force among the imperialist powers. We have always argued that the uneven development of imperialism, sooner or later the reallocation world using imperialist war will put on the agenda. The division plays China Here a particularly large and current role. Today it is no longer a mere Trends and plans of the imperialists, but already by concrete facts. The Class reality has here again the predictions of the Communists completely confirmed and All artificially cultivated by the bourgeoisie and social democracy illusions shattered. We must learn to make the masses to hand such facts clear that only the Communists have told them the truth.

What is it about the Sino-Japanese War?

As it stands today in China? We see the monstrous crimes of world imperialism, initiated by the Japanese robbers, against a 400-million people. We see the shameless attempt thousands of years the Chinese people with its simply divide culture between the imperialist powers, just as you would in last century made with the negro slaves. We have to recognize unequivocally that this bloodthirsty attack of Japanese imperialism in the forefront not only directed against the Chinese Soviet revolution and against the Chinese working class, but in all its strategic orientation, in all its deployment area, as
the occupation of Harbin etc. shows against the Soviet Union, the only country of the Socialism throughout the world, aimed in particular.
It is no coincidence that the red Tchapei, the working-class city of Shanghai, the most Victims of the bombing and shelling by the Japanese was.
Take, for example, the in our press and in our Party not sufficiently exploited Memorandum of Tanaka, the famous Japanese Prime Minister. You can choose the in the east only understood by the revelations of this criminal document popularized throughout the vast masses of Germany and the world. What we find in the Tanaka Memorandum? He says, for example at one point:

"If we remind ourselves that the Chinese are our only buyer, so we need to Day fear, at which China will unite and start to bloom its industry."

And what methods suggests Tanaka before the Japanese policy in East Asia? He says:

"Japan will not be able to self-defense and to protect the sake of others, eliminate difficulties in East Asia, if it is not a policy of blood and iron 'performs."

Against whom is the policy of "blood and iron" sent out against the Chinese People? Once against the main imperialist rivals, against the United States, on the other hand against the Soviet Union as the stronghold of the struggle for freedom of all oppressed peoples and classes. And Tanaka also contemplates the practical Conclusions, by relying on the experience of the last World War:

"Manchuria and Mongolia - that is the Belgium of the Far East. In the great world war was Belgium to the battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the United States we are Manchuria and Mongolia mustsuspend all horrors of war."

Currently showing the extraordinary reluctance of the United States against the Japanese approach in Shanghai is a great danger that the imperialists their Postpone conflicts with each other, in favor of the Japanese attack on the Soviet Union. It is clear that the Japanese imperialists in this case the role of a chain of dog would play world imperialists, the permission and the strongest commitment United States, France, England, etc. the attack on the Soviet Union opened.

What Tanaka says this policy of war against Soviet Russia?
He writes:

"If the Soviet Union corresponding Chinese Eastern Railway to develop in this area, as is our new continental policy thereby impaired, and this will inevitably in the near future lead to a conflict with the Soviet Union ... The program includes our national development evidently need a to cross our arms with Russia in Mongolia to us to take possession of the riches of northern Manchuria. If we look at Japan's future, we have to admit the inevitability of war with Russia in north Manchuria. If this track is (meant the web Kirin Hoinin and Taschantschun-Talaij is built, we can Talai make the starting point of an attack on Siberia after three directions. And over Taonan, Anshan over and over Tsitsihar. The riches of North Manchuria are then in be our hands."
The strategic plan of Japanese imperialism is essentially asking:
First Financial and economic penetration of Manchuria;
Second Military conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia while
Suppression of the Chinese people, especially under the present conditions, the
Tanaka is not anticipated, the Chinese Soviet Revolution.
Thirdly, the war against the Soviet Union for breaking away not only the East China
Railway and Vladivostok, not only of friendship with the Soviet Union
affiliated People's Republic of Outer Mongolia, but the conquest of Siberia, to
to create a buffer state.
Fourth: war against the United States for dominance of the Japanese
Imperialism throughout Asia and the Pacific to provide.
I just want to add that the Tanaka Memorandum in the broader perspective then
even the conquest of India and eventually Europe by the Japanese
Imperialism provides. But while these other perspectives just as fantastic and
appear insane, like world domination dreams of imperialists of all countries - one
need only to the war aims of the Hindenburg and Ludendorff think - during which
shows the practice of Japanese imperialism, that he already this most emphatically
has moved to fulfill the first part of the Tanaka Plan. So we have to clear
be that this Tanaka memorandum from 1927 absolutely the line for the entire policy
Japan emits. And that means no more and no less than that of the Japanese
Imperialism wants to unleash the war against the Soviet Union as quickly as possible. The
whole bloody seriousness of this fact it is important to detect and the broadest masses clearly
do.

This predatory Schacher business in China, the conflict will continue the
Imperialists escalate among themselves. But prior to the intensification of the contradictions of
imperialist powers among themselves occurs increasingly to the fore the
joint action by the imperialist powers in the preparation of the war against the
Soviet Union. Apart from the American-English primary difference between the imperialists
with each of the US-Japan opposition reengaged to the fore,
without prejudice to the war actions of Japanese imperialism and all other
Imperialists are limited against the Soviet Union.

The role of German imperialism

For us German communists is of course of utmost importance the role of
German imperialism on the issue of Japanese war.
What we see here? Just as with the problem of the anti-Soviet war, the German
Bourgeoisie even at the approach of Japanese imperialism such a position a,
that it be involved in all circumstances in the bloody business and of the spoil
will benefit.
I refer here to the dirty role of the German fascist officers in
China, which there as a military advisor for years Chinese at all struggles against
participate Revolution and the Red Armies. Today it is mainly the question of
Ammunition and arms shipments, in which the participation of the German bourgeoisie the crimes of the imperialists expresses.

I note that recently in the "German mine newspaper" in this field already the line of the major part of German industry has been demonstrated in Related to the economic shifts and the economic upturn the war industry to participate in this business. For example, it says:

"Global stock markets face the events in the Far East with not only amazing tranquility, but in some cases even with some kind of hopefulness. Speculation holds the world from a war resulting economic shifts to a great extent already for economic invigorating. We see with every new expansion of this east Asian conflict new Equity and commodity groups are listed on the movement."

Continue: In one district Assembly of GdA in Hamburg explained of the Union Secretary Möhring include:

"We need to determine which work promoting importance of Sino-Japanese conflict also wins for German employees."

The operations in the Far East, the war in Manchuria and in the other Chinese port cities bring at the same time with the attack against the toiling Chinese masses even the strongest threat to the Soviet Union; thereby enters the War of intervention in a new acute stage. The occupation of Harbin, the continued Japanese attacks in the territory of East China Railway, the increased accumulation White Guard members on the border of the Soviet Union, the imperialist plans on Creating a buffer state, under breaking away from parts of the Soviet Union and Inclusion of Outer Mongolia, which in the Soviet Union Peace and close Friendship lives, all this shows us how extraordinarily threatening the position of the Peace is the Soviet Union.

In the same line of the imperialist coup the Lithuanian government is on Memel. Lithuania, which on the direct instructions and under the control of imperialist states concerns, joins with this act of violence in the anti-Soviet front of the intervening powers a.

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*Threat of the Soviet Union by the imperialist war*

We have on many occasions stressed that the conflicts of the imperialists themselves any constitute mitigation of risk of intervention war against the Soviet Union. The shall apply to the current situation in a particular degree. Today none of us what tomorrow at this war front in the Far East changed. The Japanese Imperialism wants in alliance with other imperialist powers his robbery and initiate war policy against the Soviet Union. Here must the KPD and the revolutionary working class and with it the international working class already everything use to this world crime with all its consequences in the strongest terms to combat.

The forces of the working class must be mobilized against the partition of China by the imperialist robbers States, for the defense of the Soviet Union and Soviet China! As before, the whole policy of the Soviet Union proves the policy of peace.
Hardly ever we had in the past so easily, the broadest masses, especially the Social Democratic workers, the role of the Soviet regime as a bastion to make and bulwark of peace clear. And the faces of the world imperialists, the world of capitalism. It is Lenin's slogan of the Comintern "war the imperialist war" in their whole understanding scope. We need not only in words but in our revolutionary mass work and actions the Bolshevik struggle against war organize and lead. We need the Hague instruction of Lenin and the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern the common property of the party and the working class do.

Here I will not waste words on the shameful role of the League, this War instrument of the imperialist powers, which now also every social democratic Workers will start to become clear. Or take the monstrous hypocrisy of Imperialists who unite in Geneva called the Conference on Disarmament, during at the same time in the Far East, the Japanese thundering cannons and guns and Bombers over cities circling. Is not it bloody travesty if the same Japan, the without hesitation and without the slightest inhibitions its raid against the Chinese People performing at the same time plays a leading role in the Geneva Disarmament comedy? In Geneva Comrade Litvinov has taken the old proposal of the Soviet government again and on behalf of the working class around the world the utter and absolute disarmament proposed. Clear and clearly underlined Comrade Litvinov the threat of new Wars. In brilliantly castigated Comrade Litvinov the enthusiasm of the II. International "greeted the plan French imperialists, by establishing a League army to an army of the imperialists against the Soviet Union on its feet put.

Comrade Litvinov has at this session of the imperialists again before all proletarians the world pronounced that the Soviet Government from the very first day of its existence the condemned imperialist war not only with words but by their deeds that Soviet Union against all war tribute, against all national oppression of a people has turned by the other. The imperialists and their press have this speech of Comrade Litvinov, which at the same Hour was maintained, in a hail of shells Japanese planes and guns to the working-class neighborhood sealed Apel came down, taken with open derision. We need this make available speech million proletarians and working people, we have all the hypocritical disarmament maneuvers of the imperialists against the working class and expose to active mass actions against the imperialist war, for the defense of mobilize Soviet Union.

Is not it quite clear that this Conference on Disarmament only the backdrop for the armaments gives the imperialists? Suppose this the fact that Paul Boncour, the Chairman of the League of Nations conference may have the audacity of "misunderstandings" to speak in connection with the war against the Japanese imperialists Chinese people. Only a power that is represented at the Conference on Disarmament is struggling really for peace, is really ready to disarmament: the Soviet Union. All others, including Germany, playing a comedy of deception the masses.
The Social Democrats and the war in the Far East

The II. International, this agency of capitalist League of Nations on the occasion of shows Sino-Japanese War unequivocally afresh their true colors, as in August 1914. Thus, as the social-patriotism of that time to the present social fascism has developed, so too is the question of imperialist war policy II. International and the individual social democratic parties only today unscrupulous and criminal than in the former years of the granting of War credits. Take, for example, the Japanese Social Democratic Party, which position they takes on the question of war. The "left" Socialist Party of Japan has the following statement mouth of her deputies Matzutani representatives of the press:

"The operations of Japanese troops in Manchuria are no means to protect capitalist interests carried out, they were on the contrary, by the need to Solution to the national problem caused. Therefore, the current situation is different in the Manchuria much of a war of the capitalists."

And as Matzutani from Manchuria, where he had made a "study tour" returned, he presented the following solutions on:

1. "defense of Japanese privileges in Manchuria;
2. supplies Manchuria in the hands of the Japanese workers and peasants.
3. Two million unemployed Japanese to emigrate to Manchuria, where the Privileges Japan manage;
4. the party to all forces concentrate on the fight for these slogans."

I would also point out that the party executive of Rono-Teischuto ("left" Social Democratic Party) the end of October, the Japanese action in Manchuria as a "Fateful question of the Japanese nation" represented and finally to the fact that the Social Democratic Youth of Japan issued a manifesto, which states:

"In the fields of Manchuria, where the sources of raw materials export of Japanese capital and Japanese goods a crucial role for due to the political prerogatives of Japan play Japanese economy, we see the aggressive step of the Soviet Union, which otherwise theoretically the pacifist internationalism stressed the American and English Capital, and the boycott of Chinese feudal generals against Japanese goods. Out Therefore burst the current Sino-Japanese conflict. In the rapid Development of the objective situation we have to give the schematic strategy and instead from the standpoint of the proletarian youth conduct a truly objective tactics. We need to to achieve our goals, first on the basis of the national economy build socialism to gradually penetrate to international socialism, which is our task is, the fantastic idealism of Communist Youth most decisively to fight."

And finally the fact, comrades, that the beginning of February d. J., the "right Japanese Social democracy" following theses aufstellte:

1. "There are to take all humanly possible steps to inform all of Japan about that the Japanese Social Democratic Party, the building of Japanese imperialism protects and upholds.
2. The Socialist Party has categorically the theory back, claiming that the state
Comrades, I emphasize that these three social democratic organizations II. International support the policy of the Japanese imperialists.

We are the only party that fights for peace

Given these facts, in view of the realization that we are not before, but are already in the imperialist war that the Japanese imperialists, the has already ignited firebrand of imperialist war that the spark to other imperialist powers threatens to skip, and - what is most important - that the Imperialists strive openly socialist peace of the Soviet Union and its disturbing structure, we Communists have our banner of proletarian Internationalism and active revolutionary solidarity bolder and more determined than depending unfold. We are the only party and the representative of the only class that really fighting against imperialism and for peace.

But it is not enough that we know that. The vast masses in Germany have it know hear from us in the propaganda, and understand. The decline and decay of capitalist system, which assume ever greater forms, in contrast, the crisis loose ascending development of the only country in the world, the country of socialism, show from the millions toiling masses always crass their powerful principal Difference. The imperialists of capitalist borders Around her loyal Social Search for the capitalist way out of the crisis by violent Redivision of markets, by conscious partition of China and by the new, very seriously to acquiring military operations against the Soviet Union, vast masses for their capturing predatory plans and win. The communist parties all over the World and especially the KPD must aware of the seriousness of this situation fully aware be. Never since the time of the civil war and imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union in the years 1917 to 1920 is the hour of the war of aggression Imperialism against the Soviet Union as close as moved in this facing us Weeks and months. Our great historical slogan of the defense of the Soviet Union by the vast masses of the world proletariat can quickly and unexpectedly from a Agitation to Action slogan for the KPD and its affiliated revolutionary Workers are. This our main slogan contains within itself the irreconcilable struggle against all imperialist robbers and their social-fascist and fascist War supporters in their own country. Our class enemies are already starting with new Methods of poisoning and slander against us and against the only country of the real peace, against the Soviet Union, its ideological campaign, in addition to the increasing military operations to re-open.

Take for example the "Hamburger Nachrichten", as they give on this basis, an example, as the class-conscious press the bourgeoisie this slander campaign orchestrated. It is in the "Hamburger Nachrichten", among others, in an article "Moscow organized the Civil War in Germany "at one point as follows:

"The Communist International had for the German Communists one million gold rubles of requested the Russian Party, which were approved immediately. Also had 40 agents
GPU for organizing terrorist acts, demonstrations and riots planned, as well as for Organization of industrial espionage arrived. 

Thus we see that with these plans of the imperialists at the same time the slander take on new forms in this field.

Appeal of the Central Committee of the German proletariat!

We have in the agitation and propaganda the greatest possible intensity and revolutionary fervor unleash the most powerful international solidarity and the closest alliance of German revolutionary workers with the millions of Russian Workers and peasants who struggle unswervingly and wrestle for the policy of peace and the Inviolability of their real socialist fatherland. Just as the capitalist Robber and the social-democratic and fascist leaders the deep hatred of the try to produce existence of the Soviet Union and its world-historical development, so it must reverse our big, bold and revolutionary task in tireless Daily struggle and be in all our campaigns, the international band of lowest Solidarity and the common mass revolutionary struggle everywhere to organize and develop, not only directly in the hour of military attack against the Soviet Union, but already in the context of all the challenges facing us throughout Germany. One can say that it is precisely in the current situation in the agitation and propaganda of the most passionate Bolshevik struggle against imperialist War much more comprehensive and concrete must be done, as it the past Case was.

We have a great responsibility. More than once since 1918 has been the threat of attack of world imperialism on the Soviet Union by the mass actions of the Comintern in all Countries prevented. More than ever, depends on our determination to fight and Action Skill further development from. Today Japanese bombs fall on Wusung and Schapei, Japanese troops march against the Chinese Soviet areas. If it were up to the will of the imperialist powers, perhaps tomorrow would the Aircraft Squadron Soviet territories bomb.

I speak on behalf of the entire plenary session of the Central Committee, when I of this Place the strongest appeal to the entire German proletariat and all working people teach all their strength for the struggle against the imperialist Krieggsgemetzeln in the throwing pan.

On behalf of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the KPD I address the invitation to all class-conscious workers in the ports, the sailors and dockworkers, the Railwaymen, to the workers of war and munitions industry: Turn your weaponry of Strikes and all other methods of struggle to prevent any support from the imperialist war on by ammunition and arms shipments! I indicate here, that specific monitoring committees have been formed in some port cities, and that this is the first beginning of this great work.

On the Chinese workers and poor peasants!

And on behalf of the plenary of our ZK I judge from this place to the workers and poor peasants of the Chinese people, the fighting against the war crimes Workers Japan, revolutionary to the entire international working class and all especially to the millions of workers and peasants, the Red Army and the Red Fleet Soviet Union our pledge, in the struggle against the imperialist war on the line Lenin and Bolshevism to comply with all the forces of our revolutionary duty. We be our proletarian solidarity with the imperialists by the resolute
Fighting the enemy in their own country practically harden! The express and the shout proletarian masses, is one of the most important duties of today's meeting our Central Committee.

The imperialist antagonisms and the Versailles system

I now come to the question that with the intensification of imperialist antagonisms is connected: to question the Versailles system! On the basis of uneven development in the epoch of imperialism the Versailles system of peace treaties robbery, which sealed the last World War, to a lever which all capitalist contradictions to a higher level and in added pointedly direct forms transferred. We know the intensity of the struggle of American imperialism against the declining position of England in world domination, continue the escalation of the Contrasts between British imperialism and France, with the Decline of economic and political power position of England in connection stands. Consider France. His imperialist hegemony in Europe was the Versailles system erected. It stands in a certain opposition to the amount of economic development of French capitalism. This forces the French To increase imperialism to expand the system to its vassal states his armor and oppression and suppression of Germany with the help of the Young-slavery unabated maintain (Hoover plan standstill negotiations related with the planned Lausanne Reparations). Here we saw a merger America and France, said the vassal states as allies of France indomitable will of French imperialism to maintain the rocked Versailles system supported. On one side of the impracticability of the Versailles Treaty and the Young grows Plan. Moreover, the debt problem is international as the German scale to an insoluble problem for the imperialists. On the other hand French imperialism has no intention to the system of to refrain Young-slavery, because it in with maintaining its supremacy Europe is inextricably linked. Thus, the Versailles system leads to an extraordinarily sharp and tense increase the contrast between the winners and losers of the past World War, as. Well as between the winners among themselves for the division of the spoils The Difficulties and contradictions of the Versailles system by increased global economic crisis and cause other hand, has to initiate a more Aggravation of the crisis. We will deal with this issue more specifically in their have to deal with consequences for Germany.

The revolutionary upsurge and the intensification of the class struggle

And now the last question I want to highlight in the analysis of the international situation, that is the question of the obligations arising from the intensification of the crisis revolutionary Upswing and its associated intensification of the class struggle between Bourgeoisie and proletariat. In their attempt to tread a capitalist solution to the crisis, is the
planned reduction of wages, a reduction in social transfers, a decrease of consumption of major food and means of consumption per capita. The policy response and the use of fascist methods of rule by the Bourgeoisie enters become more visible. The bourgeoisie is quite openly the A state apparatus in their attacks on the working masses. It mobilizes all its Auxiliary forces, especially their social mainstay, the international social democracy.

Factors of revolutionary upswing

On the other hand, we see a number of factors of the revolutionary upsurge. The victories of the Red Army in China, the expansion and consolidation of the Chinese Soviet areas, the fact that in an area that is far greater than Germany, a second Soviet country has formed, represent a world-historical fact that we in our agitation and propaganda observed far too little. We need increasing attention point out that in addition to the Soviet Union already on a second vast area, larger as Germany, the Soviet government is that there the for the Chinese Soviet Revolution Task of the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the proletarian socialist revolution increasingly matures, that the Chinese Soviets, which today nor organs of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry are, are called to organs of proletarian dictatorship that match to the alliance the poor farmers supported to be. I also remember the events in Spain, to the riots, strikes and Demonstrations in India, to the wave of strikes in a number of capitalist countries, the peasant rebellions and peasant mass actions, to the English Flottenmeuterei, the great electoral success of our sister party in Bulgaria and other facts revolutionary development.

The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union

The strongest factor in the revolutionary upsurge around the world who dominant world-historical factor for the whole of the present period is the triumphant the Soviet Union. I will not repeat what we all about the gigantic achievements of Soviet power all present there and to be overcome difficulties in organizing the Socialism know. I just want to point out that the superiority of the socialist Planned economy as unmistakably in the contradiction between the decline of Capitalism and the rise of socialism expresses an extremely exerting revolutionary impact on the masses. A few days ago, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has completed its 17th Party Conference that the Results of the first five-year plan adopted position and the line for the second Five-Year Plan stipulated. Today, after started the last, the fourth year of the five-year plan has, we can say that it is ensured that the solution: implementation of the Five-Year Plan in
Towards the classless society

The second Five-Year Plan, which finally all remnants of the so-called parasitic capitalist Classes eliminated, the abolition of class distinctions is attacking, brings a new huge turning point in world history. Having described the structure of the

Foundations of a socialist economy is completed, will be the second Five-Year Plan on a sixth of the earth the classless socialist society built. Of course we must distinguish between the problem of socialism and the transition to communism. Even if the classless society built, is, as in the strategic line of the second Five-Year Plan as a decision on the XVII. caucus was signaled and assumed so it does not mean that the conclusion of the second Five-Year Plan all remains certain bourgeois ideologies have been eliminated. The question of the construction of communism is a question of stages of socialism. From this point of view must be the question of the construction of a classless society put.

We must turn our attention to all issues of economic political and cultural Development, as they are raised in all fields by the second Five-Year Plan, turn and thus the heroic achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union for our make revolutionary propaganda usable. Also we will be the triumph of socialism by the simple force of facts an insurmountable source of strength for the proletarian revolution in all capitalist and colonial countries. The example of the without some crises Soviet Union, the example of the proletarian dictatorship, the unemployment has one hundred percent eliminated, increasing the standard of living of the masses unceasingly, as only power operates the policy of peace and not the slightest germ of Fascism tolerate that for the greatest social, cultural and political achievements the toiling masses expands and secures, this example has a compelling evidence. But we still do not understand these brilliant arguments that us Reality returns to exploit to a sufficient extent. We do not understand the Vast masses who are looking even for a way out of the crisis and this necessarily is increasingly geared to the example and the example of the Soviet Union, virtually and tangibly demonstrate how to follow this example in Germany.

The class enemy itself shows us very clearly the paramount importance of the revolutionary Socialist victories of the Soviet Union. The Social Democratic hoax with the State capitalism, with which we will deal in more detail are, Such an attempt, the masses from the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis withhold basic of the model of the Soviet Union and the capitalist way of capture bourgeoisie. More important is our propaganda for the revolutionary Way, our tireless analysis of the great socialist achievements in the Soviet Union.

II. The situation in Germany
When considering the situation in Germany, I will refrain in all Unit Questions and fact materials reproduce more detail, but I will confine itself to identify the main conclusions from the Analysis of the economic and political conditions in Germany arise.

First, some remarks on the development of the crisis in Germany. What shows since Maiplenum of the Central Committee of new facts?

With the intensification of the crisis on a world scale, we also in Germany a higher Phase recorded in the unfolding of the crisis. While the bourgeoisie due to the monopolistic nature of the capitalist economy of Germany in the two first years of the crisis was managed, the shock of the crisis, especially on the distract not monopolistic parts of the capital, is reflected in this stringent Stage of world crisis that already a number of key commanding heights of Finance capital, big banks and large industrial groups, are detected by the crisis. in the Last summer, in connection with the bank crash, the shock of

Credit system in Germany and the Hoover Plan, we have the events of that time completely adequately assessed. For us there can be no separation, no schematic demarcation give the various stages of the crisis. We can not of a particular speak banking crisis or special credit crisis, as the bourgeoisie, a fact fundamental difference to the industrial crisis constructed. We have on the contrary been working particularly acute, as at the various manifestations of the crisis in its various phases but always a and the same process of vibration of the capitalist economy due to their internal Contradictions takes.

What appeared as the bank crash?
When one examines the real economic content, it is clear that in the Collapse of a number of major banks and other vibration other Major banks, and in the end more bankrupt smaller banking enterprises, always industrial crisis, the disruption of production, its reflection found. The banks became insolvent because the collapsing corporations as Nordwolle, Schultheiss Patzenhofer, had Borsig etc. granted huge loans because these loans were either lost, or frozen, such as the Steel Trust, Ruhr mining and other corporations.

The German bourgeoisie had to proceed to a temporary external and internal to adopt moratorium. Because nothing other than such a de facto moratorium was indeed the Bank closure of a part, and the Hoover Plan and the standstill agreement on the other. Finance capital, the big bourgeoisie went on the basis of this worsening crisis unlimited to over, immediately use the state apparatus to clean up the banks. This was done in the form of open and disguised subsidies, so called in the form "Renovations" or by loans, which in reality only at the expense of gifts toiling taxpayers were.

Nothing else is merging now done with new huge subsidies the big German banks, in which two of the thus created giant banks of the State Majority of shares has. Again, with the billions of taxpayers attempt made to conceal the collapse of the banking groups and postpone. In this way, the financial oligarchy fought immoderate plundering the masses
to prevent the financial collapse. The threat of insolvency and the associated but risk of inflation could not offset by any action of the bourgeoisie, but only postponed. The stock of the Reichsbank gold and foreign exchange is further declined. From the middle to the end of 1931 by about 50 percent. The export surplus Germany is due to the pounds inflation, the customs struggles and the general Export offensive of the capitalist countries back more and more. At the same time, the internal market is characterized by the permanent reduction of the mass purchasing power by about 30 Percent depressed below the level of the 1929th By Emergency Ordinance in December consumption was reduced by more than 4 billion.

Perspective of further aggravating the crisis

All this clearly shows that even for the ahead development another must result in worsening of the crisis. For the current situation, we must note, that the financial and credit system in Germany is in severe difficulties. Despite a "savings" of about 3 billion marks to the unemployed, wages and Salaries of state workers, employees and officials, we have a deficit of about 2 billion in government finances. The standstill agreement with respect to the short-term Loans expires on 23 February, and the rediscount of Reparationsbank in Basel the Reichsbank over 420 million marks is due. At the same time go to the control inputs and government revenue always more back. All apart from the formal Reparationskrediten due to the Young Plan, which by the end of the Hoover Plan deferred are trying the German bourgeoisie alone to pay interest and pay off the so-called "private" foreign debt, an annual tribute performance of over 2 billion Mark extort from the toiling masses in order to the foreign financial capital dissipate. Taking further into consideration that the agrarian crisis due to the retrograde development agriculture assumes ever sharper forms and huge amounts of open and hidden subsidies by the bourgeoisie at the expense of millions of toiling masses be paid to the Junkers and big farmers, so there is a perspective that a further worsening of the crisis amounts. suggest a whole series of facts then, that the situation will become increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie. This puts a question again to the fore the question of inflation! What's new in this issue?

New inflation plans

The most important is undoubtedly the Wagemann plan. This plan, which is a dual currency wants to create, that is a group bonded to any gold paper marks, with the wages and salaries in Germany are to be paid and a currency for Money transactions with other countries, which should not be devalued is basically only the new edition of similar proposals from the camp of Hugenberg and Hitler, who already in Last summer, on the occasion of the banking crash emerged. I think, comrades, if we think of the Harzburger conference, so we remember that by the former Reichsbank President Schacht was there presented a similar idea, the suddenly interested the public and surprised. Today we see during the
Ganges development that this Wagemann plan gets a more serious significance because behind schedule already, such a group is that the as yet still healthiest part of the German financial capital is, the chemicals group. The fact that now also the chemistry capital more on the line of the inflationary policy pivots, as for the big landowners and mining industry since Hugenberg and Hitler represented for a long time, is of new importance and can also for all the rest Politik Germany timely important consequences. Still remains an important inhibition of the German bourgeoisie, which they before inflation policy, following the example of England can shrink: This is the fear warning that inflation due to the experiences of 1923, the radicalization would accelerate revolutionizing the masses extraordinary. And this fear of proletarian revolution, is in front of the revolutionary crisis in the wake of inflation undoubtedly the main reason why Brüning and Groener for specific Information at the moment the implementation of the Wagemann plan not for keep appropriate.

**SPD leaders and Nazis for inflation**

The Wagemann plan is still in another relationship domestically revealing: On the one hand pushed the plan to the enthusiastic applause of the Nazis, who immediately declared that he had stolen from them. In bourgeois circles is the Wagemann Plan directly regarded as a business card for about coming Hitler government. on the other hand have become the Social Democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy immediately also very enthusiastic solidarity with the Wagemann plan. We are aware that the theoretical organ of the reformist trade union bureaucracy "Work" Wagemann invited to write about his plan. So here too we have a growing Approval for the inflationary trends of the bourgeoisie. It does not Role in this social fascists hide their shameful policy behind the scams, the Wagemann Plan was no inflation plan, not demonstrate the presence of inflationary policies, but is to some extent a policy that the past of the deflationary policy wants to ignore and to a certain extent provide a different form of the revival of the economy. That on the Federal Committee meeting of the chairman ADGB Leipart with this plan has engaged, is just a proof of how one attempts a systematic ideology for to provide this development. It is clear that in the deprived all reserves and infinitely weakened by the crisis capitalist Germany, which has the experience of 1923 behind them, creating would lead to a double standard infallibly cause the created without gold backing Domestic currency completely devalued by general "escape" from the Internal Market, would plunge to a certain extent into the abyss and then tear the currency with it. Take for instance the English bourgeoisie: You could the devaluation of the pound Sterling hold at a certain stage, because they have certain reserves available has, with which they to a certain date inflation policy to a limit of 20 Percent currency loss of the British pound sterling set. The reserves of the German Finance capital in this field, where are they? Of course you can for a time such Policy of these two paths of a system of dual currency perform without
perhaps as early as the initial stage of the open inflation is there. But of course the
Development must lead to the depreciation of the mark in Germany. The dangers that a
bring inflationary rate in the monetary policy of the German bourgeoisie with it
must, namely the dangers of the maturing of a revolutionary crisis, so are very large.

The reparations and debt problem

On the other hand is the inflation problem is closely associated to the question, the next
the credit problem particularly pointed character for Germany: The
Reparations and debt problem, the problem of the Versailles system. We have here in
ZK this connection between crisis and Versailles system in development
Germany clear and concrete work out. Our resolution says:

"Out of the collapse and the interpenetration of the crisis and the Versailles
Bondage (Young-slavery) results in a process which in the capitalist Germany the
tie up of Versailles Systems on tougher stage of putrefaction of the
monopoly capitalist development causes."

What we want to say? Lenin the development of capitalism in the age of
Imperialism, monopoly capitalism generally of as a process of decline,
dying, decaying capitalism in. For Germany, the
Conditions of the post-war development, we now have not only these simple
Decays of monopoly capitalism, but this process is the
Coincidence of crisis and Versailles aggravated extremely. The signs of decay
in the capitalist economy of Germany, the parasitic phenomena of
Monopoly capitalism assume higher forms than in most other capitalist
Countries.
I refer only to the question of alienation, as reflected in the fact that the
industrial structure in the years of capitalist rationalization with predominantly
foreign capital was carried out. I refer to the situation of the German
Agriculture, maintained the bunker and large peasant farms artificially
will.

We have already considered the question of the credit system and the financial system, where
likewise the impending financial crash as the sultriness of a storm over the
capitalist economy Germany floats. I still want to for us particularly
important fact of the ever-increasing mass misery point. The payroll
the German working class was 58 percent lower than that of in 1931
Ministry of Labour on the basis of bourgeois statistics fixed subsistence.
Suppose further that more than 6 million unemployed and the millions of workers on short time.
If we take the fact that the countless ruined lives of the middle class in
Town and country as well as the counting hundreds of thousands jobless employees
and large sections of the unemployed workers under capitalism in Germany
Ever have no possibility of existence, no hope of return
be able to return into the production process. For these more extensive expectant
Mass of the petty bourgeoisie, from the workers masses, from the ranks of
Intelligence and from the proletariat itself, takes place in an unprecedented pace a
strong pauperization. This phenomenon pushes unprecedented due to their
mass moderate character, as a result of her in the history of capitalist countries particularly severe on deutlichlichsten the extraordinary intensification of Rot character of the capitalist economy of Germany in the shackles of Versailles Systems from.

We Bolsheviks do not believe in miracles

All hopes of the German bourgeoisie at easing Versailles shackles are failed. Of the advances of the German bourgeoisie in the issues of the Customs Union is now only the fact remains that the French imperialism in Austria not even tolerate more Mr. Schober as Minister because of this for Germany Austrian Customs Union has occurred. The Hoover plan of the bourgeoisie Masses vorschwindelt he was an advance of American imperialism against France and Germany, has also exposed as what we Communists against all bourgeois parties, including the SPD and the Nazis, from the beginning noted as an action in which the American and French imperialism jointly defend the Young system and insist on its maintenance. The Lausanne Conference, initiated by the German bourgeoisie with special explanations, that Germany no longer wants to pay and could pay, is postponed indefinitely. Always sharply it turns out that the entire bourgeoisie, including the Social Democrats and the Nazis is completely unable to operate any other policy as the fulfillment of policy, the policy of capitulation to French imperialism. The tribute slavery due to the Versailles system and the predatory Young Plan is by no means only in the payment of political reparation. Rather, the so-called "private" debt in reality just tribute to the international Financial capital that have to pay the millions of working people, such as the actual Reparations. I want here remember the forecast, which Comrade Stalin at the XVI. Party CPSU has given with respect to the Young Plan:

"The peculiar relationship, which emerged between the victors and Germany, could be represented as a pyramid, on whose tip America, France, England, etc. enthroned the Young Plan in hands on which is written: "Pay!" while below Germany razed to the ground is exhausted his forces and forced to bleed, to the orders for payment comply by Milliardenkontributionen. ... To think that such a condition for the international capitalism can remain without consequences, would mean the life anything to understand. To believe that the German bourgeoisie will be able in the next ten Years to pay 20 million marks, and that under the double yoke of the "own" and the "Foreign" bourgeoisie living German proletariat without serious struggles and shocks will allow you squeezes these 20 billion from his veins, is the mind to lose. Do German or French politicians give themselves the appearance of this miracle believe. We Bolsheviks do not believe in miracles."

This struck a half years ago determination of Comrade Stalin is today fully confirmed. The Young Plan and the Versailles system, on the one hand by the Fascist reaction as an impediment to the revolutionary development, as a prerequisite for the success of the National Socialist demagogy and politics be exploited promote On the other hand, the revolutionary development m the extent that its internal contradictions
escalate and lead to their vibration. It depends such a revolutionary orientation the masses on whether we understand it, the national demagogy of Hitler fascism, is now also the SPD served to a greater extent, to expose and it our revolutionary freedom policy to oppose.

The fascist price of the Brüning government

I turn now to the question of fascism. The process of implementation of the fascist Dictatorship by the Brüning government as we him a year ago at the January plenary 1931 have analyzed, has within the last twelve months, the most violent forms adopted. I will not give details, since the most diverse Repressive measures against the working class: strike bans, government wage robbery, Reducing social benefits, terror of Nazism, fascism of Social Democracy, have been set out. Nobody will doubt today more that We here at the price of Brüning-Groener-government in the kingdom and its brown-Severing- have in Prussia do branch with a fascist course, that we were right when we in December 1930 of a maturing, immature fascist dictatorship languages. In carrying out this fascist course we see to this day in the Policy of the German bourgeoisie the peculiar system of mutual utilization of Social Democracy and the Hitler party, with the emphasis still in the SPD is a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. The center is currently the party for this mutual exploitation of the SPD and the Nazis by finance capital in the Foreground has moved. The center plus social democracy is carrying out the policy of Finance capital by in Germany.

The role of the German Nationals in Faschisierungsprozeß

In dealing with the disposition of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie still occurs Another problem, which has already been discussed by us often. I think of the eminent role of Hugenberg party, the German Nationalists, as the most class-conscious Part in the front of the bourgeoisie, the system of the policy of finance capital. We have already earlier repeatedly pointed out that Hugenberg with its policy, the external Although considered organizationally to a weakening of the German National People's Party led, has just gives the possibility, based on the mass basis of Nazis, the actual whip and impeller of the whole fascist to be policy of capitalist Germany. We can state with right now, that it is Hugenberg succeeded, standing outside the government, through its influence politics, most recklessly to complete the course of financial capital to operate and largely enforce his political program. This is right now particularly underlined by the new decree Groener, now officially take Nazis in the Army. but It is quite clear further on this issue

the involvement of the Braun-Severing Government, without their consent, the leading Reichswehr Group Groener-Schleicher has not issued this decree. Furthermore Show that occurred in the previous transfers from the peasantry-party, business party and German People's Party to the German Nationals - defections by MPs
State parliaments and others - that the Hugenberg Party organizationally no longer
decreases.
Such correct assessment of the forces is more necessary and important than they the
sole precondition for creating a proper position relative to the Hitler party
take. Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunistic overestimation of
Hitlerism. If we were to let ourselves out over the huge swelling of
losing Hitler movement our right class-scale and us in a
to be pushed like panic as it artificially in the Social Democracy to
attempts to produce masses, one would have the inevitable in a wrong question
our practical policy, both towards the Nazis, as especially compared to the SPD
to lead.
We have in the Nazi movement with law in particular the
behold mass base Hugenberg and the German Nationalists, as on the other hand
Brüning government in Durchführung the Notverordnungsdiktatur-policy
Social Democrats used as the strongest mass base. We have class-in our
see analysis that the huge rise of Hitlerism primarily from the
petty bourgeois masses and their corresponding Professional Employees layers
stems while they are not of the slump in the industrial proletariat in general
succeeded.
Only if we realize this, we are in the party completely clear about the role of the SPD
can create a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Only then it is possible for us
be, for our strategy, whose main thrust must be directed against the Social Democrats, the
necessary understanding of all communists and beyond at the widest
to create proletarian masses. Because it is just as before and continues to be the
Social Democrats, who for the fascist bourgeoisie course of the most important mass base
representing the working class.

The SPD social mainstay of the bourgeoisie

The SPD as a mass party of the working class is a fact, before we clear our
Glances and our knowledge must not close. Its importance is on the one hand
characterized declined that we fought with success against the mass influence of the SPD
have recovered and their millions of followers in recent years. But since the
Hitler party substantially plane does not have a proletarian mass following as
it has become clear in the works councils elections and is supported by other factors,
as with the general intensification of the class struggle, the need for
Bourgeoisie grows to split the working class, the united front of the proletariat
to thwart the revolutionary class struggle, so on the other hand remains despite their decline
the importance of the SPD for the preservation and defense of civil
Class rule and its fascist policies against the working class still
exist.

Does this mean that we the foreseeable future with a further government involvement
SPD must expect in Prussia? It would be absurd, today on such an assertion
necessarily define. But this whole question also does not hit the core of the problem. Also
when the Social Democrats to kick for the Hermann-Müller-government in the spring
1930 still would get a second kick for the Prussian government, which would not
mean that it ceases to be the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Even then would
our strategy must undergo a reversal in no way, in the sense that the
Main thrust suddenly no longer had to be directed against the SPD. Even then would our
further require class line of us that we the brunt of the working class against the
Social Democracy judge because they in the main base for the policy of the class enemy
represents proletariat, whether is inside or outside the government constellation.
Any other way would consider asked parliament and class terms incorrectly.

SPD and NSDAP are twins

Now what about the relationship between the policies of Hitler and the Party
Social Democracy? Even the XI. Plenary of an interweaving of these two factors
spoken in the service of finance capital. The clearest Comrade Stalin in the year
1924 in the role of these two wings by them as of "twins"
said, "complement each other".
Currently, this development shows unmistakably in Germany. The
Social Democracy as "moderate wing of fascism" accepts lately partly the
nationalist parlance of the Hitler fascism. I recall that number of
"Forward", which brought the big headline "The Young Plan must fall", while yet
This journal has always operated the largest advertisement for the Young Plan. I recall the
infamous Noske articles in the "BZ am Mittag", who also just as well in
"Völkischer Beobachter" could stand.
Even on the issue of terrorist organizations, the SPD increasingly mimics Hitlerism
after. One need only to Reichsbannerschufu or more recently the so-called
"Hammer machinations" to think of the "Iron Front", which as auxiliary instruments
Capital dictatorship to defend the capitalist system against revolutionary
Proletariat are to be used.
Above all, it is the Prussian government of the SPD and the ADGB that of the role
Social Democracy as the most active factor in the fascist Germany as the
XI. stated plenary, confirmed fully by their practice.
While such social democracy moving ever closer to the Hitler fascism, emphasizes
this reversed its legality and represents more recently also open the platform
Brüning's foreign policy. One only needs to think of Hitler several explanations,
whereafter any Nazi government would advocate that all "private" Tribute to be paid,
and that the question of payment of political debts likewise only a problem of
Number skills and not a question of numbers was willing. In all these points, showed the
largely mutual approximation of the SPD and the Nazis on the line of
Fascization. Negotiations on the question of the presidential election in connection
the Hindenburg candidacy disclosed most clearly how far this process of
Manufacture of fascist concentration of the bourgeoisie has already managed.

Our fight against the implementation of the fascist dictatorship

What about our struggle against the more fascism, against the reinforced
Implementation of the fascist dictatorship, against any Hitlerite Government in
Germany?
A correct assessment of Hitlerism in Germany already ensures us before
Error, simply to equate Hitler government with the open fascist dictatorship.
Incidentally, is for us the question so that we the against any further tightening
Fascism, against any further step in the direction of the open fascist
Dictatorship by our current struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie ever
must fight. Sharply we must face among the masses of the working class
such a question arise, as if instead of the present struggle against the
current form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a roughly against the Brüning-Severing system
Wait forthcoming so-called decisive battle against Hitler Government
must. Only if one day the sharpest struggle against Bruning Severing Policy, the
ie, leads to the policies of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, can at the same time in reality
a serious mass struggle against Hitler and Hugenberg perform.
So the question is whether it is possible, a higher degree of fascist development
to thwart Germany or to the pace of this fascist development
slow or repel them, in most dimensions of the deployment of the
Class struggle depends.

Objective and subjective factor

This brings me to analyze the situation of Germany on the question of revolutionary
Recovery and his new factors. I want to on the events and factors of
Class struggle in the period from May Plenum of the Central Committee to today's meeting no
give detailed description. We have in the resolution, a number of points
listed, in which the main positive effects of the revolutionary
Recovery and the main positive achievements of our revolutionary mass work for
Expressions. In relation to the tasks of the party for the future of
still be talking about this experience of mass work in detail.
Undoubtedly, there are a number of areas large and positive achievements of
Party, large and new growing success of the proletariat in the class struggle. But this is
not only the decisive factor. If we consider the objective aggravation of the situation
consider and if we use an image that is already on a previous occasion once
led, namely our development as a kind of race between the
Offensive of the bourgeoisie and its fascist course and our revolutionary course,
lead our revolutionary work in mind, we must openly admit that we at
this race not cut very low.
We therefore speak in our resolution openly that the "successes and partial successes of
mass revolutionary working out of proportion to the favorable objective
Conditions are ". This is nothing but the" backwardness "of the subjective factor,
of which we already following the XI. Plenum of the ECCI on May Plenum of our
Central Committee spoke last year seriously and critically.
Here, it is necessary to take into account several aspects. We speak of
such backwardness rather than in the sense that if the party was to blame,
has if not victorious revolution in Germany. Such a representation of the
"Backwardness" would be able to lead in circumstances that some of the
Working class on the basis of our own designs in their confidence in the party
would shaken. We must, as is attempted in the resolution, the objective
Difficulties our revolutionary mass work not from our consideration
turn off. One can for example in today's international integration, the problem of
German revolution not only provide from the standpoint of domestic policy, but must
look at it from the international point of view, with certain difficulties for
the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany to reinforce to some degree.

No false conclusions from the finding objective difficulties
The threat of French imperialism with the intervention in the case of a German Revolution and the SPD subsequently induced mood is one of the objective Difficulties with which we must reckon. Social democracy draws on the pattern

Otto Bauer in Austria, declared there: "Revolution is good, but we are a small Country ", from the international interconnections of today's capitalist world Conclusion that the proletariat of no way in any country with the matter can begin socialism, but that in any country on any other, with other Words, must wait for the cows come home day.

We Communists do not remember from the necessary international issue to draw any conclusion opportunistic example for the German revolution. We do not think to say about that the German proletariat with its revolutionary must wait until in France imperialism is overthrown. But we draw another thereof, as the one our French comrades do Conclusion: Because a coming his revolution of the German proletariat threatened by French imperialism would strengthen our French comrades their battle against the enemy in their own Land and practice so proletarian solidarity with the cause of the German working class. Even for us, comrades, is the extremely important task of the fight alliance with the French communists and the French revolutionary proletariat still much firmer to forge. The same is true in exactly the same proportion of the Polish, English, Czech, Belgian comrades and succeeding them revolutionary workers, it is first and foremost what hardly needs to be mentioned, of the 165 million Proletarians and peasants and the Communists of the Soviet Union.

Or take another point: The extra difficulties of the crisis, as they manifest itself primarily in the strike question. It would be nonsensical to allow such additional Difficulties simply deny. Of course, it is more complicated in a certain respect, trigger great strike struggles and lead when six million unemployed in the Road are, if before the mass of the workers, the danger is, likewise to fly out of operation when in many companies already short-time working is carried out.

These additional difficulties but directs the Social Democracy, the reformist Union bureaucracy in the service of their counter-revolutionary politics forth the theory, Strikes are not possible during the crisis. If we look at such a could urge conclusion we would the dullest opportunism floodgates open.

The increased difficulties are indeed other factors over which turn the objective conditions for the development of large industrial action strengthen: The revolutionary upsurge, the general radicalization of the masses, the reduction of Living of the factory workers, especially the short-time working, the difference between the their standard of living and that of the unemployed greatly reduced, so that their interest, to remain in operation, decreases more and more. The not to be underestimated combat power of Millions of unemployed is also a positive factor. These and other factors facilitate objectively the strike leadership.

We should by no means behind the objective difficulties in opportunistic Hide way, but must recognize that the objective difficulties at the same time a dialectical source for the facilitation and promotion of our revolutionary make mass work.
For all this raises no means the fact of the backwardness of our work and our successes behind given by the objective situation opportunities. All that fact remains and can not change the fact that we have a revolutionary duty, discover this lag with unsparing art Bolshevik self-criticism and to draw the practical implications for improving the mass work it. In summary, results for the situation in Germany, the same thing we internationally noted only in still increased level: The class struggle between Bourgeoisie and proletariat to the capitalist or proletarian revolutionary socialist solution to the crisis has entered into an extraordinarily tougher stage. The conditions of a revolutionary crisis ripen with great acceleration. Especially from our force, it depends to exploit this development. That concludes the analytical part of my paper off and come to the question that the starting point for must be treating our tasks and the work of the Party: On the question of the role of subjective factor, the role of the party.

We must make our force the situation for the bourgeoisie hopeless

Comrade Stalin has the temporary ebb in years about the revolutionary tide, relative stabilization of capitalism has replaced 1924-1928, said:

"You can end with the victory of the proletariat, but maybe not, but only by a be replaced new ebb, which in turn is followed by a new revolutionary tide."

What does this phrase for us? You mean in terms of the findings of Lenin, that there can be no absolutely hopeless situation for capitalism, but that it of our power, from the subjective factor of our party and in its use of Proletariat depends, to make the situation for the bourgeoisie hopeless. The words of Comrade Stalin underline this responsibility the Communist parties for Exploitation of a revolutionary crisis to the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is clear that this is not only true for every moment when the revolutionary crisis in full measure will be developed, where the objective conditions for the proletarian revolution have matured, but that this responsibility of the party that this organizing Role of the party, the class struggle of the proletariat child under his leadership the rest Working people must struggle to fruition, as of the time of the maturation of Conditions of a revolutionary crisis of crucial importance. A correct revolutionary politics and mass work of the party is an essential condition ensure that we succeed in the fighting power of the working class and the working people against the capitalist way out of the crisis, as the bourgeoisie with all effort to him tread tried to bring to bear and thereby the revolutionary Development to accelerate to a decisive extent. For such a policy and Work of the party is the most important one right strategic orientation. What does this mean in practice?

On the Slogan popular revolution

In the January Plenum of our Central Committee last year we talked in our resolution
the fact that the slogan of the people's revolution be the main strategic slogan of our party must. Today, after a year of hard work, great and new experience, after XI. Plenum of the ECCI must raise the question of whether we, this formulation must concretize. The slogan popular revolution was the right solution and remains a necessary solution, which we, as has happened in recent months, with sharply must prevent this slogan is distorted and opportunistic unleninistisch. There were parts of the party in applying the slogan of the people's revolution, the Notion that we the most important strategic task, as the X. Plenum of the ECCI has prepared for the sections in the capitalist countries, especially in Germany, as if we already wholly or mainly the conquest of the majority of the proletariat part have achieved already in Germany. There was such moods, as if we already directly are zoom reaches the task of the proletarian revolution. It overlooked this Comrades that we, quite apart from the objective preconditions, primarily the important strategic precondition for the winning organization of proletarian Revolution, the conquest of the majority of the working class, must solve absolutely. Of course, comrades, the conquest of the proletarian majority, the recovery of the carried out its own class just on the line of such a policy which the resistance Masses against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the struggles of the masses against the policies organized the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and against every capitalist way out of crisis and in the struggle for the revolutionary way out to the people's revolution, that is, proletarian-socialist revolution through passes. In this sense, the solution was People's revolution and remains the watchword popular revolution proper, decisive solution. Of course, comrades, can be the object of the conquest of decisive layers of Proletariat not separate and schematically face of the other object, allies in the class struggle of the proletariat standing outside the working classes, as especially the millions of employees, the poor peasants and of the rest of toiling to win the peasantry and the urban middle classes and intellectuals who prepared have to fight under the leadership, the hegemony of the proletariat against capitalism. In this sense, the slogan popular revolution is of great importance for our Policy and work, because the character of the proletarian revolution in the sense of Marx and Lenin expresses correct unless we apply it only right and the proletarian Hegemony never forget. One can for Germany specifically say that here the Use the slogan popular revolution is particularly advantageous because, due to the national oppression of the working German people by the Versailles system and the predatory Young Plan the task of recovering and forth drawing of Allies for the proletariat and the neutralization of the remaining middle class is facilitated.

*The axis of our policy: Conquest of the majority of the proletariat*

Comrades, all this means in the least a weakening of the fact that the axis of our policy, the axis of our strategy and tactics in line with the Marxism-Leninism, the politics of their own class, the recovery of its own class, must be the conquest of the majority of the proletariat? Such a view would be a extremely serious mistake. Having seen that errors and Discrepancies have emerged in this line in a quite a wealth in our party, is
it is necessary, at today's plenary session of the Central Committee with the utmost clarity and express extreme precision what must be the main strategic task of the Party:
The recovery of the majority of the proletariat in the struggle for the conquest of political power!

This means a greater clarification of the problem of our strategy. By our tasks grow, our policy to increase the requirements to the same extent must our Party grow and mature. Of course, should the party leadership, must also

The Central Committee also grow by the problems always clearer and sharper presents and the party by making a stronger help, especially if certain errors and Weaknesses have occurred against which we had to direct our fire.

What does the conquest of the majority of the proletariat? Is there a difference between this formulation and the other of the decisive layers of Proletariat? This is not the case, comrades! When we say majority of the proletariat, so Needless to say that we do not numerically, not parliamentary, but politically mine. With majority, we denote the bulk, the strategic decisive mass of the proletariat, and that is the same as when we say: The critical layers.

It would be wrong to ask this question about only geographically, by subjecting the decisive layers would understand the workers of certain districts, such as Ruhr, Berlin or about Brandler times 1923 Central Germany with Saxony and Thuringia. Of course, the point is important for our thrust, in respect on coming struggles just at strategic points to our forces focus. But the most important for us is our work on those layers of focus proletariat which the position of the revolutionary class struggle give rash. There are a number of aspects. For example, from the standpoint of Struggle against the imperialist war it is the ammunition plants and related Holdings, ie chemical industry, parts of the metal industry, railwaymen, dockers and Sailors who play a major role. From a strategic point of view in general is the Railroad, mining, power plants, gas plants, road railroaders etc. a great importance. On the other hand, we must naturally also the aspect consider saving them there among the workers our influence where particularly large Masses are concentrated, so for example in the metal industry centers, or certain concentrated industrial areas. These are all questions that you do not schematically can, but in the concrete, practical ground work of each district due must be a thorough analysis of the local conditions investigated and resolved, to allow proper adjustment of our work.

Of course this does not mean neglect of work among the remaining The working class or the other working people. Take for example the Agricultural workers. Of course you can not only with the viewpoint of the fight against Counterrevolution, the struggle against any attempts by the fascists and White Guards, to secrete proletarian centers from the outside, it can of the utmost importance for the be revolutionary class struggle, whether we real, solid bases among the peasants have.

I do not want to talk more about the question of our peasant policy, because this at another occasion happened and because we can say that the party currently in
The role of employees in the production process

But I would like a little more detail I deal with a question that as lately Discussion question has played a certain role in the RGO and also in Berlin and under the conditions of capitalist Germany has no subordinate Meaning: the question of employees.

What is it, comrades? In the aforementioned discussion some comrades were not agree that you do not expect the staff to the actual proletariat could, but special as a standing outside the actual proletariat layer must consider. Once this question has been discussed so vivid, it is necessary to about this issue unambiguously elaborate Marxist-Leninist position. What is the position we find in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the subject? Marx speaks of the employees as commercial wage laborers, sometimes mercantile wage workers. Both in the "capital" as in "Theories of Surplus Value" There are a number of passages in which Marx the role of commercial wage workers in society illuminated. Clearly arises from the fact that from the standpoint of their role in the production process Employees both a great match with the industrial proletariat have, as well as a substantial difference arises. What is the Accordance? It is the fact that millions of them wage earners that they Exploited are who have to sell their labor power as a commodity. What is the Difference? It is the fact that the actual proletarians by his labor

Added value generated, whereas this is not generally the case when employees. I want quote a few sentences from Marx from the 3rd volume of "capital" to this question:

*Karl Marx on the question of staff*

"How is it with the commercial wage laborers that the commercial capitalist who here Commodity dealers, busy? After one side of such a commercial workers is wage workers as another. First, insofar as the work is bought by the variable capital of the merchant ... Secondly, provided that the value of his labor power and therefore his wages as determined at all other wage workers by the production and reproduction costs of its specific Worker, not the product of his labor. But it must be between him and the right of industrial capital employed workers held the same difference, between the industrial capital and commercial capital and thus between the industrial capitalist and the merchant takes place. Since the merchant as a mere circulation Agent neither value nor value produced ... so the staff employed by him in the same functions mercantile workers can impossible to directly generate added value for him ... The unpaid labor of these clerks, although they not create value, but it creates appropriation of surplus value, which for this capital the result after quite the same; So it is for it source of profit ...

The actual commercial workers is part of the better-paid class of wage laborers to those whose work is skilled labor, is above the average work. However, the wage the falling trend, even in relation to the average work in progress of the capitalist Production, partly through division of labor within the Kontor ... Secondly, because the Education. Commercial and language skills, and so with the advancement of science are public education and more rapidly, easily, generally, cheaply reproduced, the more the..."
As far as the findings of Marx. From these results it quite clear that you the Employees can not expect to simply proletariat. On the other hand Marx but also, how the differences in training, qualification of the work of employees and their special position in the process of capitalist development gradually diminish.

**Lenin on the question of staff**

What is clear from the writings of Lenin on the question of employees? Lenin, despite the Relations of the capitalist Russia, which remains among the allies of the proletariat especially the vast millions of the rural population, poor peasants, middle peasants, etc. a played a decisive role, repeatedly dealt with the problem employee. For us play in Germany and in most capitalist countries the staff a greater role. in the writings of Lenin, we find a number totally unambiguous and gloss formulations. I want to highlight just two points here. In an article from 1912 on "Economic and political strike" Lenin wrote:

"If the Liberals (and the liquidators) tell the workers: you are strong when her sympathies in the 'society' have, so the Marxist tells the workers something else: you have sympathies in 'Society', if you are strong. Under the company are in this case, all possible to understand democratic sections of the population: the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, with the Work Experience in contact intellectuals, staff, etc."

Here's completely clearly stated that Lenin staff not to actual proletariat counts. This is also evident from many other passages in his Works. Already in 1903 he wrote in a kind of circular on the staff under the following heading: "links and activities with other layers of Population outside the working class", that is, it places it with the officials under this Layers one outside of the working class. Yet clear and conspicuous is a formulation from the theses of Lenin on the main tasks of the II. World Congress of the Communist International. There is a task for the proletarian dictatorship, and not only for the Soviet Union, but in general pronounced:

"The third objective is that the inevitable fluctuations to those in all advanced countries still fairly numerous, albeit a minority representative class the small business owner in agriculture, industry, commerce, and of them corresponding section of the intelligentsia, of employees, etc., - that the variations to this Class between the bourgeois democracy and the Soviet power neutralized or destroyed makes."

In this thesis, Lenin the staff will thus as belonging to the middle-class Class construed, where Lenin but emphasizes with masterly dialectic, that they are not about
The layers of employees in Germany

Of course, we can not simply content with reference to these quotes from Marx and Lenin noted that the staff are not directly part of the proletariat. Our task is rather the method of Marxist dialectics concrete approach the role and position of employees layers in Germany, where the Formulations of Marx and Lenin can be a great guide for us. And what results from such a study?

Once the determination that it is altogether impossible by the entire staff shaft to speak as a unified mass. Your lower layers are in modern capitalist economy a direct Proletarisierungsprozeß. One only needs to think department stores and big banks, where the staff hundreds and thousands are crammed where so their approach a similar aggregation and Mechanization space accesses as the proletariat. On the other hand also arises regarding their social origin such operating in the same line process, as it Marx and Engels predicted. Whereas previously the staff mainly their social background to from the actual petty bourgeoisie, the civil service and recruit employees layers themselves, is among the younger generations in ever rise alia measurements recorded such a process that the proportion of workers sons and workers' daughters increases. But this Proletarisierungsprozeß must be considered by us dialectically. Also the Another tendency that this approach of the lower layers staff to the proletariat counteracts, based on the conditions of their operation. You must still in terms of their clothes, their manners, etc. specific requirements of wear bourgeoisie bill, and it is clear that rubs off on their ideology. On Transport Workers' example can speak Hamburger Platt, but a bank employee must the Bourgeoisie in High German use.

So when we look at both sides of this process, we get the conclusion, that these million lower staff, the closest to the proletariat standing layer represent, ie a layer adjacent to the rural poor the most important ally for the Proletariat, yes, sometimes even almost more than just a mere ally represents.

We then have a more broad class of employees that directly to Petty bourgeoisie are counting (hiring managers, department heads, supervisors), for example, the right, turn, enforce redundancies of workers and employees. Finally, the narrow top layer of the staff, as directors, etc., which also if they formally a salary, but immediately unitholder at the distribution of profit are directly part of the bourgeoisie.

Our employees work

The more we differentiate in the treatment of this problem, the more concrete we approach,
the more perfect from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism is our theoretical his analysis. However successful we will be in a position, the right methods to find for our policy towards the employees. Because that, comrades, we must with resolutely emphasize: An improvement in our work among the employees can not be achieved by the fact that we explain plump and on top of that wrong: Staff are also proletarians, but only in that we give the specific this layer and at the same time demonstrating its close ties with the proletariat clearly and precisely show and from the correct corresponding methods for working among them to derive. So we can not tolerate such a departure, as if all the staff the revolutionary standpoint unreliable and would as "white collar workers" need to be addressed and considered, yet one may the opposite error let it pass as if the staff simply with the actual industrial proletariat can be assimilated.

In all taken of course applies to the question of employees the same as for the allies of the proletariat at all. Comrade Stalin dealt in the "Problems of Leninism" on the question of the class alliance of the proletarian Dictatorship. He first quoted a few sentences of Lenin, including this sentence:

"Those class that took political power in their hands, they took with the awareness that she takes alone. This is the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin then runs that characterized the class alliance with the toiling and exploited Masses of other classes is not excluded, and continues:

"What kind of a special form of alliance and what it consists of? does not contradict this alliance with the laboring masses of other non-proletarian classes at all the Idea of the dictatorship of the class? This special form of alliance consists in that the guiding force of this alliance, the Proletariat. This special form of alliance is that the leaders of the state, the Leader in the system of the proletarian dictatorship of a single party, the party of the proletariat, the Party of Communists, which does not and can not share the leadership with other parties and."

(Stalin: "Problems of Leninism", Volume I, page 19)

What is said here of the proletarian dictatorship, is considered together with the amendments in the line for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat against the Seizure of power, in the fight against capitalist dictatorship. Therefore, the need in applying the slogan popular revolution any ambiguity with respect to the question of proletarian hegemony eliminate false slogans and formulations such as to correct "Triple Alliance of the working people". The slogan "people's revolution" is a synonym, a popular formulation for proletarischsozialistische Revolution. The content of our Struggle for the people's revolution is the policy of the working class, is the struggle for the Dictatorship of the proletariat, on the alliance or on "neutrality agreement" with the other toilers based.

Why is it necessary to emphasize that? Because the clarity about the politics of their own Class is a prerequisite for understanding our overall strategy and tactics.

*Our struggle against the SPD and the NSDAP*
Suppose our fight against the two main counterrevolutionary Mass parties: the Social Democrats and the National Socialists. Consider ahead lying Prussia elections, said that what is true for the Prussian elections, even for Presidential election applies. The Social Democrats tried to convince the masses, their Politics and the Prussian government are a "lesser evil" against the policy of Nazis and against a possible subsequent Hitler government. So writes eg the "Hamburger Echo":

"Decided Just like the French social democracy for the coming election tactics has that tends to beat the candidate of the outspoken reaction, as is also the German Social Democrats their tactics so choose, that the reaction is utterly defeated. In the struggle between Hindenburg and a representative of the Harzburg Front yields among themselves prevailing circumstances The fact that the reaction is focusing its position by itself. by all means, the torpedoing candidacy Hindenburg, is proof that they recognize that this man despite is not to have his conservative basic setting for coups and things like that."

We must explain to the broad masses that this is a scam. We need clarity establish the fact that the Hitler party you can not beat without the influence of the mass SPD particular overpower the proletariat. We must provide clarity on that you can not fight a later Hitler government, without time for the main shock to have directed recovery of the most important sections of the working class against the SPD, because it is to capture the broad layers of the working class to the bourgeoisie, or imprisons and thus deprives the class struggle or directly against the class struggle uses.

_Why must we direct the main attack against social democracy?_

Our strategy, which directs the brunt against social democracy, without thereby weaken the fight against Nazism, our strategy just by the Main attack against social democracy in the first place the preconditions for an effective Combat Hitlerism creates - this strategy is not understandable when one the role of the proletarian class as the only revolutionary class up to the end has clearly understood.

In the preface to his book "On the way to October," Comrade Stalin revolutionary strategy of Leninism formulated in a classical manner. He called the fundamental strategic rule of Leninism knowledge:

"1. that the most dangerous support of the enemies of the revolution in the period of the approaching revolutionary decision are the Kompromißlerparteien;
2. that it is impossible, without isolating these parties the enemy (tsarism or the to overthrow the bourgeoisie);
3. that consequently the strongest fire in the period of preparation for the revolution to their Isolation, directed to the separation of the broad masses of the working people of these parties must become."

The practical application of this strategy in Germany requires the brunt against Social Democracy. It is with their "left" the most dangerous branches support the enemies of Revolution. It is the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, it is the most active factor of Fascism, as the XI. Plenum expressed very correctly, and it is understood both in the
most dangerous kind, as "moderate wing of fascism" the masses through their Hoax for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their fascist methods capture. beat the Social Democrats, which is tantamount to the majority of the proletariat to conquer and create the most important prerequisite for the proletarian revolution. But it is not enough that we have this knowledge. It is not enough that we correct this acknowledge strategy theory. Rather, we must, in practice, our consequences draw. This primarily involves, among many other issues, the right fight the Socialist hoax.

The policy of the greatest evil for the working class

The main maneuvers of social democracy for a whole period of dizziness with the so-called "lesser evil". This finding of the XI. Plenum has for us in Germany utmost importance. I have already referred to the Prussian elections where as in the Reich presidential election, the SPD undoubtedly anew in the strongest way Dizziness is dish with the "lesser evil", I want to point to only one point, which is in our unmasking of this fraud crucial.

We often speak of the policy of the "lesser evil" of social democracy. I believe that This wording is misleading and inappropriate for this term. The policy, the SPD operates is so in reality not a policy of the "lesser evil", but just the policy of the greatest evil for the working class. That is what we the masses have show. Social democracy leads each much stops serving the Bourgeoisie against the proletariat and the working people by how only from the standpoint of respective maturity of fascism can be performed.

If their counterrevolutionary acts sometimes in one or the other point behind fall short of what the on counterrevolutionary demands of the extreme wings Fascism, by Hugenberg and Hitler is situated, so this is not done because the SPD would be better than Hitler and Hugenberg, because their policy really is a "lesser evil" would, but only because just more to plunder and oppression of Workers under the circumstances can not be enforced.

"Smaller evil" - so that is nothing but fraud, with the SPD their actual policy of each biggest evil of the German working class veiled. This finding we have in exposing the politics of social democracy throughout our agitation and propaganda always emphasize with the utmost vigor.

Other deceptions of SPD leaders

The mendacious "theory" of fraud of "lesser evil", is in a way the Main axis of the system of mass social-democratic hoax. But it is necessary to recognize the versatility and diversity of these maneuvers clearly. I want only give a few examples from the last time, to show how the SPD constantly getting new fraudulent tricks and invents rogue play, sometimes only for a few day and weeks of their agitation and propaganda are used to then and Sang toneless to disappear and a new scams to make room.

Such a maneuver was the so-called "united front offer" Breitscheid in his Darmstadt speech, taken from the "forward" and the rest of the SPD press immediately was and is now long forgotten about, because we debunked it rapidly and dramatically. I remember this on similar deceptions of the French reformists. Such a maneuver is the talk of the "general strike" in the event of coming Hitler Government, which is simultaneously infected with the open fascist dictatorship. This should
Of course only the fight against the actual dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which today exerted by the Brüning-Severing-governments are weakened.

Such a maneuver is reversed the social fascist thesis as Breitscheid Emden has represented an admission of the Hitler party in the government is very low, because by the Nazis "abwirtschaften" would and the other assertion a Brüning-Hitler Government is still a "lesser evil" compared to a mere Hitler government.

Such manoeuvres of Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie is the sinkhole with the Price reduction, which is reputed to bring compensation of the wage cuts. This Price reduction scams has now been three or Vermal always dished out anew, each time with small changes in form, but always with the same mendacious Basic content.

Such a maneuver was called the cry for help of the "united front of the unions" to Securing the collective system against Hitler and Hugenberg.

Such a maneuver is the new scams ADGB in terms of job creation.

We have made it easy to do with their main electoral maneuver, before whom also planned "Crisis Conference" ADGB should stand.

Such a maneuver is the formation of the "Iron Front".

Such a maneuver makes the SPD currently in the Reich presidential election by it represents the Hindenburg front as a "lesser evil".

What do these maneuvers?

You are always the one hand, an action undertaken by the SPD in their own party interests to their criminal policy by any mass fraud in front of their supporters to disguise and they fight the unmasking by us in a more favorable light leave to appear.

They are also far actions in their own party interests of the SPD when she competitors the "moderate wing of fascism" over the other auxiliary troops Bourgeoisie, the Nazis and so serve. Thus, the SPD wants as with its "Iron Front" create an apparatus which but not only for the presidential and Prussia elections will also be used on other occasions to secure the SPD policy.

But on the other hand - and that is the decisive factor - these social democratic Hoax always also a necessary part of the attack of Bourgeoisie against the working class and the working people. The bourgeoisie could their not enforce policy, unless the Social Democrats with their mass frauds would pave the way for the actions of the bourgeoisie. And you can tell that hereby just the most important function of the social democratic hoax is marked.

Yes, you have to make a determination: When attempting the bourgeoisie, the crisis at the expense shift of the masses, are the socialist hoax, international as in Germany, an integral part of the bourgeoisie policy.

More than that: The Social Democratic deceptions are often also the own Deceptions of the bourgeoisie. Let us take the question of imperialist war, as one tool to capitalist overcoming of the Crisis. Without the Disarmament dizziness, without the League of Nations dizziness, without the pacifist scams the II. International and the bourgeoisie itself, would this predatory policy imperialist war for the bourgeoisie more difficult, maybe even impossible.

Our struggle for the conquest of the majority of the proletariat, the solution of this strategic Main task of our struggle to the decisive sections of the proletariat and with them allies out of them working people against the capitalist way out of
Crisis and to mobilize the revolutionary way out - this strategic main task can only be solved if we understand it, the social democratic hoax to smashed, if we understand it, the Social Democrats to tear the mask from his face, if we understand the true nature of bourgeois, capitalist, to reveal fascist policies of the SPD before the masses clearly.

The scams with the "state capitalism"

This, comrades, I come to a new, large, international maneuvers of Social democracy in recent times, with which we need to address in some detail: The scams with state capitalism. Approximately at the same time the dished Socialists in several countries these new fraud on the masses. In Austria gave Bauer the slogan "struggle for state capitalism" from. In the Czechoslovakia was a Czech social fascist called Benesch, (the brother of Minister Benesch, of state capitalism as an "automatic socialization" announced while another social fascist, Dr. Eugen Stern, the state capitalism "State socialism" demanded. In Germany, it has mainly Naphtali for this placed hoax by state capitalism to the wheel by the slogan "Fight to governmental economic management "aufstellte while simultaneously Hilferding the last Emergency Ordinance Bruning as "the end of the domination of the private and financial capital" and "A piece of socialism" celebrated. In the "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung" published the Austrian Social Democrat Otto Leichter an article entitled "capitalistic it is no longer ". It states:

"Germany must, if it wants to stay alive, a member of the European, a member of the Global economy remain. In the heart of Europe to create a Bolshevik island, which every breaks off relations with its capitalist neighbor, is in the current economic and political power impossible. That would be the ruin of Germany, which would be the war in the middle of Europe. Therefore, state capitalism is in Germany at the moment the only possible Solution."

Only in recent days we have heard of similar Aufhauser, who likewise with the Question of state capitalism is concerned. The "Next" starts a special campaign on this issue and tried the workers to cheat with the so-called "Economic program of the working class". It is in a Stampfer's articles before some days:

"More economic power to the state! More conscious will, from out of the state in the anarchy of capitalist economic planning and regulating intervene! More socialist will and stronger To make the state will this socialist will determination, which is the Demand of the hour. "

A new discussion of the Soviet Union

That is one side of this new state-capitalist propaganda of social democracy. The other side is the newly kindled debate about the Soviet Union. These Discussion meets the theoretical journals of the German and Austrian
Social Democracy. It began with Otto Bauer with an article in the Vienna "fight, where he gave the confession of himself that built up in the Soviet Union socialism is, therefore, the Russian Social Democracy and the II. International would have its tactics towards the Soviet Union change. If you like Bauer Fritz Adler took position, the leader of the Russian Mensheviks against the Soviet power and the Bolsheviks towards a toleration policy demanded. Now answered Dan and Abramovich, the Russian Mensheviks, in two different articles, the in Vienna "battle" -

have appeared simultaneously. Both complain bitterly that Otto Bauer and up to a certain extent, Fritz Adler Russian Mensheviks in a way the Livelihood deny. Both profess in scarcely veiled form to policies the counter-revolutionary intervention, these crooks also hypocritically assert that they have a violent overthrow of the Soviet power by imperialist Intervention would never have wished.

What we have to say to these discussions in the camp of social fascism? Of course, the various leaders of the II. International, whether Dan and Abramovich hot or Otto Bauer and Fritz Adler, all alike and trailers Support of counterrevolutionary intervention policy. The difference is only in the Method. The Russian Mensheviks from Schlage Dan and Abramovich, on no moods of any proletarian followers need to take into consideration, because they have no more followers profess nearly as open to their counterrevolutionary policy, as the shameless warmongers Kautsky, or Noske new art ally, Mr. Leon Trotsky.

Bauer and to a certain extent, Adler try contrast their Anti-Bolshevism mask with "left" phrases. Why does this happen? It happens, because the reality of the two systems of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Capitalism in all other countries, an all too clear language for the Social Democratic and all workers begins to speak. With the old swindle a simple denial of the achievements of socialist construction, with Kautsky Chatter about a "hell" in the Soviet Union can be given the tremendous Triumphal march of Soviet power impossible longer even a lame dog behind the stove vorlocken, let alone hold a Social Democratic workers in line.

So you will be diplomatically. So does one "confessions". So one begins the Soviet Union to "praise". Not only Otto Bauer maneuvered so, but the publisher of the Vienna Social Democracy as a booklet on "Five-Year Plan and socialism" of L. Birkenfeld appeared wherein the Austrian social democrat "excited" to Five-Year Plan and welcomes his hatred of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union extremely demagogic and sent hides.

Why this sudden method? In this way it is hoped that the sympathy of the workers of all capitalist countries for socialism in the Soviet Union, which grow continually, in to distract a safe fairway. It is hoped, make believe these workers obliged that what is happening in the Soviet Union, for the German proletariat or the Proletariat of Austria, etc. out of the question. In other words, we have only to do with a kind of diplomatic anti-Bolshevism, the more insidious, hypocritical to serve and counterrevolutionary preparing the intervention war than the open
The purpose of the fraud maneuver with the "state capitalism"

First, the masses who increasingly decays of moribund capitalism on one side and the superiority of the socialist economy under the recognition proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union on the other hand, begin in orienting increasingly to also turn the way of the Soviet Union, the way the revolutionary socialist way out to tread out of the crisis. This threat capitalism, of the growing sympathy of the working people of the Soviet Union arises, the Social Democrats will meet. So they slandered socialism in Soviet Union as alleged "state capitalism". This is the first page of this mass deception.

Secondly, in the moment when the offensive of the bourgeoisie and with their related social democracy against the proletariat assumes ever more ruthless forms, extends the simple deceptions of the "lesser evil" on the part of Social democracy to appease the masses no longer sufficient. Thus, while in the Actually, the evil is growing, social democracy goes to no longer only the masses vorzuschwindeln, a mean their policies and politics of the bourgeoisie "Lesser evil", but to an even coarser edition of fraud they explained simple: current crimes of the bourgeoisie had a peaceful "road to socialism", namely the way across the state capitalism. (Hilferding "organized capitalism", "Zoom in the state "etc.)

Previously, Brüning's emergency decrees in the demagogy of the SPD a "lesser evil" the one must swallow, so did not come Hitler. Today, when the emergency decrees always reactionary and be unbearable for the masses, says Hilferding, they are a "piece Socialism".

These are the two most important factors that we have to recognize this new unmask Socialist hoax. However, it is necessary to the problem of state capitalism in this context some more words to say:

We see the opposite of a development for "state capitalism"
A first question: Is what now takes place in most capitalist countries, indeed development towards state capitalism? So it was in fact in some Communist newspapers, though not in Germany, put down. We must the Question decided negative. What currently takes, especially in Germany, but also in other capitalist countries, not development to state capitalism, rather the just the opposite. The bourgeoisie, which degrades the parliamentary system, eliminates reversed precisely those phenomena of control and supervision on the part of bourgeois Parliamentary public who are previously been available yet. In the interest of capitalist way out of the crisis they go to on the debt of banks and Trusts of these private enterprises to the state treasury, that is, on the shift working masses. In other words, the banks and factories remain in the hands of the capitalists, but their debts are nationalized. I want only to operations with the Danatbank and Dresdner Bank indicates as particular examples. Is that for development State capitalism? This is the opposite of that. Next, comrades, the capitalist state is expanding its commitments to Workers and employees from. It restricts the local farms and drives the Municipalities into bankruptcy. The local establishments are then sent for a pittance private industry bartered. Is the development towards state capitalism? But on the contrary. The real development that we see is that the financial oligarchy, the small leading elite of finance capital always boundless and unscrupulous to capitalist state apparatus for their private profit uses and all his Power resources, public finances, the tax office, etc., used in their favor, without even to leave keys to their private monopolies and trusts in the least. The answer to Our first question is whether there is a trend towards state capitalism actually in Germany there must therefore be in the negative. The proletariat and the "state capitalism"

A second question: What would the proletariat, would the Communist Parties assume when state capitalism actually stands on the agenda? For this purpose it is necessary, in theory any confusion in this area to prevent themselves with the findings of Lenin to deal with the question of state capitalism. Lenin has written about state capitalism, both during the war, as the Bourgeoisie in a number of warring countries, especially in Germany, to Methods of a particular organization of the economy under state control in Interest of their warfare passed, as well as in the period before October 1917, ie before the proletarian revolution, as it was a matter of the masses the way out of the explain disaster as under the particular conditions of the Russian Revolution revealed. What Lenin says now first about the alleged "state capitalism" under the rule of the bourgeoisie? He writes, for example: "The state monopoly in capitalist society only a means to increase and
Consolidating the income of the standing facing bankruptcy millionaires of one or the other Industrial sector."

And about those regulation of economic activity during the imperialist war, the was carried out in Germany especially after the plans Rathenau says Lenin in his book of 1917 "The impending catastrophe and how to fight it to", the following:

"Both America and Germany" regulate economic life "so that for the workers (and partly for the peasants), a military prison, for the bankers and capitalists but a paradise comes out. This regulation is that the workers the breadbasket higher depends, but the capitalist secures (secretly on reaktionärbürokratischem way) higher profits than before the war."

For all of these findings, which are confirmed by the reality and practice, results in the position of the Communists in the capitalist countries on the issue of State monopoly when it becomes acute. If, for example, the Berlin Transport AG or the Reich railway from the standpoint of Proletariat something better than any private capitalist Trust? The transport workers and railwaymen would laugh at us if we wanted to say that. Therefore we draw State monopolies and state trusts no means the private capitalist front, as long as the Power in the hands of finance capital remains. So we come under any circumstances for the creation of such state monopolies or the participation of the state to the private monopolies and trusts, wherever this in any form is on the agenda. On the contrary: We combat such Intervention because the power of the capitalist state as the executive organ of boost the ruling class and because the risk of the capitalists to the masses roll off, without detracting from the profit of the capitalists somehow. That is why we have to Example against the introduction of Zündholzmanopols fought where there are different Fluctuations in individual sections of the party was. That is why we are - and thus also answered this second question - against each step of the bourgeoisie fight of the used guise of supposedly progressive state capitalism to virtually the Conditions for the working class even more along the lines of the wars in a kind transform military prison.

A comparison between Russia in 1917 and Germany in 1932

A third question: Could we state capitalism in the sense that it Lenin Russia in 1917 in his book "The Impending Catastrophe" demanded in Germany another approach of the requirements of the revolutionary crisis as a consider transition to socialism and propagate? This question is today still a theoretical question, but clarity about the Prerequisite for the proper defense of the social-democratic fraud maneuver the Hilferding and Nahptali. So how about it? In Russia the proletariat grew the Task in the revolution of the small goods economy and the private sector Capitalism the way to go to socialism. That was impossible, as Lenin said, "without having to cover what both state capitalism and the
Socialism is common. "In all countries where capitalism is not to
Imperialism has deployed to monopoly capitalism, therefore, it is in the case of
Revolution both for the proletarian dictatorship or for a revolutionary-
his democratic government of workers and peasants impossible the road to socialism
pursue without first to cover the stage of state capitalism. But
course has also in these countries as iron assumption that just not
governed more capital, not the bourgeoisie dominated the state apparatus, but that
either the proletarian state power, or at least the democratic dictatorship of
Workers and peasants is built.
But all this has a significance for Germany?
Not at all. For a country in which the development of monopoly capitalism, to
Imperialism has progressed to such a high degree, as is the case in Germany,
is the proletarian revolution after winning state capitalism only in very
Allow limited volume in individual elements of the economy and substantially
the most direct route to socialism take. While in the Soviet Union until the
strengthen the proletarian dictatorship and then gradually the capitalist elements
had to be overcome before the Soviet Union enter into the period of socialism
could, it will be much easier in Germany after the victory of the working class,
to take the building of socialism in attack. Besides the course of the eventual
Battles of the Civil War and the war front with the imperialist powers.
In other words, the monopoly capitalist development, in terms of
Socialization of industry specific "close relationship" towards socialism
causes, for us as Marxists only one occasion, the efforts to implement the
proletarian revolution strengthened.

Sharpest fight against the deceptions of the SPD

We find it easier to build socialism, as was the case for example in Russia. Around
the more we need to explain to the masses that the socialist revolution
urgent that it is the only proletarian overcome the crisis, and that each

Attempt today capitalist misery by fraud with the state capitalism
to palliate, as do the Naphtali and Hilferding, a boundless crime against
representing working class.
The Socialist hoax by state capitalism is in some ways
a remake of the socialization fraud from 1919 to 1920. Yes, it is even
no coincidence that while Hilferding the emergency regulations as a "piece of socialism"
praises, at the same time the center man Imbusch, the Christian Bergarbeiterbürokrat,
and the social fascist Husemann, the mendacious slogan of nationalization of mining
put up.
Socialization by Brüning, Warmbold, Dietrich and Groener! It's missing that one
proposes the immediate representatives of IG Farben in the Reich Cabinet, the
Economy Minister Warmbold may, "socialize" the IG Farben. It arises
for every thinking worker when we roll up these questions sharply, with ease, what
is played for a shameless comedy crowds here on the part of the bourgeoisie.
What applies to the question of state capitalism, applies also here for another under the new
Agitation maneuvers of Social Democracy: her attempt on the issue of national
Demagogy to make the Hitler fascism competition. Since teem suddenly
of such military-romantic slogans with some medieval
Connotation, like "Hammer machinations", "Iron week", "Iron book", etc., and how the
whole sheet may mean otherwise. Since the SPD occurs at the same time all of a sudden "against" the
Young Plan aun as if she was not there, as a precisely these Young Plan
enormous progress, as a work of peace, freedom and facilitate the masses
has touted.
Also this new mass fraud, we need to expose!
This party, which more than twelve years the most shameless fulfillment Policy in Support of
German bourgeoisie and of international finance capital has operated, the contract the
signed at Versailles, which touted the Dawes Plan and the last toiling
Masses has forced under the yoke of predatory Young Plan, attempts by today
whitewash such a dirty rogue trick of their immense guilt.
That should appease the indignation of the masses, which is a new choice for fraud
but Prussia-and all other elections, which will also bring it closer to the other wing
of fascism, Hitler's fascism, prepare in more open form, which
Cooperation not the competition for the mangers in the
State machine among themselves excludes.
This should help the bourgeoisie here, the inevitable new capitulation to
French imperialism, the new crimes of the German huckstering
The proletariat and other working people more smoothly to international finance capital
perform. Under the guise of national demagogy is hidden again
the shameless role of German Social Democracy, which in the service of the French
Imperialism, in the service of the League, in the service of world imperialism, the policy
the integration of Germany into the anti-Soviet front, the participation of Germany in the
next intervention war against the Soviet Union operates.

We need the Nazis to tear down the national mask

What is true for the national demagogy of the SPD, applies far more for Hitler's party.
If we ask the question, on which the main causes of the rapid growth
Hitler fascism, the legacy of almost all the old bourgeois parties in terms of their
is has begun trailer masses due, so does the national oppression
of the German people and the exploitation of this fact by a skillful national
greatest inhibitions in the party on this issue. We long we needed to before we issued our freedom program
even though the party line and the Communist International, due to the
Leninist position on the national question, was absolutely clear and unequivocal. Even after the
Appearance of Freedom program - which weakness in the evaluation, in the
Application, in the concrete!

_National Freedom politics and revolutionary internationalism_

One must even say, comrades, there are few such unleninistischen
Moods in our ranks, as if we as to our role of Versailles today,
only party of resolute and honest revolutionary struggle for national
Liberation of the toiling German people would not have to be proud, as if in a
Opposition was seen to our attitude of proletarian internationalism. Here
available at our Socialist influences, Socialist moods that we
must fight down relentlessly. Of course, we have in our party due to their
Genesis certain unfavorable traditions. Let me just mention Rosa Luxemburg
Position on the national question, as Lenin in the criticism of the Junius pamphlet during
War has marked. Or take the past of a great part of our
Party, which emerged from the USPD. Of course, there were and there are certain
Remains of social-even in our ranks. All this plus the furious
Baiting the bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats and the Nazis call a particular weakness,
certain inhibitions on the issue of the national liberation struggle in our ranks
forth. Such inhibitions we must overcome quickly and completely. We must
particularly in our agitation and propaganda a number of key facts
opposite the National Socialist Party clarify concrete and simple and to the
bring consciousness of the masses.
Please tell us the main things is it?
1. We are the only party in Germany, the largest genuinely and with the
   Decisiveness against the policy of fulfillment fights!
The Hitlerite party openly acknowledges the payment of private debts that even
   Tribute of the German workers' and toilers of international finance capital
   represent. Also yes the Young Plan has called commercialization also
   a large part of the so-called political Reparationstribute in "private debt"
   converted.
2. We are still the only party in Germany that from the yoke of world imperialism
can shake German people.
   Only we are the party of the proletariat, which alone the masses to overthrow the
can lead imperialist slavery by the victory of the proletarian revolution. one
can not fight for social slavery, wage slavery of capitalism inside
   and outward simultaneously a struggle against national oppression by the
   Highlight international capital. The national liberation is inseparable from the social
   Liberation of the working people, that is the overthrow of capitalism. Will
   Capitalism is based, also supports the Young-slavery.
3. You can not fight against the Versailles system, when a furious baiting
   leads to the only government in the world that the Versailles shameful, the Dawes
Pact and Young Plan unsigned, but from the beginning to the sharpest
has fought: The government of the Soviet Union.
The Hitlerite party that competes in the Soviet propaganda with the SPD, is by their warmongering
against the Soviet Union to the agents of French imperialism and for immediate
Allies Pilsudski of Poland, in his policy the Polish Corridor and
Oberschlesien German workers and peasants enslaves and tortures.
4. You can not really fight against the Treaty of Versailles and the Young-slavery,
without the banner of proletarian internationalism to unroll.
During the Hitler-fascism on the one hand the dirtiest servility to the
foreign capitalists operates, invitations to the diplomatic corps to Hitler
Parade directed interviews for the most reactionary and anti-German capitalists press the
Abroad are so, he runs the other hand, a shameless revenge baiting, which is intended
to serve the masses from the struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis and from
the Young-slavery hold.
The Social Democrats announced in Germany the necessity of the Young Plan
"Pick up" after they had previously touted him bluntly, occur in France
Social Democratic leaders for the "natural rights" of French imperialism
reparations and for the "inviolability" of the Versailles Treaty a. In the
Czechoslovakia proclaimed a socialist leader, that the Treaty of Versailles
more good than harm brought, yes, he even dares this outrageous allegation
championing at the Congress of the II. International in Vienna.
In the same Vienna Herr Otto Bauer, of the Geneva Agreement, a counterpart to acts
our Dawes Plan or our Young Plan, a "shameful" or slave contract
called, without taking the slightest consequence. The whole thing is called
"Socialist Workers International". They are just as nationalistic, chauvinistic,
imperialistic such as the Hitler party.
We Communists are proud that our fraternal parties in all countries as part of
the great Chinese Communist Party world in full compliance to the consistent
lead the fight against the Versailles system of world imperialism. To write as our
French comrades in their draft resolution for the forthcoming Congress of the
French Communist Party:

"That's why the French proletariat defends its own interests by voting against the
Versailles system fights, and against the exploitation of the German proletariat by the
French imperialism, by his blows against the French bourgeoisie and its
War preparations leads and fulfills its task of international solidarity."

We use this opportunity to our from here, from the plenary session
Central Committee, the French and Polish comrades, our fraternal hand to
rich, to them, just as they have done to us and continue to do so, also
our hand our international proletarian solidarity to insure.
Our Leninist policy on the issue of the Versailles system, the question of national
Liberation, as we on this Central Committee Plenum with our new, Comrade
reaffirm the present Declaration on reparations, is adjacent to our national and
social freedom program further and important new option and prerequisite
for a successful struggle to expose and ideological fight against Hitler
Fascism.
Only by the masses of the white-collar workers, from the petty bourgeoisie, from Officials and the rural population, the main trailer masses of Hitler fascism filters, bring the awareness that not Nazism, but we as the only Party with millions of freedom fighters in Germany the struggle for liberation from the Versailles and capitalist slavery and the Young-slavery drove, we will can detach and gain for the class struggle, or at least neutralize. Just by without fluctuations and without hesitation the widest mass campaign develop passionate and lively agitation and propaganda under the slogan: A Germany without social and national bondage by the proletarian dictatorship fight, we are the scums of Hitler-fascism with its "Third Reich" can smash.

**Neither overestimation nor underestimation of Hitler fascism**

I've been on the inseparable connection of the fight against the Nazis with our referenced strategy leading the main thrust against social democracy. I want here Add a few more words. On the issue of combating the Hitler party there various errors. The main flaw is of course any tendency of opportunistic overestimation of the Hitler party. Such moods even had to Example with top officials of our party, as members of the Reichstag, in Polsekretnären each district on the occasion of the Hamburg election victory, where they did not the success of the party saw enough, who won more votes than the SPD lost, and therefore in the Direction of the main thrust against the SPD was successful. We may, however, nor the reverse error underestimation of Hitler Fascism tolerate. Undoubtedly, we have due to certain minor successes in Fight against Nazism in the past year a considerable time compared to Nazis rested on our laurels. It had succeeded in penetrating the Hitler repel fascism in the operational workforce in the main. In some elections, For example, in Braunschweig, a temporary stagnation showed. thereupon we thought we can say that the highlight of the Hitler movement was exceeded. That was not the case. Today, when the Hitler-fascism of the majority of all reserves from the followings old bourgeois parties has brought over to itself, might really approaches the Time for stagnation of the Nazi movement in Germany. But, Comrades, even this is only true if we our work in the struggle to unmask the Hitler Party tenfold. So we will have to fight the Prussians elections for that we are the only heirs of the Social Democratic supporters, and that not a Part of the former SPD supporters merges well with the Nazis. The latter we have to avoid looking. And we can, if we do not stop there, prevent. But one This requires the extraordinary intensification of the struggle against the Hitler fascism on all fronts. I will mention only a telegraphic key Ask: Answering the Hibaktion by strengthening our operational work with the aim of cleaning up the operations of the supporters of Hitler fascism. Larger activity and attention among the millions of unemployed in the struggle against the Nazis who are trying by all means in this movement to gain influence. Further, the stormy development of the red mass self-protection as broad-based against murder terror of Hitler's fascism, without in the least of the line to let relegate individual terror, but it also without any retreat, in strongest mass offensive against the Nazi terror.
Further, the maximum increase in our ideological mass processing of Nazi supporters in order to break away from Hitler's fascism to them in our front to bring in, to recover them for the class struggle. Finally, as a prerequisite for all this work: a serious, tireless Our Party's policy to expose the Nazis in the line, as we his time in the mindset of all tribute and the exit from the League of Nations had already been initiated successfully. Later we have this important part our political work severely neglected. On this line, comrades, it will be possible for us the role of Hitler-party serving to reveal the financial capital and the sharp step do Hugenberg policy clear and to beat. The struggle against the SPD and the fight against the Nazis - against social mainstay and against the most active terrorist and combat organization of the bourgeoisie - which are the Conditions for uniting the masses under our management and on the line Organizing daily struggles to lead the revolutionary way out.

III. Our revolutionary mass struggle

I turn now to the key main part of my presentation, that of the question mass revolutionary struggle, the strike leadership, operational and RGO work and proletarian united front is concerned. If we consider the question of the conquest of the majority of the proletariat as a key strategic solution filters, so this does not mean of course, that we these proletarian masses to a mere want to induce sympathy commitment for the Communist Party, as for example, can be expressed in elections or at demonstrations, meetings etc. This slogan has rather the sense that we set ourselves the goal of the crucial proletarian strata in the struggle for the conquest of political power usher. What is the significance of this task, the fact of the now imminent Presidential, Prussia-and other elections? Is it so that we this election campaigns somewhat inconvenient come as accept some officials, because the Campaign which strike military who might suffer extra-parliamentary struggle? A Such a view would be as wrong as the opinion that isolated from party members was held that the various actions of the party referendum also Distraction represent of the extra-parliamentary duties. In reality, we have to say that these campaigns, if we really outside parliament widest on the cause mass basis, are extremely favorable for the solution of the tasks of the Party. Of course, this requires avoiding the parliamentary opportunistic derailments, as we saw at times during the Saxon referendum campaign. We can exploit this election campaigns gloss to the Social Democrats and the Nazis unmask. We can use these campaigns to the masses generate determination to fight and strike will. This requires, however, that we the Election campaigns in our entire class policy based on the holdings and Stamp Set as real extra-parliamentary mobilization campaign to fight perform and destroy any parliamentary illusion. This question, to produce such a struggle and willingness to strike in the masses - that is the most important thing for our agitation and propaganda. Only then will we be able to really, as we put it in our Resolution, all Forms of proletarian resistance to the rescue attempts of the capitalist
Social Democrats, against the large capitalist policies of the Hitler party against each to unfold further step of fascism and increase.

*Why did we not strike struggles in Germany?*

Comrades, now to a question, relates to the one of our main problems: Why have we are not in a sufficient degree strike struggles Germany? I've previously shared the certain additional difficulties the crisis pointed that we of the question Backwardness of the subjective factor behind revolutionary upswing must consider. I mention only a few facts: An unemployment of 6 million and million short-time workers; the intensified Employers' offensive, relying on the use of all means of power of the capitalist State apparatus against the proletarian resistance is based; the still strong Mass influence of reformism, ADGB in the factories - these are the main objective facts, of which especially the latter is of the utmost importance. So we see here that our strategy against social democracy is an indispensable Necessity. But besides all the other factors cited, the main problem is the Overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings of our work in the conduct of the strike. What are the obstacles in this field? The incorrect assessment of the revolutionary Perspective of development, underestimation and the associated underestimation the revolutionary and political importance of economic strikes, the underestimation the importance of partial strikes in the current situation, the difficulty for the RGO, the Crowds at hand victorious strikes of large scale practical examples of Necessity of its policy to give the underestimation of the importance of operating cells, the need to realize the leading role of the party in the mass struggles. After all different variations and sometimes even a certain passivity and a insufficient adjustment of the whole party on the issue of industrial action.

*What are the main areas we need to significantly improve our work*

So What are the main areas we need to significantly strengthen our work and improve?  
1. in the operation work;  
2. in the strike armor;  
3. in the work of the RGO in operation and on the internal union front;  
4. in the unemployed labor;  
5. in the bold application of the united front policy;  
6. in overcoming the right opportunist and sectarian errors and Deviations.

These are the main areas of our revolutionary mass work. They are of paramount Importance for the party and for the current session of the plenum of our Central Committee. Nevertheless, I will consciously on these issues from the standpoint of some speak main points. I believe that it will be important in the discussion on it, detail on these important main areas of practice to comment. I refer
The role of daily struggles of the proletariat

The first question is the role of the daily struggles of the proletariat. The III. World Congress says in its tactical theses on this subject:

"The revolutionary nature of the present epoch consists in the fact that the most modest Living conditions of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of the capitalist Society, that is why the fight even to the most modest demands grows into the Struggle for communism." (P.19)

What results from this? The most important knowledge of the political nature is almost all economic struggles in the epoch of capitalist decline. Today, when we in Germany because of the cyclical crisis in the framework of the general crisis of Capitalism and due to the Versailles system considerably aggravated the have situation, these findings are of III. World Congress of us to a greater Dimensions.

But, comrades, it is enough that we know and understand the revolutionary importance any strike against wage cuts or worsened working conditions? No that Most important is that we create in the masses such a consciousness for which large, powerful weapon they use with the strike in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie can. What we know and dag what the masses know that is unfortunately sometimes, two.

Comrade Stalin in his book "Problems of Leninism" on Lenin Formulation of the "mutual confidence between the vanguard of Working class and the working masses "following run:

"It means, firstly, that the party must have a fine ear for the voice of the masses, that they pay attention to the revolutionary instinct of the masses, that they practice Struggle of the masses must be studied by it checks the correctness of its policy, that they must therefore not only teach the masses, but also learn from them. Secondly, it means that the party day in the confidence of the proletarian masses day in must conquer that it must forge mass support through its policies and its work, that they must not give orders, but must convince especially by the masses Due to their own experience brings the correctness of the Party policy realized that they consequently ladder leaders must be teachers of their class." (Volume I, p.30)

And elsewhere the "Problems of Leninism" says Comrade Stalin:

"Under these conditions, lead is, understand it, the masses of the correctness of the policy of to convince party, ie, to formulate and implement, the masses which such slogans Position the party closer and bring them on the basis of their own experience, the understanding of
facilitate the correctness of the policy of the party, ie, the masses to the level of consciousness
to raise the party and therefore the support of the masses, their willingness to 4-
decisive struggle back up."

Comrades Can we say of us that we this ability, a keen ear for
having voice of the masses and this ability to the masses through their own
Experiences to facilitate an understanding of our policy, even in our politics
have?
That would be too bold assertion. I say further, comrades: Without us this ability to
purchase without being in this way the real leaders of the masses who do not
commanded, but advises, assists and conducts leading the Leninist sense, is our
never be able to fulfill the role wholeheartedly party is our party never

bring struggles of the masses in the degree to unfold, as the objective
equivalent facility.
That's the first thought that I wanted to develop the above problems.

The ratio of mass political strikes and economic struggles

A second question: The ratio of mass political strikes and economic
Fight.
On the Wedding Party and the XI. have plenary the report of the German party
we formulated some key points on the issue of mass political strikes. Although the
was reporting the KPD, it would be an untruth if we wanted to say that this
not unimportant findings in the German party observed practically sufficient and
had been evaluated.
And yet the political mass strike is still the most important and decisive
Weapon for the struggle of the proletariat in the present stage of development. These
Thesis of X. plenary and Weddinger Congress still is justified. We have
in Germany undoubtedly some positive experiences with mass political strikes in the
had last time. Braunschweig is thanks to the good policy of our district headquarters in
Niedersachsen a shining example. But, all this is enough? The exact opposite is true
to; and what is the cause? I think, comrades, the underestimation of the economic
Struggles and its political nature is also from the standpoint of the management of the
mass political strikes the major cause of our weaknesses. Comrade Lenin wrote about
the political mass strike in the "Revolution of 1905/07", among others:

"The working class occurs when a political strike as the leading class of the entire people. The
Proletariat not simply plays the role of one of the classes of the bourgeois in these cases
Society but the hegemon, that is, of the leader, conductor, the avant-garde. The political
Ideas that come into the movement expressed, carrying a total national character,
ie, they affect the basic and essential conditions of political life of the
entire country ... On the other hand, the mass of the working people can never get them to a general
imagine "progress" of the country without economic demands, without immediate and
immediate improvement in their situation. The mass is drawn into the movement, takes her
energetic share, they appreciate and developed heroism, selflessness, perseverance and
Devotion to the great cause only if the economic situation of the worker is reformed...

In the struggle to improve their living conditions, the working class vibrates simultaneously up to a higher mental, moral and political level, it is capable, its big realizing liberation goals. "(On trade unions", S. 37/38)

These words of Lenin mean for us the doctrine that the development of all economic Fighting in the strongest degree is a prerequisite for the political struggle, it was with the weapon of mass political strikes or other forms of demonstration strikes to and the mass actions that will raise.

Do we have sufficient foundations in the factories?

A third question: The problem of operational work. Can we make policy, comrades, without to have sufficient organizational foundations in the masses? All experiences of Communist International and especially their smaller sections refute such a conception. Do we have sufficient foundations in the factories? It would be frivolous to say yes. Our anchorage in large companies before everything is totally insufficient. There are a number of tasks to be solved need to liquidate these weaknesses, the operation work.

Our present resolution shows the way to it. But the main thing, comrades, is that we in the baseline, in the basic method of our work and a perfect policy Turn perform. So sharp you have to ask this question. Our current policy was not a policy of the party, which sees its most important organs in the operating cells. We have the words in recognized that the operating cells the crucial organs of the party are, but we have no practical consequences drawn. I say quite frankly, comrades, we have this crucial problem until now not yet in its importance comprehended. But we have to understand it! We must draw our conclusions. And what does that mean? This means that in the future the operating cell must be the center of the party. This means that in the operation of cells, the focus of our work must be. And not only on paper, not only in words, but in fact, the daily practice of our work.

There should be almost no member of a party line or an RGO-line, not in an operating cell operates. There must be a decision of the party, no resolution, no plan at a campaign the comrades concerned is not present in drafting the first question: What is the significance of this decision for the operation cells and their work? Which Tasks arising from this decision for operation cells? Which way can you give the operating cells in this question? Comrades, this is one of the most important life issues for our party, that we such create settings from top to bottom. That sounds very simple, but is no small matter, but a very large and crucial thing. If we make a turn on this issue, then we will order a key in hand get, with which we goal to farms to large companies to can open the centers of capitalist production. Then we are the main
Step in the line of liquidating our main weaknesses in the field of Operating working and strike weapons have done forward. This includes, among other things, that we the important decision of the Wedding Party Congress on the question of revolutionary Stewards body finally meet, that we in the woman working the Arbeiterinnen-Removing delegates system that we reinforce the work of the operating groups of RGO, and that we in the establishment of preparatory committees struggle in the factories a Apply real broad political united front policy.

The RGO and our internal union work

A fourth question: The question of the RGO and the internal union work. to this important issue I want to talk briefly. We have with Comrade Dahlem agreed that he in the discussion with extended talk time detail about the issues the RGO position takes.

First, on the issue of internal union work at the front of the reformist Associations. Especially in the aftermath of last May Plenum of the CC were large errors in the direction of a neglect of work in the reformist and Christian Associations committed. Such exaggerated and purely abstract slogans as "destruction of ADGB "schematic slogans of the post lock, false creation of non-viable, artificially created small Verbändchen - showing all how little some comrades the course of the party, the Comintern and the RGI in strengthening of internal union take work seriously. I say to this question one: Comrades, in the future we will not like us, when comrades just over the line and the decisions Party flout, as if we have taken these decisions for pleasure.

As for the general work of the RGO and the Red organizations, so we are in the Resolution "a serious lagging behind the objective situation" firmly. If we compare once, with what refinement the bourgeoisie and social democracy to ADGB and Christian and other unions to enforce their political and use economic objectives, and in contrast, the role of the RGO - so we must seriously say: The RGO is still no sufficient mass factor. In order to truly independent role as a center of the revolutionary trade union movement to bring Germany, must above all by a constant fraction serious work of the Party in the RGO, the guide will be secured by the party. In the structure of this guide in perpetuate it, we have to see one of the most urgent tasks for the next time. The same as for the RGO is no less true for the Red organizations. It is a fact, comrades, that the development of the RGO and the Red organizations in is generally unsatisfactory. This is particularly apparent now in the balance of January movement against the fourth emergency decree. If we to take this opportunity have seen example samples of self-criticism, which in truth is not to clarify the Problems, but rather contributes to further confusion, so must be formed Consequences in the direction of a strong improvement in the Group work in the RGO pull. I suppose only the wrong position of Comrade Saefkow, the shortcomings the in the strike leadership in the Ruhr in an "over-politicization" attributed. That is in the consequence of nothing other than the formation of political slogans for the make insufficient success in the strike mobilization responsible. Even in a Article Comrade Schubert were incorrect formulations on the question of evaluation
political slogans in economic struggles. Such deviations and false
Conceptions obscure the clarity of the experience of the strikes and behind us
lying bouts.
For the RGO and the Reds' organizations is similar for the party, the urgent
Need to take the course on the farms. This problem, "the operation as
"Assumed political-organizational unit (Piatnitzki), is also the RGO and the
Red organizations a vital question.

Our work among the army of millions of unemployed

A fifth question: the work among the millions of unemployed. I think, comrades,
this is our greatest weakness. If in the field of defense and strike operations work
certain factual, objective difficulties must be overcome, as is the
Location in unemployment have essentially different. Here are determined objectively
given the most favorable conditions. But I ask: Do we have the opportunity
sufficiently exploited? Not in the least!
It can be considered a positive aspect of our unemployed labor denote the fact
that we hardly have a single case in Germany, where the jobless in strikes
had done scab labor. Always is organized strike-breaking
Reformists or the Nazis. The unemployment on its own is not the workers in
backs like. This is undoubtedly a great and important result of our
revolutionary work that the class consciousness and class solidarity among the
Unemployment has kept awake. This is very much; But is that enough? Not at all!
I want to point out some major things, without the discussion on this issue
prejudging:
1. The huge number of unemployed of more than 6 million of course increases the
Weight of this enormous army of the proletariat for the class struggle. One can, for
Example say if there were only one million unemployed, would their role in the
Class struggle is not so important. Today, with more than 6 million, its importance is in
a greater extent than their increased number. The know our class enemies already
correctly assess. This army of millions is for us an enormous reservoir in our
The struggle for the conquest of the majority of the proletariat. That has the party in all its
Meaning capture.
2. I have been in the treatment of the problem of state capitalism on the trends
Note the bourgeoisie, the capitalist state all obligations towards the
to relieve unemployment. We really are facing such a fact that the
Bourgeoisie is not satisfied, throwing 6 million people on the pavement,
is not satisfied, monstrous to the support of these unemployed
to have made "savings as" but that it will proceed to the system of
Support of unemployed ever break down. This process should continue
be carried out in stages. Deterioration after another to come up
the radical reduction in the overall unemployment insurance is managed.
What great revolutionary obligations incurred by us from this fact? It is
of course, that we the toughest and most comprehensive struggle for the defense of all
Layers of unemployed against any deterioration in their living conditions and for
must perform their positive claims. We need to understand it, in the most concrete
anywhere to operate form the defense of the vital interests of the unemployed by
we do not work with schematic and general slogans, but everywhere alive
the real practice out. Where it is a question that the Barunterstützung
reduce unemployment or restrict and by so-called Natural Meals
replace, we have the unemployed to combat such degradation
weld together. On the other hand, where unemployment kitchens already exist, we may
not stand aside from a false understanding of "moralizing". On the contrary, where
these conditions are met, we must organize the unemployed,
pooling and utilizing their combat power to certain improvements in their
to fight situation. Here is the question the kitchen commissions of control,
certain improvement receivables and other events that make up the movement
can be derived unemployed. Only if we learn, have a general policy, but a
practical concrete, of the special needs of the unemployed in any place, at any
to afford stamping point, to the welfare offices, etc. outgoing work, it is us
bringing succeed, real big mass actions of the unemployed about.
3. The importance of organizing an unemployed movement results including
from the standpoint of our union work. If you reread the statistics, which
Percentage of members of the reformist trade unions is unemployed today
(Baugewerksbund about 86 percent) when it took into account, as the SPD and
the reformist bureaucracy has driven with the unemployed and loose and drives, so
arises from the fact that we with our work among the unemployed largest options
have to also in our work on the internal union Front greater progress
to achieve.
4. A special role in the processing of unemployed makes the issue of
young unemployed. Their lot is particularly intolerable. The attacks of the bourgeoisie
have and the Social Democrats as the Hitler party against the young unemployed
already adopted such a level of brutality that you can say much can their
Location not be worse. It is clear that as here for the youth league
result for the party great possibilities and a huge responsibility.
5. A special question related to the unemployment, the problem of
Nazis. If it is the Nazis generally not succeeded in penetrating into the factories so
one can argue that not unconditionally from the stamping stations. Many followers
among the unemployed proletarians has not yet Hitler's party today. But one
some penetration is recorded. And if we do not move on to the counter-attack,

we could experience unpleasant surprises. We must therefore in our work
among the unemployed the Hitlerite fascism unsparingly revealed as the advocate of
basest, directed against the unemployed attacks, as the most active champions
the militarization of unemployed, the labor conscription, etc. By the
Unemployed to fight against this militarization and labor conscription measures
mobilize, we propose at the same time the nationalist propaganda.
6. Our job creation demands were for a time almost forgotten.
Now takes the ADGB its job creation dizziness. With this
Hoax wants the SPD campaigned deny. As the responses, for example,
our press it? She answers to the reformist swindle with the concrete
Weapon of our job creation claims? Not at all! The editors of the "Red
Banner" is anyway negligent enough, With none syllable our to mention job creation claims.

What the Central Committee is working out such a document? Thus our comrades longer term have a weapon in his hand. But the press, one of our main weapons to educate and guide the masses, defeated. We have relied on that Document of the Central Committee, concrete everywhere the issues of unemployment and their fight. For job creation roll up. With other words: these Job creation demands the party must in each district, and places be concretized cities and made the starting point of the mass struggle, which our municipal factions active together with the unemployed committees must provide support.

The question for the unemployed. I repeat, with particular emphasis that each Neglect of work under this six-million army (which have their Relatives about 16 to 18 million), the operating at a reasonably good job Party would march with us for the most part, an unforgivable mistake by Position of the proletarian revolution would.

Revolutionary United Front from below - the main link of our policy

And now the sixth and final question that I want to discuss in this context: The Question of the revolutionary united front from below. We say in our resolution that the revolutionary united front policy, the key link in the proletarian policy Germany represents.

Comrades, such a formulation weighs very heavy. We have to mature elected consideration to the importance of the revolutionary united front policy of below for the development of mass struggle and for increasing requirements a revolutionary crisis to underline in Germany.

Theoretically, there is in our ranks clarity on the question of the united front policy. But in practice, there is an abundance of errors.

The main fault here is how in all fields, the opportunist distortion of United front policy. This is associated with the neglect or denial of United front policy. Also, there are unfortunately still.

Take an example: In a call to the "Red Flag", which in some Provincial newspapers was wrongly described as a call of the Central Committee, was the Slogan of "Red United Front" suddenly replaced by "Red Workers' Front". "Redness Workers Front "as a special agitational formulation occasional addition of Main slogan of "Red United Front" is used - which is perfectly legal. But "Red Workers Front "as the central slogan instead of" Red United Front ", that would mean the base our policy of narrowing, the attachment to the stormy will of the masses to

Unit refrain and thus rid ourselves of an important revolutionary weapon. The it's out of the question. We had to correct the so.

An understanding of the real revolutionary united front policy is practical with us much less developed than by the theoretical recognition of this policy by the would have to be entire party the case.
Some specific examples of practice on good and bad united front policy. In the
had district Niederrhein our comrades in Schwelm a united front action with the SPD
initiated, said they had taken a strong opportunistic touch. There should be a
held joint rally, in a platform for the united front action
should be presented. The district administration, under the leadership of Comrade Schulte worked,
a sharp and principled platform and sent as a speaker with this platform
Comrade Torhorst that about a year ago half the break with Social Democracy
has taken place, to Schwelm. What happened? Our local Ortsgruppe was in their
Meeting on the sharpness of our platform scared. They wanted the
favorite skipped all public rally. Comrade Torhorst had
a fight with the other comrades by fight hard. Then found the public
Rally instead. And there was a huge and surprising, consistent success for us.
The vast majority of the workers agreed to our platform, although this
sharply the standpoint of revolutionary class struggle and the revolutionary party
worked out. The comrades of our Party Ortsgruppe declared then sympathetically: yes
the district headquarters was right, we were wrong, we have the mood of the masses
misjudged and afraid of a real revolutionary policy. I believe,
Comrades, this example is particularly interesting and instructive.
Conversely, there are also many negative examples. Here I will mention only one: Our
Local group led by Waldheim in Saxony, subdistrict Chemnitz, wrote on 20th
December a united front letter to the SPD-local group or their management. This was
no real revolutionary united front policy, but an opportunistic derailment.
The SPD, which rejected the proposals on the basis that the position of the KPD to the SPD,
as the main enemy in the camp of the proletariat. Our comrades have their mistake later
corrected and taken our revolutionary line in their practice again.

*What's revolutionary united front?*

RUF policy conduct, ie relentless struggle against the
operate social fascists of all shades, especially against the most dangerous "left"
Varieties of social fascism, against the SAPD, against Brandler group and similar
Cliques or directions.
operate RUF policy, that is really down in the factories and
mobilize to the punch points the masses to fight.
RUF policy - which requires systematic, patient and
comradely conviction of the Social Democratic, Christian, and also
Nazi workers from Verräterrolle their leaders.
The united front can not parliamentary negotiated conclusion. they
can not by agreements with other parties or groups occurrence, but
they must arise from the movement of the masses and, supported by this movement, a
represent real living battlefront.
Joint meetings of the Communist Party with the SPD, SAPD or Brandlergruppe there
not, it must not be! This does not mean that we renounce our
continue previous tactics, which we the opposing parties to public challenging discussion meetings where we objectively and sharp with them settle up. This tactic we do not give up. But it has nothing with opportunistic Derailments, such as joint rallies without combating social fascism or do his "left" varieties, nothing to do with the formation of parity committees, to Instead of creating a united front organs of the masses from below, on the basis our struggle slogans. If we really for the revolutionary united front policy backbone member of want to make proletarian politics in Germany, so they may one at any price be bloodless formula, but has a really sharpened weapon be revolutionary class struggle! Comrades, considering six million unemployed in Germany! Wage robbery, strike ban, Plundering of factory workers! Control usury, customs robbery, growing ruin of Middle class! Here are not all the conditions given to the under our leadership generous united front movement to create a real movement of millions? Here the party must make a huge leap forward.

IV. Our ideological offensive and the Bolshevik criticism the shortcomings, weaknesses and shortcomings of party work

Comrades, I now come to the last main part of my paper, which with the ideological offensive, the self-criticism and other internal problems of our Party employed. Here, there are a number of serious problems, to which the party and the party leadership not allowed to pass. I begin with the problem of deviations, especially the right opportunism the main danger in the present stage of our work. If one considers what an abundance of right opportunist derailments Deviations and blunders, for example in a district of our party - I mean Württemberg - were not possible through no fault of the then local district leadership, one must still be suspicious. Looking at the whole party, so it turns out that the emergence of such opportunist deviations and errors, even if not always in the accumulation of Württemberg, but represents a phenomenon of which no district is free. How can this declare, comrades? Such reinforcing the opportunist deviations and fluctuations in individual parts of our party is an inevitable phenomenon, arising out of the dialectical character of revolutionary upsurge gives. If we had a straight, ascending development for revolutionary crisis, it would probably to the extent a Such a phenomenon absent. So, however, where the revolutionary upsurge and the Offensive of the bourgeoisie, fascism, the attacks of financial capital and the Hoax of social democracy intersect, where the bitterness of Class struggle continues to grow, where we in this process, a back and forth, an up and down have recorded, it is clear that the penetration of bourgeois, Socialist must be influences in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat inevitable. Suppose especially the deceptions of social democracy: it is not clear that they on class-conscious working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, shall be applied? Unfortunately, it is so. The practice confirms this.
The weapon of Bolshevik self-criticism

Do we have time recognized this danger and made our countermeasures? Have we are constantly in our ranks the strongest Bolshevik fight against all Deviations and fluctuations, opened against all weaknesses and faults? Do we have ensure through that with the weapon of Bolshevik self-criticism, any such Weakness was mercilessly exposed, to thereby secure the party making mistakes and to improve their work? Do we have those Bolshevik intransigence in our Rows kept awake that the equivalent of a so-called rotten liberalism, the is a conciliatory toleration of deviations and errors, is?

Comrades, we must be stated with all seriousness and with all emphasis: The Party - and the same goes for the party leadership - has made for some time, unfortunately the reins. We must therefore establish the following:
1. The Party has in the past - I am talking about the period after the Maiplenum ZK - the fight against right opportunism as the main danger and against neglected left-wing sectarian tendencies and underestimated.
2. The Party has underestimated its own forces and the quality of their work and is characterized in a certain state of toleration of weaknesses and errors in the work.
3. The party has neglected to work on the theoretical front, so that the unit not maintained between this theoretical work and practice of the party remained.
4. The party has underestimated the weapon of Bolshevik self-criticism, and not with sufficient sharpness to improve labor applied.
5. The inner life of the party, the control from below and above, was not of the fulfilled the necessary spirit of unconditional Bolshevik vigilance that the is an essential precondition for a healthy party development.
6. There was instead in the party certain phenomena a political ambiguity and double entry: recognition of the party leadership and its decisions with Words, but no implementation of the decisions and not enough support Party leadership in practice.

Comrades, it is clear when you meet such statements about our party, so has the a serious meaning. One can such serious allegations, I would almost say accusations, not raise, if you do not weighty reasons. But, Comrades, you have it here to express openly:
The intervention of the Central Committee, the opening of the ideological offensive with our Decision against the toleration of false ideas on the theoretical front, with various official editorials of the Central Committee in the party press and the Articles in "International" was an absolute necessity. Had we not intervened, we would not have opened this ideological offensive, of course still only represents a beginning and must be continued, so the German party could easily have come in a difficult position. One must Pronounce that such a condition was present in the party, where the emergence greater inner difficulties not outside the range of possibilities.

We had such a situation in the party: Since Weddinger Congress, since the Smashing the collaborationist groups and the elimination of the right liquidators there were with us the view that the-won unity and internal cohesion the party in and of itself constitutes a guarantee against deviations and errors. The Fact that due to this unity of the party new serious non groupings were possible, as is the case flag has proved led to an underestimation of the
Setting had to euthanasia, the lack of irreconcilable Bolshevik Alertness lead.
What was the result:
The inner life of the party reflected lately no longer the permanent, active Participation of the whole party from top to bottom on the assurance of the class line at which Working out and solving the difficult and complicated political problems at the Implementation of the decisions taken.
One can almost say that there is such a mood was in the party: We are a united party, so you can leave the big policy only to the Central Committee. This need for both to neglect and circumcision of mass initiative teasing out the party's policies, leading to a reduction in the political levels Leading party an ideological convenience, as well as an encapsulation of the theoretical work of revolutionary practice. Nevertheless, the party has great positive Achievements and unmistakable progress has been made: progress in many areas. Achievements in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Success in the struggle against the SPD and Hitler.

On the general political-ideological level of the Party

The political-ideological level of the Party, but as a whole is not satisfactory. I will give only a fact to prove how great are the possibilities offered for the principled struggle of our Party against the class enemy, against the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy and the Hitlerite fascism due to the decline of give whole capitalist world? What are the possibilities that result from clear and proper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and the bankruptcy of the whole bourgeois social democratic-fascist plunders of so-called theories arise? Suppose the crisis, we address the question of the state, we will take the Economic democracy, or any other arbitrary set of questions: Our Party would in all these areas of fundamental confrontation with capitalism and its defenders almost a victorious offensive, an unstoppable Triumphal unfold.
Happens that about, comrades? It does not happen. Here you have to say what is. It shows that our comrades are ideologically not mature enough, not strong enough to Superiority of their position with the weapon of scientific socialism in the exploit entire propaganda.
The causes are obvious. We have in recent times a large recorded restructuring process in the KPD, a huge percentage of our Coaches and active comrades consists of party members who are not yet very long in our movement are. This does have a big advantage, because these comrades often unused, fresh and active in the revolutionary work, as many an old party stallion. But it also has its drawbacks: Of course, these comrades may not so strong ideological consolidation and political education have as a functionary or ten twelve years, the development of the party, its internal conflicts and clashes has been through, although the known not to protect against deviations.
Anyway, we have to say that the general political-ideological level of Party is inadequate. This applies not only for the lower cadres, but also partly for higher party functionaries in many leading comrades in the districts we have realize that they are to a lack of interest in their own theoretical training to Wrap Tag.

That's one side. The other side is that the theoretical work, because they not enough with the whole organism of our party and its revolutionary practice was connected, was carried out in an inadequate manner. Comrade Stalin in his letter to the editors of the magazine "Proletarian Revolution"a very apt expression coined: archive rats. These are those people who rummage everywhere only "scraps of paper", rather than the living practice of a revolutionary to consider party.

Neglect of work on the theoretical front

Comrades, here there was a so-called Marxist-Leninist circles, which each Week once or twice met at any cafe or elsewhere and there "Theoretical discussions" led by. The result was often what we in "Propagandist" to read received. Such encapsulation theoretical work from real life of the revolutionary party on the one hand and a lack of control over this theoretical work by the party leadership on the other hand - the results in practice Breeding of "archive rats".

That we this theoretical work of the party is not always as thorough in the past who controls how it would have been necessary is an accusation of the whole Party and also the Central Committee and the party leadership meets. The more necessary it was decided intervene and take up the fight on the theoretical front, as early as the last time is done through various measures. This intervention was necessary although regrettably at individual comrades in the party mood was, in where a lack of understanding of the importance of this work expresses. in the Beginning, in moving this work, the methods and the new problem some questions error will be inevitable. Such errors we need, if we find public notice and eliminate them. Comrade Stalin said the "problems of Leninism":

"The theory is the experience of the labor movement of all countries, in its general form taken. However, the theory is meaningless if it is not linked to the revolutionary practice, just as practice is blind if their path is not revolutionary by Theory is evident ... None other than Lenin repeated dozens of times the known principle: Without revolutionary Theory there can be no revolutionary movement." "

Say Lenin and Stalin. Each juxtaposition of ideological offensive and revolutionary practice of our party was not spared, contrary to the Principle of Leninism on the inseparable unity of theory and practice. Unfortunately, there was
Incidentally, there are quite different views on the question of the ideological offensive. On this important issue is not always immediately complete agreement. Comrade has even represented in a district in the discussion of the opinion that it was because of the number of copies. This is approximately the same level as another Argument that was also used by a comrade that the party namely their have taken decision against individual terrorism because the Red Aid is no longer the could raise costs for many processes.

*Without revolutionary theory no revolutionary practice*

If such views here and there in the party, albeit sporadically, occur, the ideological offensive has yet to be developed far more. One must in the strongest

provide clarity on that without such a serious ideological education in the Party impossible enhances the practical work of the Party in all fields and on the Amount of their tasks can be performed.

Lenin says in his book "State and Revolution" the following:

"By Marxism educates the Labour Party, he educates the vanguard of the proletariat, the enabling workers to seize power and to lead the whole people to socialism, the new to direct order and organize, teacher, conductor, leader of all the toilers and exploited in shaping their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie be."

Here is depicted with consummate clarity how the inner education of the party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism at the same time represents an education of class and therefore only the party is capable teacher, conductor and leader of all working people in the struggle for socialism will.

Every comrade who recognizes Marxism-Leninism not only in words but in Indeed, why should the importance of our ideological offensive as an insoluble comprehend component of our entire revolutionary work and welcome this work, not inhibit them or underestimate. Our struggle for the purity of Marxist Leninist theory in the party also means practical struggle for Implementation of the class line of the party among the masses.

Comrades, what we have now introduced into the party, is nothing else than that we with the Overcome our errors and deviations and with the improvement of our theoretical and practical work in all areas to a new threshold in the Development Bolshevisation our party stand.

It is therefore necessary for educational reasons and in the interests of the party, also on this plenary session of the Central Committee a few critical comments on various making theoretical works that have appeared in recent times in our days.

*Criticism of literary works*

First I call the book Comrade Langner on the "political mass strike". This book contains much valuable material and diligent work some ideological error. Smaller "flaws", like forgetting the English
General strikes in 1926, we do not need to be mentioned here. But two very serious historical errors must be nailed. The first error concerns the position Rosa Luxemburg on the question of the mass strike. Comrade Langner is a totally inadequate imputes criticism of errors of Luxemburgism in this field, on the other side he Rosa Luxembourg conceptions that they did not have. Claiming example, that after the presentation of Rosa Luxemburg political strikes only from the economic strikes of Workers arise, contrary to the historical truth. Especially in this issue of mutual relations of economic and political strikes Pink rose Luxembourg during the known mass strike debate in the German Social Democracy especially to 1910, at a fairly high level of revolutionary clarity and approached more than in many other questions to clear formulations of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It does not correspond with our task, the revolutionary significance of Rosa Luxemburg unjustified accusations belittle, while on the other side to the criticism their error big shows weakness. That also applies to the book of Comrade Langner to.

Unless Langner, for example, with respect to the role of the Spartacus League during wartime content simply to quote Lenin's criticism of the Junius pamphlet Rosa Luxemburg, he gives good material. As soon as he goes to own conclusions, he shows a completely insufficient knowledge of the actual operations, an abstract and frivolous position both on the merits as the weaknesses of the revolutionary work Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg and its group during the war. So just the thing one must at the treatment of the history and prehistory of our Party, the advantages and Weaknesses and errors of Luxemburgism make no. One complicated by the real understanding of the weaknesses of Luxemburgism that in long our party had to overcome their rings Bolshevisation and partly has to overcome today. Far worse than these weaknesses Langnerschen book, however, the Ignorance of the crucial problems of the Russian revolution, which in the Scripture expresses Langner. The entire discussion of the Bolshevik Party with Trotskyism seems to forget. Yes, the question of the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to proletarian socialist revolution, the turning over of the bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution - it is Comrade Langner no proper picture. Comrade Langner presents as alleged Considers Lenin for 1915 following in his book assertion:

"The aim of the struggle in Russia is the revolution. The content of the revolution is the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Comrade Langner tried the view that Lenin as a task of the Bolshevik Party had only portrayed the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, with to establish own words of Lenin. He brings to evidence a quote from the essay Lenin during the war, under the title "Some theses" on 13 October 1915 at Geneva "Social" has been published. Langner quotes the fifth thesis of this article, as Contents of the next revolution in Russia the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the Proletariat and the peasantry called. He brings thereby the conception, as if Lenin thus actually his whole conception of the impending Russian revolution have expressed.
Trotsky has established in the preface to his book "1905" slanderous allegation
Lenin had "converted" after the February Revolution 1917th. What do you mean with that? The
Trotskyists argue that the Bolsheviks had only the bourgeois-democratic revolution
with the aim of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the
Peasantry had envisioned and after the overthrow of tsarism, after
February Revolution of 1918 "convert" must, in other words: Then Trotsky
adopted program of proletarian-socialist revolution. If Langner with the
Way he represents Lenin's position in the fall of 1915, was right, then Trotsky would not
Slanderers and falsifiers of history.
Comrade Langner does not seem to know that the slogan "revolutionary democratic
Dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry "the Bolshevik slogan of bourgeois
democratic revolution. He seems not to know that the Bolsheviks for
proletarian-socialist revolution the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat in securing the
Support had erected by the rural poor."

How is it that Langner its position apparently with a quote Lenin
justified? The explanation is very simple. Here we see a flippant manner in which
Comrade Langner from that Lenin article a thesis half out of context
tears out, namely the fifth thesis, while the sixth thesis that the only
Context and to see the full view of the character of Lenin
forthcoming Russian revolution are simply silent. This type allows
Langner, to give such a misleading statement of the views of Lenin. For what is
the sixth thesis? Her name is:

"6. It is the task of the Russian proletariat, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia
to finish, for the purpose of (these words Lenin himself locked), the socialist
to kindle revolution in Europe."

No one can say, then, that Lenin the inevitable turning of
bourgeois-democratic in the proletärisch-socialist revolution not full
would have recognized clarity and a basis for the tactics of the Bolshevik Party.
In another article by Lenin from the Geneva "social democrat" on 20 November 1915
So four weeks later, the polemics directly against Trotsky, it is likewise with totally
unambiguous clarity:

"And this liberation of bourgeois Russia from tsarism, from the rule of the landlords
across the floor, the proletariat will take advantage immediately, not to wealthy farmers in
their struggle against the rural workers to support, but to the socialist revolution in
perform alliance with the proletarians of Europe."

But Lenin has this view over the turning over of the bourgeois-democratic
Revolution in Russia in the proletarian-socialist rather than until 1915, but exactly
represented equally throughout the Russian Revolution from 1905 to 1907. Yes he has
its position on this issue already with all clarity in 1894 in his then
Font "Who are? The friends of the people" formulated. In this document, the date in the
German total output is not yet published, it says:
"If only its (the working class) advanced representatives the idea of have appropriated scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, then the Russian workers, after he all to the top democratic has provided elements, overthrow absolutism and the Russian proletariat (next the proletariat of all countries) the straight road of open political struggle to the victorious Communist revolution lead ... The worker needs the achievement of the general democratic demands only to freeing the way, the victory over the principal enemy the working people, which leads its nature purely democratic institution, the capital, ... Workers must know that they for without overthrowing these pillars of reaction no way will have successful struggle against the bourgeoisie ...

Of course, Lenin's concrete assessment changed the difficulties for the turning bourgeois into proletarian revolution according to the situation. 1905 these difficulties were greater than as 1917. But the baseline were always the same. So what is left of the representations Langner? Nothing but the finding, that it reproduces disfigured unconsciously Lenin position.

We have here again a proof great levity in the field of theoretical Work and great confusion in decisive questions of the Leninist theory recorded. Comrade Langner has its already in a statement to the Secretariat Error acknowledged. We can only welcome this step of Comrade Langner.

I come to another book, the book of Comrade David about the "bankruptcy of Reformism". I do not want to talk about the positive aspects of the book here, the undoubtedly a wealth of striking arguments, facts, figures and citations to Refutation of the theories and arguments of the reformists brings further a viable Confrontation with vulgar-economic theories and a serious view of the Marx's immiseration Act with reference to the capitalist development of Germany.

In addition, however, the book by David contains a series of gross errors, which show that Comrade David has not stripped the luxemburgistischen eggshells. I want here cite only the essential points. A major deficiency of David's book, the no means has random character, is the complete absence of any discussion of of Accumulation and Breakdown theory of Rosa Luxemburg.

Even more dangerous are the errors and deviations in the second part of David's Book, which deals with the conditions of the strikes in the period of the general crisis of capitalism employed. In the fourth chapter, the theory is placed there in part, that under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism every strike struggle a offensive action against the foundation of the capitalist system is. David goes when also subject to certain restrictions, where he in a sense self-corrects by the Considers from that all strikes prewar were defensive battles, while the war every strike from the viewpoint of strategy an offensive battle represents.

Comrades, what about this "theory". First, we must find one that David a has wrong attitude to the strikes of the war.

He refrained from criticizing the mistakes that Rosa Luxembourg in the Mass strike debate the old Social Democracy on the issue of mass political strikes, especially from 1910 on, has committed. As is known, then approached the position Rosa Luxembourg on the issue of the political mass strike in places of centrist Opinion Kautsky. In reality, there was already before the war strikes
offensive character. David error in this question therefore arises from an insufficient criticism of the Luxemburgism and centrist views in the mass strike debate ago. For example the latter are not mentioned in his book.

But what about David's theory regarding the current period? Instead the "Objectively revolutionary role" of the strike in accordance with the theses of the II. World Congress to concrete, instead of the undoubtedly correct decisions of the tenth and eleventh plenum of ECCI which all the necessity of linking economic and political Combat stress and the "engagement" of the economic and political struggle clarify the Leninist sense invents Comrade David his "theory of the offensive". Each Strike at David - at least according to some formulations of his book - of outset an offensive struggle. This is the task of the Communists and the RGO, this complicated and difficult task of revolutionary strategy and tactics, with a Schlage from the world. If all strikes priori offensive struggles against Inventory of the capitalist system are, then we are terribly easy, comrades. What we need to rack our brains over from the defensive to the Offensive pass. What we need to think about the politicization of Economic struggles? Lenin, the Comintern, the RGI and we all have our very unnecessary Headache made. Comrade David comes and shows us that in any case any strike an offensive strike.

Comrades, you can almost say that is a kind of renewal of Kautsky Attrition prewar. This is in practice a complete Reduction and downsizing of the enormous challenges and difficulties that the must solve revolutionary proletariat in the class struggle and cope. In other words:
The practical effect of such a theory is linksopportunistisches education for Passivity, hidden by a seemingly "left" and "radical" position. Comrade David certainly will not achieve this effect. But here lies a Main weakness of his book. It's partly a somewhat academic book not always to a sufficient extent by the practical requirements of the revolutionary Class struggle proceeds. That is why David can in his theoretical discussions so get fatal errors and sliding into platitudes of economism, the was attacked so sharply by Lenin.

The pioneering significance of the letter of Comrade Stalin to the magazine "Proletarian Revolution"

What results from the occurrence of such serious errors and deviations in our theoretical literature? The unequivocal need at a much greater vigilance the theoretical front to unfold. What we need is those Bolshevik Intransigence and intolerance of all influences of social democracy and also overcoming all in our ranks still exist remnants of the Socialist or luxemburgistischen past our party. The letter of Comrade Stalin to the magazine "Proletarian Revolution" is therefore for the German party an extraordinarily important and pioneering political directive. He
is an appeal for us, the sharpest struggle against all foreign influences, against all
anti-Leninist currents and against any conciliation towards them in our
to deploy entire theoretical and practical work.

Sharpest struggle against the remnants of Luxemburgism

I want to deal with just two issues in this context briefly: The first question is the
the Luxemburgism. What's to say? We do not think of the importance Rosa
Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring and the other comrades who the
left radical wing in the pre-war social democracy were to weaken. We think
not because this truly revolutionary fighters and leaders and their good revolutionary
denying traditions, or even the social-fascist, SAP istic or
to leave brandleristischen Leichenschändern. Rosa Luxembourg and the other part
to us, belong to the Communist International and the Communist Party, at its inception, it
were involved. But this represents a weakening of the necessary clarification
our party about the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg and other leftists? Such
Criticism of the mistakes of Luxemburgism is essential from the standpoint of
Bolshevisation the party.
The path of the radical left from the pre-war social democracy led by the
Conditions wartime partly to communism, but only insofar as this is
to free groups of the halbmenschewistischen mistakes of their ideology and in the
Towards the Bolshevism, the policy of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party
developed.

Today, when the Comintern is where the in the Soviet Union under the proletarian dictatorship
Socialism can be realized, any attempt to renew the Luxemburgism
and any remnant of Luxemburgism never a bridge to Marxism-Leninism
may form, but always a transition to social fascism, an ideology of
Bourgeoisie, as we see it best at the Brandleristen.
So we have to say with all clarity: in all the issues on which Rosa Luxembourg
another view was expressed as Lenin, their opinion was wrong, so that the whole group of
German leftists in the pre-war and war period very considerably in clarity and
revolutionary strength behind the Bolsheviks remained.

This knowledge gives us only the understanding of why it delayed in Germany
Split between the Revolutionary Marxism and the petty-bourgeois opportunists
or their centrist accomplices within the labor movement came. pink
Luxembourg error in the theory of accumulation, the peasant question, the national question,
on the issue of the problem of the revolution, on the question of the proletarian dictatorship, in the
Organizational question, the question of the role of the party and the spontaneity of the masses - the
everything results in a system of faults that Rosa Luxembourg not achieve clarity of
could ascend Lenin. If today a Slutsky made an attempt to fight against Lenin
deny centrism in the pre-war period in order for the international role of
to cover Bolshevism in the II. International prewar, so we have
German comrades particularly the duty of such a view in the strongest
counter. The entire practice of the Bolshevik Party refuted these
counterrevolutionary initiation. So In and of itself, we need Lenin certainly not to
However, I would like in this context an especially interesting for us mention historical document that the for the critical position against Lenin German leftists in the pre-war social democracy and therefore for our Party history is extremely significant. In 1905 Bebel had offered as impartial arbitrator in the dispute between the two divided parts of Russian Social-Democracy, to serve the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Of the Menshevik party council had accepted the proposal of Bebel and Kautsky and his hand Clara Zetkin as representatives of the arbitral tribunal. The Bolsheviks opposed the Proposal. Lenin wrote a letter to August Bebel. A portion of this letter, as it Lenin had designed, was ruled out by himself and never carried Despatch. Since the manuscript was retained, we can from the crossed Part of the letter draft interesting details about the position of Lenin on the German left remove. I want to read a few sentences from it:

"A few months ago, when it was not too late, perhaps, as a trace of hope existed that the III. Congress can unite both factions and restore a party - then did the German Social Democrats their best to obstruct this path. Kautsky sought in the "Iskra" to weaken the value of the formal organization. The weekly of German Social Democracy glorified the disorganization and the treachery (Rosa Luxembourg in the "New Time") under the witty and "dialectical" pretext, the organization was just a Process, only an indication. The bitterness about it was very big in our party. comrade Rjadowoi, very influential member of the majority, insisted that Kautsky my answer will bring. I bet with him to the opposite. My "defense" was short and factual written and confined itself to rectify actual untruths and factual Tales to face the ridicule of our party. Kautsky rejected my article not because they directed the famous motivation, attacks on us have the "New time" against us are but printed nevertheless! It was just a mockery. The "New Era" (and not they alone) so wanted to make the German Social Democrats known only the views of the ballad. The bitterness about it was extremely large in our ranks."

I think, comrades, this document shows how deceitful the assertion of Slutsky and Consorts, Lenin had his struggle against centrism only during the war began.

What's "centrism"?

I come to a second question that in the problem of connecting Luxemburgism is: the question of centrism. It is on this issue is whether the centrism ago the war, during the war or in the first post-war special self-direction between the right and left wings of the international Labor movement have shown. This is wrong. Centrism was nothing but a variety of opportunism, of revisionism or Reformism. Lenin speaks, for example, on the question of what role the centrist Politicians in Germany and France play. He says this:
"...Such a person is penalized by its lack of character, its variations and its
Indecision the same betrayal as a direct traitor. Personally, the
Difference between a traitor out of weakness and a traitor intent and calculation
very large; in political terms, there is not such a difference, because depends on the policy the
actual skill on millions of people. This skill but does not change, whether
Millions of workers and poor peasants of traitors from weakness or traitors from selfishness
be betrayed."

So Lenin clearly shows that and politically between reformism
centrism is a difference of principle can not be made. Comrade Stalin
has on 19 November 1928 on the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU in his speech similar to
Typical of centrism shown. He stated:

"Centrism is one of the II. International prewar peculiar phenomenon. There were
it rights (the majority), Left (without quotation marks) and centrists whose whole policy it
ran out, i nice to stain the opportunism of the rights with their left phrases that left the
to subject rights."

One can no longer speak today of "centrism"

The question now is whether one can still speak of centrism today whether one example today
SAP or Brandler group can be described as centrist. This is not possible. These
particular variety of opportunism, which we call centrism was bound to
a "block of petty bourgeois and proletarian interests within a party", as
Comrade Stalin illustrating in his aforementioned speech. Such a block was the
Prewar Social Democracy in Germany, where on one side in the group to Rosa
Luxembourg, the representatives of the interests of the proletariat, on the other side of the right wing
to Bernstein, Wolfgang Heine, Legien were present as representatives of the petty bourgeoisie,
while the centrists Bebel, Kautsky, etc., as a variety of opportunists whose policies
tolerated and masked with "left" formulations.
Such collaborations in a party existed even after the war in the
USP, where the revolutionary workers' wing, which later, after the Halle Party Congress, with
the KPD united, initially with the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie organizationally
was united, so that the former centrist Hilferding Crispient, Dittmann, etc. their role
were able to play in the service of a masked opportunism.

Today, the petty-bourgeois right wing of the pre-war social democracy
Social fascism unfolds. The groups that fraudulently make it appear as if they
between the social fascism and us, to Marxism-Leninism, an intermediate position
einnähmen, I mean the Seydewitz group or Brandleristen, are in reality
only a variety of social fascism, a branch of the Social Democratic Party. It
therefore was a terrible, unforgivable mistake of the "Red Flag", when in their
Preface to Stalin letter the wording used that the SAP is a "small but
Party of centrism " was that "between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and
the social fascism relates an unprincipled position ". This severe opportunistic
Derailment first had to be corrected by the overall Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Trotskyism is the vanguard of the bourgeoisie counterrevolutionary

In the same preface to the "Red Flag" was the talk of a "left" -drapierten
Swamp ideology of Trotskyism. This too is a totally unacceptable and opportunistic
Formulation. Trotskyism is not a swamp ideology but represents a
counterrevolutionary vanguard represents the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism operates the angriest
Intervention incitement against the Soviet Union. Trotsky provides the most shameless arguments
the social fascist policies against the working class. Worse than the "forward" and the Social Democratic party executive, he is committed to the deceptions of the SPD with the so-called "lesser evil" one. He proposes in his latest pamphlet on Germany the German Communists no more and no less than to be "with Noske and Grzesinski against fascism to ally ". That's how everyone understands an applied political imposture and nothing but Social fascism in its purest form.

**Opportunistic error in treating the peasant question**

One last question for the characterization of the opportunist deviations that at us are possible. In preparation for the German Reich Farm Congress was a published material in which inter alia the following flowers are included:

"The whole village has to be there, together closes, forming peasant struggle committees ... If the peasants of a village all unite firmly to fight community, they are already a little power that is capable of taking defensive action."

Here, then, the merger is propagated with the kulaks openly. The big farmers, the kulaks, the middle peasants and the rural poor, the small peasants and semi-proletarians are lumped together. It is clear that from such an opportunistic Theory regarding the single interests of the peasantry, a correspondingly opportunistic distortion regarding the relationship between the working class and the toiling peasants yields.

So it is on another side of the speakers material:

"There is no opposition between creative workers and peasants."

One need not have to prove that with the Leninist conception nothing to has created. It is no coincidence that in this opportunistic speakers Material Agricultural workers are completely forgotten. And neither is it a coincidence, but a political misconduct, if this material avoids embarrassing the Soviet Union and the local collectivization oppose the declining capitalism.

Also this material is just one more proof of the need for ideological Offensive and the sharpest Bolshevik self-criticism of our party work.

I will eventually remember the mistakes of the "Young Guard", which in completely opportunistically even of "unity of the people" wrote. Although the KJVD disapproved this formulation, but refrained from doing a public and timely correction of this unforgivable mistake.

**Against all tendencies to weaken the Bolshevik self-criticism**

This brings me to a question that our ideological offensive intimately is connected, on the issue of open and ruthless Bolshevik self-criticism as an indispensable component of our revolutionary practice.

Comrades, I have already pointed out that the question of the Bolshevik Self-criticism in our entire party is not such a matter of course, as it would be for Bolsheviks. There are quite tendencies in our ranks who this want to restrict and weaken self-criticism. Of course, we have characterized not be deterred, enforce the Bolshevik position, whereby a Line through open self-criticism of authority over the party and the proletariat only
can win, even if sometimes individual comrades not have the necessary understanding have. Lenin says about the self-criticism:

"The behavior of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its Class and the toiling masses. Mistake to openly admit to uncover its causes, thoroughly analyze the circumstances that have caused it, which means to eradicate the error; Check thoroughly - that is the hallmark of a serious party, ie performance of their duties, Educate and train its class and then the masses."

The leading party of the world proletariat, the party which is the only victory over Bourgeoisie has won, and not coincidentally, the leading role in the Communist International held at its inception and since its inception, Communist Party of the Soviet Union is, in a consistent and implacable Policy of Leninism, under the sign of such Bolshevik self-criticism for their present height and reaches maturity. I still want to give a few words that Comrade Stalin on XV. Congress of the CPSU spoke on the issue of self-criticism:

"If we Bolsheviks, who are criticized by the world that to the words Marx speak, the sky storm, when we look at for the peace of this or that comrade Self-criticism renounce - yes, is it not clear that we nothing but the collapse have our great cause to be expected? Marx said the proletarian revolution by the way of each revolution thereby distinguish that they self-criticism and self-criticism by the strengthens. This is a very important note Marx'. If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution close before our eyes defects, the questions to decide in a familiar manner, mutually conceal the error and the disease will continue to drive in the interior of our Party organism who will receive this error, correct these shortcomings? Is it not clear that we then stop are to be proletarian revolutionaries that we certainly go to meet the sinking when we do not from our midst this philistinism, this family economies when deciding will exterminate important questions of our structure. But in this respect, it still lags with us ...

Two, three great success and everything is shooting. Another two or three big successes and one brags already, you will be spirited. But keep the error, these shortcomings persist, the disease be driven into the interior of the party organism."

These compelling words of Comrade Stalin every comrade should take to heart, who harbors a dislike of the Bolshevik self-criticism. The party can not and must Never refrain from applying these Bolshevik self-criticism. who the pursues history of our Russian sister party and the Russian Revolution, which is find confirmed that all their development without Bolshevik self-criticism at all would have been impossible. I need only remind you the unsparing self-criticism as Lenin in his report of the Central Committee at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia in March 1921 on the issue of the Russian-Polish War and the has practiced economic issues of transition from war to peace. This was done in a Situation in which the Soviet power exhausted by the war and by economic crisis was detected. This was done under extremely difficult conditions for the work of Communist Party, while Lenin also revealed in such a situation, so, just in
such a situation, the mistakes ruthlessly and openly on, so that the party could learn from and overcome the difficulties.

**About our resolve against individual terror**

Suppose a particular issue: the problem of individual terror. Is not there also today, after we of our decision against the toleration of trends

have taken individual terror and popularized in the party opposite Moods? Open they do not appear, but without a doubt we have both in the party as the Youth League thunderstorms comrades who believe that Central Committee have these acted only for tactical reasons, to thereby Legality of the party to secure. Comrades, we have such views with respect to sharply out work again and create full clarity:

First, that our decision against individual terror was meant seriously and we the Consequences of this decision and organizational must not fear. The party Do not tolerate any social-revolutionary tendencies in its ranks.

Secondly, that this our decision was not taken, because we imagine, by such a decision to avert the risk of a ban of the party, because we imagine ourselves about ourselves through such a decision in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to make "pleasant".

Third, that our decision to the contrary serve our party "unpleasant" to make for the bourgeoisie, namely by by our decision against the individual terror are concentrated and directed all the forces of the Party on the territory of mass revolutionary struggle.

This increase in mass revolutionary struggle - that, comrades, is the real "Unpleasant" for the bourgeoisie!

We should, by individual acts of terrorism and even frivolous and combat adventurous putschist moods relentlessly in our movement, at the same time ensure that the bourgeoisie no easy handling for a ban on the Party be given.

We must of every Communist the strictest caution, discipline eisernste require in order to facilitate the struggle of the party for their legality extent possible. We have a constant battle, especially among the vast masses for the Conservation of Legality of the party unfold.

But that is not the decisive factor in our rejection of individual terror. Lenin teaches us perfectly clear that we Communists against individual terror not from a flunky peaceable disposition against the bourgeoisie, but because this our view the real interests of the revolutionary Mass struggle corresponds.

Comrade Lenin wrote in July 1917 ie during the period of preparation for October, about the Tasks of the Russian Bolsheviks:

"The working-class party must, without revealing the legality, but without this even a overestimating moment, unite the legal work with illegal, as in the years 1912 to 1914th

Not long one hour allow the legal work down, but also to the constitutional and not believe "peaceful" illusions. ) Now everywhere and for all illegal organizations or cells
reasons, etc.) change for issue of leaflets yourself immediately, consistently, persistently, to
across the board."

Undoubtedly, we have a number of derailments in the direction wrong
Legality tendencies. I mention only opportunistic "legalistic" declarations at
Newspaper prohibitions, which are a revolutionary party unworthy.

**Fight against Lockspitzelunwesen**

The most important area in which we immediately and in the strongest terms a complete turn
must take place, is the struggle against the Lockspitzelwesen against provocations and
against frivolity. I want to touch a few points here. We must relentlessly
break with the ideology, as if certain "accidents", the "flying up" of
revolutionary workers, leading to their victimization by their Unternehmet etc., in
some cases were not the result of spying. Such convenient adjustment, as if
only accidents were the cause of such Auffliegens and not, as in most cases,
Spying and treason, must be eradicated. We need to know that everywhere, in nine
out of ten, a betrayal in games. Only if we start from this view, be
we can muster the sufficient alertness to uncover such spying.
A second point is the need to unmask spies in all cases where it is possible,
this exploit in the broadest public.
A third issue is the education of our party comrades for greatest caution against
the attempts of the class enemy, opposing parties, etc. to gain their services,
it frequently being inexperience, material hardship and not least within the party and
exploiting personal questions. A large role in the methods of the bourgeoisie,
smuggle provocateurs in our ranks, playing so ever the utilization
intra-party and personal differences.
Fourth Question: Sharpest fight against talkativeness in our ranks, against the
petty bourgeois and sentimental credulity against hostile parties, etc.
Not because I trust a comrade and know him for a long time, can
I make sure that he is not a traitor, but only then can such
Security type when an organized control exists and that control its
Reliability results.
Fifth Question: Clear understanding that the provocation that Lockspitzelwesen a
inevitable part of the system of the bourgeoisie for the decomposition of the revolutionary
representing workers' movement, and that consequently the fight against this Lockspitzelwesen
a daily part of our revolutionary class struggle against capitalism
must represent.
How significant is this issue, which resulted on several occasions in the past
Time.
As the Hungarian White Guard and fascist Matuska's railway bombings in Jüterbog
and had performs in Hungary, zette the entire press of Germany, Hungary, and
Austria about communist attacks. The leaves of the Nazis and the SPD suggested in
same line. The dirty detractors Heilmann dared, among others, the
Jüterboger attempt to push us in the shoes.
This matter, or the explosive thefts, or other individual actions are placed regularly the Communist Party to the load. It's also known that very often in provocative way such things directly on behalf of our enemies be organized in order afterwards to foist the proletarian party.

I need only remind you what Comrade Jaddasch recently uncovered in Braunschweig. To the extent that as we solve this problem the highest vigilance, we will also this field take a step forward in our party and we Bolschswisierung secure against the attacks of the class enemy.

V. Decisive turn on the field
our agitation and propaganda

Finally, comrades, a few words about the methods of our agitation and propaganda. In this area, we must make a resolute step forward. I begin with the issues of propaganda. About the major shortcomings of the general political-ideological level of our party and the wrong treatment of theoretical problems I have already spoken. A resolute turn in this area has mainly

the question of total Proparbeit, not least the training and educational work include.
Our Proparbeit was, apart from the political errors, abstract and detached from revolutionary life of the party and its tasks. The training work was in their Heavyweight laid in the living organizations, let burning problems of Class struggle out of consideration and was incapable of a real mass propaganda Million recorded to guide the way.

There was even tendencies that Proparbeit over all other ministries Party 'independently' to make. Instead the axis of the propaganda work of the party and about the penetration addition of the masses with the Leninist theory with reference to the decisions of the Party and the to view Comintern, our Proparbeit made in arrogant manner attempt with own formulations sometimes directly in a certain competition for Party leadership to correct our line. I recall Emel, which in this field special achievements accomplished. The training work was to a certain extent academically and went not to a sufficient extent by a really practical application the dialectical method.
The result of these weaknesses in the Proparbeit who undialectical method and the petty bourgeois arrogance was that not just the education from Arbeiterpropagandisten in which from the standpoint of revolutionary development required dimensions was omitted, but also the attraction of the party radicalized Parts of intellectuals, students, teachers, doctors, writers, engineers, technicians, unevaluated remained.

What must the phrase exist in our Proparbeit?

What must a decisive turn consist?
1. Our Proparbeit has a real part of the entire revolutionary work and politics be the party. You must penetrating the Party and its decisions, the
Evaluation of the decisions and the self-understanding of the party of the decisions serve. You must the campaigns of the party theory of propaganda and forth ideologically substantiate.

2. Our Proparbeit must assume a mass character, that is, has at its center the political training day of the party standing, whose heavyweight again at the has to be operational cells. The Proparbeit must grow horizontally by the up. The aim is, heranzuschulen tens of thousands of Arbeiterpropagandisten that of the phase conductors Operating cells than red councils, as leader of the opposition in the reformist or other mass organizations or as a leader in the sympathizing with us can act mass organizations.

3. Our Proparbeit must grow in depth in that they, through their close connection the revolutionary practice of the party and complete subordination to the party leadership to real bearer of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the party and the proletariat is. The Proparbeit must within the meaning of the letter of Comrade Stalin and our ideological offensive the objective of providing the party from top to bottom against all Leninist hostile influences by theoretical strength and safety protect.

4. Our Proparbeit must dominated by the needs of the current situation be, that is, up to the intensified study of the daily struggle revolutionary way out of the crisis set. So you need the party and the proletariat repair, with the bankrupt ideology of the bourgeoisie, social democracy and Hitler fascism settlement to hold and crush the deceptions of the SPD. You must cadres of the party's ideological strength for smashing all maneuvers of the class enemy and for the victorious offensive, the intensified principled struggle mediate against the bourgeoisie, social democracy and Nazis.

So much for the question of Proparbeit.

What about the field of agitation? Undoubtedly, we have at various Campaigns made some progress in this field. The best election campaign that we carried out, for example, recently was that the Reichstag elections of 14 September 1930. Today, however, we must note that in the Methods our agitation a great schematism is cracked again. Instead of dialectical interpenetration of propaganda and agitation prevailed, thanks to the Independence tendencies of our previous Propabteilung, a disruption of these interconnected branches of labor down to the lowest party units. Of the Focus of Agitarbeiten is not now in the factories, but in the Housing organizations. This was evident, for example, also very strong at the Hamburger Campaign where at the premises no sufficient agitation was made. agitation bears many a waffling and vague, character and does not go on strike and the other mass actions. In practice, the agitation in many cases, the line of lower resistance. is in the development of new methods of Agitproparbeit occurred certain standstill, an insufficient setting out also by the enemy to learn.

What are the consequences?

First: all our agitation must in the service of the main strategic task of asked to give the majority of the proletariat in the struggle for proletarian power.
With these major strategic tasks can only be solved on the line of a policy that unfolds all forms of proletarian resistance to the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the masses educates to fight any imperialist way out of crisis and mobilized with the aim of this struggle in the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian way be reconciled, so our agitation must borne by these viewpoints be. In other words, the agitation must be grouped around a central axis. The is already of the current campaign in the presidential and Prussia elections, applies the upcoming International Women's Day and from 1 May, the International Youth etc.

What must this central axis?
The answer is given by our policy. We have the danger of war in the east. The central axis of our policy must therefore be: struggle for the defense of Soviet Union and Soviet China, the struggle against imperialist war crimes by the fight in his own country for the revolutionary way out for socialism. The juxtaposition of bankrupt capitalism and rising superior Socialism is connected to this central line closely.

And what is the militant slogan that and as the center of our entire agitation Propaganda results?
I think, comrades, this solution can only be: against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat!
Second, our agitation must put the strongest emphasis on the ever smaller nascent possibilities of mass agitation by the daily press with a possible supplement broad and comprehensive other mass agitation. The greatest possible Expansion of our operating press, the mass moderate expansion of our literature sales department, before especially on brochure literature, with the aim of a turnover of at least ten million Mass booklets per year, the more widespread use of other than the daily newspapers - all belongs to this area of our agitation tasks.

Third, our agitation must as well as the propaganda in the service of destruction the deceptions of the bourgeoisie and social democracy are provided. You must before all and the main maneuvers of the SPD, the fraud with the "lesser evil", unmask make it clear that this is to the greatest evil for the working class. They must each Communists and all revolutionary workers provide the arguments with which he the can beat class enemy.
Fourth: Our agitation has to be concrete and practical. We must learn, in Unmasking our opponents, especially the SPD and the Nazis, in the way I have tried to show, to work out some key facts and with them a victorious to deploy offensive against these parties.

All these tasks of agitation and propaganda can only be achieved if our Press, I now mean the daily press, receives a completely different face. Our newspapers have to be real mass organs of the proletariat. You need the Working-class life, the life of the unemployed, the lives of employees, the reflect workers' lives and the proletarian youth. We will, at all costs,
what it might bring about a change in our newspapers, even if we at various places are compelled trained to spot and politically educated comrades younger members from the farms or in the series of worker-correspondents consulted. We will proceed ruthlessly to when the learned editors partially fail even to put such worker reporters in their place, the initially might have committed one or another political mistake because it gives them Yes lack training, but grow with responsibility and develop will.

We are, if there is no other way to force that our newspapers to are real reflection of proletarian life. In our newspapers must Working men and women their lives, their needs, their demands easily and concretely will find and you have them on hand this simple and concrete questions deal, why out for them and for all of their classmates just a way their class position gives: The Way of the communists!

This, comrades, is the secret of a truly Bolshevik agitation and press. Yet another question: Our daily press, especially the "Red Flag", must be an organ not only of agitation, but above all the propaganda education of are masses. Today, the "Red Flag" no sufficient teachers of the Party and Proletariat, not enough grain emphasizing beacon of Leninism. And that is why I ask the second requirement on: Our newspapers, especially the "Red Flag" must ideologically on another level be brought.

These two tasks: to be Popular and on the other hand, theoretically to give more, do not contradict, but complement each other. With the solution of the first task we can introduce and bind the masses to our newspapers. With the solution of second task we will bring the masses to a higher level, where we also in our newspapers can make greater demands on our readers something and need. One without the other is impossible. Both together only gives a Bolshevisation and improve the content of our popular party press.

*Under the banner of Bolshevism storm forward to victory!*

Comrades, I submit my paper. In dealing with the work of the party, there were places a sharp criticism of our mistakes and weaknesses. But we are not here come together to make each other compliments. Every comrade must understand that such a criticism in the interests of the party is and is indispensable. We take the treatment of errors in the accounts of comrades Langner and David. does the Criticism of the errors of Comrade Langner that we him of falsification of Leninism, as she has committed Slutzky accuse? Not at all. But we had the error set the record straight. That's what it came to, not on defeating the comrades Langner. To take we establish the error in the book of Comrade David. Even this does not mean that we could stand him as a Luxemburgisten, of such tendencies in our will bear party. But to clarify the problems our sharp criticism was necessary. And This applies equally to all other branches of our work.

I summarize. The most important is: Clear recognition of the political situation and the perspective of development;
the clarity of the tasks, the results from this perspective; the main attack against social democracy, while stepping up the fight against The Nazis; improving our work in various fields, particularly the Operation work, the work among the unemployed and the working of the RGO; the activation of the party with the help of the ideological offensive and the Bolshevik Self-criticism; the increase of our struggle for the release of operational and other struggles Mass actions; Mobilization of the masses for the revolutionary way out following the example of Soviet Union, for the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of Proletariat. The resolution that we are presenting here from Polbüro the Plenum of the Central Committee, contains the main directives on all these issues. Still suffers from the party because the decisions are not carried out sufficiently, that Bolshevisation the party is imperfect, that the individual comrades and the Party units often try to go the easy way. Our way is not easy, comrades. Our tasks are possible complicated and difficult. Our main enemy is a counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie whose power means are extremely developed and concentrated, the great experience accumulated over the last fourteen, fifteen years since the start of the world revolution in February 1917, collected Has. She is assisted by a still very strong Social Democratic Party with a huge reformist trade unionism. She is assisted by the National Socialist Movement in which millions of SMEs, small citizens, employees and officials are summarized. Our class enemies are determined to defend the outermost the threatened existence of capitalist class rule to do. But we, comrades, for us a huge, world-historical factor: the existence the Soviet Union, which for the broadest masses more and more clearly the superiority of proletarian dictatorship on the bourgeois dictatorship, democratic or fascist Coloring, the superiority of the socialist planned economy over the rotting capitalist economy documented. Let us use this possibility, we forge under the storm banner of Bolshevism our party for real steel vanguard of the proletarian class, we make the proletariat to guide the widest working masses in town and country chase, We made our ranks doubts about our strength and pusillanimitry, glossing our work and philistinism, recklessly and underestimation of the class enemy! we Merzen all influences and remains of influences of the bourgeoisie and Social democracy from the ranks of the Communist Party! Then we cross the threshold of a new stage of Bolshevisation the KPD, then growing the red united front of the party for the revolutionary struggle against the attempts
Comrades What is clear from the whole course of our present plenary session? In Unit I have mentioned that the party her on the threshold of a new stage Bolshevisation stands. What does that mean? If we examine our past, we can say that we had a correct general line. We have on this General line right decisions taken. We had a right strategic orientation. But in practice, in the implementation of the decisions, the main point to weaknesses all fields of work. Not only is there a gap between the right decisions the party and its implementation in practice, but one must also say - and even in the discussion sounded out at certain places - that also at some nodes the importance of the role of the party is underestimated. It is also important to note that large in terms of strategic orientation and its practical application Omissions and serious deficiencies exist. This is especially true for the struggles of Proletariat and all struggles of the working classes. This applies to the operational work. The applies to the daunting tasks of RGO work. This applies to the particular field of Working under the huge army of millions of unemployed, for women's and youth work, for the inner party life, for agitation and propaganda and in a very special degree for the issues of the struggle against imperialist war. The decisions were correct. Comrade Pieck has here declared that the Comintern itself sometimes presents the question why at a correct general line, at right decisions and the large authority that has the party, it still lacking in the implementation and hapert. What is important in the first place? Then, the gap between the decisions to close and its application and implementation. Today's Central Committee can to and will hopefully deliver to the special keys. From this point of we need to look at the result of the plenary and the content of decisions here decisions, the completed by the discussion and the specific proposals of individual comrades be assessed. From this Plenum, the Party must proceed to the Practice of the revolutionary mass work in the initiation, implementation and management bigger mass actions in all fields and on all fronts, in the self Guide the struggles, their Bolshevik role as leader of the German working class to prove. Not only the right strategic orientation, but the application of this right strategic orientation in practice, this is crucial! We are committed to provide the greatest guarantees to the collective sense, in irreconcilable struggle against our class enemies to the decisions taken here as decisions realize that we after a short time in the implementation, in the revolutionary see practical visible results.
In this sense it is necessary to call our meeting as a plenary dedicated to revolutionary practice. If we are capable of such a higher level of our to create job opportunities and our pace of work, I am firmly convinced that the one step forward means in Bolshevisation the party. Comrade Stalin says in his famous letter to the entire international working class and all parties such great importance has, among other things, that the role of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin can not be judged by "piece of paper", not for explanations and Resolutions, but due to their practice. This is at the same time an indication of the German party to step up its momentum in practice. Comrade Pieck has at a point Speaking hunted like meaningful words that undoubtedly also the opinion of the Comintern expressed Bring that we eliminate in our ranks timidity need that we must implement the correct line of the Party into practice with all the energy. Comrades, if we have a second Bolshevik Party in the Communist want to be International - sometimes they say yes even "are", I say here modest: want to be - then we have the scissors between the decision taken Decisions and their implementation is, close, then we have a most important large trigger and lead mass struggles. I think of the development of economic strikes, the new forms of demonstration strikes, to the protest strike across the country, which against everything must judge what is now carried out by the capitalists in Germany, to Oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and plunder of the vast masses all working people. I think of the big weapon that the proletariat with the political apply mass strike can.

We have heard here the enthusiastic speech of Comrade Thorez. This contemporary of the Guide our French sister party says at one point:

"Every blow to the Versailles system is a blow against French imperialism"

and he pointed also out that our comrades question abroad often face the are we it is that the great German party triggers as little more strikes and results? What can we say?
Only one thing: we have to learn to lead the fighting, we must eradicate everything we prevents. That's the most important.

The results of our discussion

And now, comrades: What give the Broad entire discussion our Plenary session?
The main positive phenomena, which was reflected in the discussion, may be summed up in the following points: In the entire discussion showed a serious struggle with various problems here and debate, for decision from now on to perform in front of us.

We saw the manifestation of the will and reinforced an enhanced understanding of the Need errors and deficiencies in our party to eliminate.

We also saw that a sharp critical mood in the Central Committee exists, the reflects that is understood and applied in the party, the issue of self-criticism.

If a speaker sometimes verrannte in certain questions or make mistakes, we could notice that here in the Central Committee immediately for a large part of the comrades a kind was no trace of critical unease. This is an absolutely cheaper train which shows that the Party has grown internally and the ideological offensive passes its mark.
So the discussion also showed the rest of the regere life in our party
greater participation in all important issues and thus the internal growth of
Party.
And this inner growth, comrades, which is reflected in the current plenary session,
and our organizational growth, the absorption of about 200,000 members in
Last year, the affected however by the fact still present the fluctuation
is facing, is undoubtedly one of our most important advances. But there were
and negative phenomena in the discussion: The picture above is from the discussion
the state of the party showed proves that we consider this condition still critical
have, as we have already done it. If we agree on this issue, then must
you see that it is very dangerous when there are moods in the party who are trying
on this or that point to gloss over the work of the party. Such a state of the
Whitewashing prevented to eliminate pathogens in the party as soon as it
necessary is. This is, I believe, the second important result of the discussion. We
have much more serious, much more systematic, much more responsible work. That applies to
the lead for the entire Central Committee, for the district and guides for the entire
Party.
The third issue is that the discussion to some extent not to those of us
asked questions, such as those contained in the resolution likewise, the concrete
Responses were.
Such criticism of the discussion may of course not be generalized, because
that would violate the very fact that various discussion speakers shiny
have brought facts that must not be smaller.
But from the overall discussion can not be fully satisfied. This must be clearly
and mercilessly say, also point to the danger that Comrade Munzenberg in his
Talk talk of a "flea cracking" speaks or of that one should not always with the
"Wooden club" smite, and I do not know whether Miinzenberg thinks that we
crack fleas with the wooden stick.
But, comrades, these words should not only serve to our amusement, but it is
of course, a serious fact, if there is such a question on our
Plenum are. We must recognize the great seriousness of the situation. has in insistent form
Comrade Pieck this seriousness of the situation expressed here. The plenary and the entire
Party must draw its conclusions. We must learn better in our
all to make work a turn to develop the resistance of the masses, their
Struggles to lead and these struggles be reconciled in the struggle for the revolutionary
Way. This is the main problem.
And now to some questions that have been rolled up in the discussion:

*The overall context of our tasks*

We have made the resolution and also in the Office of the attempt clarity as to
provide that the whole of our tasks constitutes a single whole. showed in the discussion
not always a sufficient understanding of this connection our tasks. The
beat the Social Democrats and the Nazis, the strikes against the bourgeoisie and the other
Mass actions and struggles result, the weaknesses in the operation, RGO,-
eliminate unemployed labor, the party capable of fighting through the ideological offensive
make, capable of fighting especially in the line of the active defense of the Soviet Union
and the Chinese revolution - that all depends with each other and can not be
separate. Without ideological presumption, without increasing the capacity for action in
the factories, trade unions, to the punch points, there is no successful fight
other maneuvers of the bourgeoisie there is no successful struggle against dictatorship
the bourgeoisie, against the offensive of capitalists against the fascist reaction. The
together but results in the solution of our main strategic task: obtaining the
proletarian majority of the struggle for the conquest of political power! All results
the attitude of the party on the right and effective revolutionary combat
imperialist war. This unit of our tasks we have in the foreground
move.

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On the question of perspective and the way out

A second major issue of discussion is the present situation and the perspective of
Development. All discussion speakers showed their agreement with our assessment of
Perspective. This is not little. The last days brought in connection with the
Difficulties the banks a new confirmation of the growing difficulties
growing aggravation of the situation. The bank mergers eliminate these difficulties
not but create more than a temporary respite.
In the plenary, there were some comrades a discussion on the question: How can a
capitalist way out of the crisis look like? Can it be only the imperialist war
or the increased looting of the masses? Which situation is in case of
such capitalist way out result? Comrades Kraus and Ludwig talked
this.
Is it our duty to make such considerations and discuss what
a situation would arise if the bourgeoisie from the current cyclical crisis
came out, without this leading to the proletarian revolution? That's not our job.
We know that the situation is not completely hopeless for the bourgeoisie. But we
also know that we have to make them do so.
Our perspective is that further worsening of the crisis. Our task is, by the
full development of the combat power of the masses to accelerate the revolutionary development.
The issues on which we need to discuss and on which we all attention
need to focus, not say: What would a possible capitalist way out?
but the whole question that we ask for, is: What do we do to the revolutionary
to fight way out?
All philosophizing about how the bourgeoisie in the event of our failure from the crisis
would come out only distracts from our revolutionary task.

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Proportion to the objective and subjective difficulties

The third question is that the ratio of the objective and subjective difficulties.
I have already pointed out in the paper that it is inadmissible, objective
Difficulties as an excuse for passivity, for lack of fights etc.
use. It was on this issue, which is extremely pleasing in the discussion a
complete agreement. We have on the question of the additional difficulties of the crisis
as unemployment already shown, etc. with respect to the management of strikes that although they
make one hand, the leadership of the strike more complicated, but on the other hand this
again facilitating objective factors, the leadership of the mass struggle. We must
always see both sides of the process. Not only the difficulty, but also the revolutionary factors arising from one and the same fact. Such question is also necessary in the treatment of the international significance of German revolution.

In the great difficulties that the German revolution in the due Versailles system result, the German proletariat not only on the front German bourgeoisie encounters, but also to the larger front of the victorious powers in the world, the revolutionary factors in Germany grow while under this Versailles system. Lenin, for example on the issue on the II. World Congress of said the Communist International, among others:

"The result of this war is a sharp aggravation of all capitalist contradictions - the war brought against a quarter of a billion people in a situation that a colonial situation corresponding ... The Treaty of Versailles has Germany and a number of other states in provided conditions that make their economic existence physically impossible. They are fully been made and reduced rights. We ended up no more than a quarter of a billion, in which of course only the peaks, only the capitalists of the division of the world the benefits carry off ... I remember this picture of the world, because all the basic contradictions of Capitalism, of imperialism, leading to the revolution, all the basic contradictions in the Workers' movement, which led to the fiercest fighting the II International ... - All the is associated with the division of the population of the earth ... It is clear that in such a situation Growth of the indignation of the workers, the growth of the revolutionary moods and ideas, the growth of the elementary mass strike is inevitable ... The war has an outrageous brought aggravation of all capitalist contradictions with itself. This is the cause of the deep revolutionary ferment, which swells more and more."

We see quite clearly what Lenin has shown. On the one hand: The immensely strong Germany's dependence on the basis of all provisions of the Versailles system, the Fact that Germany is an oppressed country whose working people not only from the German bourgeoisie are exploited, but likewise of the mouth Victors, are in the shackles of the Versailles system. Hence the greater Difficulty for the German proletariat, the necessity, not only capitalism in to overthrow Germany, but also Germany from the system of World imperialism tear.

However Lenin furthermore shows that the Versailles system at the same time "the cause of deep revolutionary ferment, which swells more and more " is. This other side we have also on underline strongest. Otherwise there is a danger that we only difficulties see and not even this revolutionary factors.

**It focuses on the question of war**

I now turn to another question that was at the center of our whole plenary: The question of the war.

Several comrades in the discussion excellent and complementary versions made suggestions for resolution, serious suggestions about what we now the sphere of our practical antiwar work and in the fight for the defense back Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviet revolution at the heart of our work have to. But the whole debate still showed an underestimation of the risk of
Intervention war. Not all comrades have understood how serious the situation is, how much we fighting the war of intervention at the heart of our work have back.

For example, take a very characteristic product of the "Berliner Börsenzeitung ". This sheet of finance capital writes on February 23:

"Progress of the Japanese in Manchuria threatened undoubtedly Russian interests and is at the same time a threat to Soviet prestige in the Far East ... in Soviet Russia nevertheless is only spoken by the impending war and is preparing to put him as an inevitable Catastrophe ... Moscow is preparing now, to a certain extent in all cases, to a 'war. One train after another is with war material, Food and coal and metals loaded transported to the East. The supply of Food to Moscow and to the other major cities appliance thereby stalling ..."

For details on preparations for war of the Soviet Union are of course kept secret, however, Reportedly, the Russian army leadership not to hold the outermost Siberia Vladivostok intended but will only resist in the Baikal-line since the Russians there be strategic advantage would. However, a decision is expected until the spring after Snowmelt be expected. "

We see the clear language of the German bourgeoisie. This leading newspaper of Finance capital speaks of the war against the Soviet Union as a matter of course Fact.

You doubt not the fact that it comes to this war. That's one side. one
While acknowledging the desire for peace of the Soviet Union to hypocritical, but reports at the same time as much about war preparations that ultimately the impression: The Soviet Union wants war. This is a clever way of fraudulent anti-Bolshevik Lies baiting. What conclusions obtained for us?
It is clear that we much stronger work out the role of the Soviet Union as a bastion of peace have to. If, for example in our press the speech of Comrade Litvinov sufficient degree evaluated? Our comrades in the editorial fail in this question.
Comrades, I just want the one with the greatest sharpness and most emphatically Pronounce: The question of the struggle against the imperialist war, the issue of Defense of the Soviet Union, the most active mass mobilization under the slogan: "Hands away from China! Against the partition of China by the imperialists! For the protection of Chinese Soviet territories "must! in the center of our whole agitation and Propaganda be moved. Our struggle against imperialist war must at all Questions of our struggle against the German bourgeoisie and its supports, with all questions domestic politics are very closely linked. Also in this issue has to our present trigger plenary a big jolt for the entire party work.

*Strikes, work and RGO*

I come to the fifth question: the strike, the factory and the RGO work. It is superfluous in this question to repeat what on the improvement of working this area has been so clearly and seriously told by Comrade Dahlem. The size Importance of a radical improvement of our work in this area is also in closely connected with our anti-war work, especially by Comrade Remmele was highlighted. We have seen that the question of the struggle against war
is connected with the fact that we induce and enhance the ground resistance at all points create and foundations of the mass movement that the attack against our allow imperialist armaments and war intrigues.

A question that has been neglected in the discussion, concerns the problem of Unorganized. If we say that we deeply into the opposition work on the inner Union front to climb in that we breach the ADGB Front, the Front must beat the reformist trade unions, thus forms the no objection to emphasizing the importance of the unorganized workers. Even the unorganized you win only our class line in the fight against the social-democratic and reformist deceptions, in the mobilization for the defense of their Vital interests.

On the issue of strike strategy comrade theses represent the biggest mistakes. Theses says: The error of the district headquarters in the Ruhr had been lying in the fact "that we through us Set of circumstances 14 days to three weeks before the January, misled, the Slogan of the mass strike issue ". What does that mean? This is a comparison of the mass strike on the economic Partial strikes, which is a representation, as if the watchword of mass political strikes the general strike armor have weakened. So this is the erroneous theory that the "About politicization" that the excessive elaboration of policy issues debt failure the strike movement was. Comrade theses further explains:

"If we consider the question of the victorious strike in the material realm as in the foreground filters, is in my opinion the risk that we out of the impasse in which we find ourselves, not get out, do not cause major partial strikes. " Comrade theses So we tend to believe that the strike can almost not be victorious, that with them almost nothing can materially pop out for the workers. Is this our Setting? Our demand on triggering, organizing and unfolding of struggles and strikes is but a question of defending the vital interests of the workers. And me say no more: About the current living standards also have the demands of the workers be fought. Does the view Thesens Lenin's determination to which I have referred in the abstract, that the workers see a tangible benefit must to fight? Of course, we can provide not only the question as communists, whether pop out a few pennies wage increase or not. That's not the main issue. But simply waive this question of the defense of concrete demands negate - that would be a sectarianism, one turned upside down opportunism. Comrades, that would an incentive for the bourgeoisie, their attacks on the standard of living of workers strengthen.

The remarks of Comrade Saefkow were generally correct and undoubtedly interesting for the plenary. But when he says that "a certain degree of Depression in the ranking employees " are, we must admit, it would be wrong in such individual phenomena the cause of the weakness of our successes in question the struggles to look. Reversed: Our weaknesses are the cause of such Moods, if they exist. On no account must you behind the masses hide. Saefkow has not "done, but there is a certain danger that Such conclusions that can arise.

A second question: Comrade Saefkow says: "The fluctuation is the cause that the inner
The disposition of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie

"Life of the RGO and the red organizations is not as available as it should be. Conversely, it would have been correct. Even if a weak inner life is present, this creates the fluctuation. It is also from this fact practical to draw conclusions.

Also was a weak point in the remarks of Comrade Selbmann who in Matter of sending delegations to the reformist trade union offices, wanted to defend the errors of the Saxon district headquarters. In addition one must say only yes no new edition of the theory "Forcing the big shots!" The Saxon comrades should this correct errors immediately self-critical.

The conversion of the operating working throughout the life of the party, as and in the resolution called for the Unit, is no small matter. Comrade Ulbricht in the discussion very trying hard grain-raising by means of examples and facts and invigorating to work influence of the party in this regard. Likewise Comrade Schulte. Comrade Schehr has also concrete examples from the experiences in Brunswick and the entire district argued on the one hand the successes in the question of political mass strikes and successful economic strikes, on the other hand illuminate weaknesses of the work. The Plenum must go in wearing such a spirit in the entire party that the decisions in immediately and with the greatest energy put this question in attack, and together are associated with the creative forces of the masses to carry out.

To work among the unemployed

Some unemployed for question:
We have 61/4 million unemployed in Germany. Yesterday a newspaper brought the Message that we next have about 6 million short-time workers. Given this huge Million army must investigate why it anyway no significant are mass actions of the unemployed.

What practical options are available to promote this work?
First, a better connection with the premises must be created.
Second: An offensive line in the direction of jobless claims, which mainly Demand for unemployment insurance at the expense of entrepreneurs.
Thirdly toughest defense of all existing institutions and fight for their expansion, for the fulfillment of the unemployed demands.
Fourth Strongest political work among the unemployed, their attraction to all Campaigns, use of unemployed in strikes, in the anti-fascist mass struggle, etc., to promote a more political life among the unemployed.
Fifth, use of unemployed labor to break into the mass of free unionized workers.
Sixth, against the "labor procurement" vertigo ADGB and strongest Mobilization for our jobless claims.
Some remarks on the disposition of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Duddins has made on this issue, some embodiments, due to the number of comments are necessary. Which party represents most determined the course of finance capital? Undoubtedly, the German Nationalists. That is why we say that Hugenberg the whip and Impellers of the fascist course of finance capital is. That is why we are also working in the Resolution out that Hugenberg himself created the mass base in the Nazis Has. At present, the candidate of the bourgeoisie are after much hesitation to Reich presidential elections designated. The German Nationalists with the steel helmet and the Nazis put on separate candidacies. Does that mean a contradiction to our view that the Nazis proposed the mass base for Hugenberg? Not at all! These are among the various candidates in the camp of the bourgeoisie one part to tactical maneuvers, on the other hand a certain amount of competition, but as Lenin once said, not about the competition between two heads of sections in an office goes. The special nomination of the Nazis and the German National easier to For the SPD to choose their slogan, Hindenburg. Conversely brings Hitler's candidacy also a certain relaxation in the Nazi supporters who would rebel else partially. The Duesterberg Candidacy finally the helmet is practically a dialing aid for Hindenburg. The Proletariat must not be bluffing from this whole game and competition. And how now represents the role of the Centre? The center can its present function as the leading government party especially therefore first claim because, as we in our resolution say "as a unifying factor of fascism" at best the allows reciprocal utilization of the SPD and the Nazis.

On the question of Luxemburgism

Just a few remarks on the question of Luxemburgism. One can do without it, in this issue more fully deal with Comrade Munzenberg because firstly his explanations present here in Münzenberg the inaccuracy of his statement notes on the relationship of Rosa Luxemburg to Leninism itself, although it here a lack of clarity in a question is that was asked frequently in recent times. It is impossible, the Rosa Luxemburg error with the objective conditions in Germany prewar justified.

Lenin and the German working class

To further clarify this problem, I would like an article of Comrade Lenin to mention position Rosa Luxemburg in the Russian party discussion. It is a matter of those products from the Lenin speaks in his letter to August Bebel, in whom I spent have pointed Unit. Lenin wrote this article in German language and the "New Age" sent, but Kautsky rejected the recording. The article, which in its German version is so far appeared only in the Russian edition of Lenin's works, includes the following phrases:

"The article of Comrade Rosa Luxembourg in paragraphs 42/43 of the" New Age "exert a review imputes about my Russian book the crisis in our party ... Comrade Rosa Luxembourg
I actually thought that all the preconditions for the implementation of a large and highly centralized workers' party in Russia already exist. Once an actual untruth. Nowhere in my book I expressed these thoughts, let represented. Something otherwise was and is, I confirm my thesis: I was namely that all Preconditions are already in place to recognize the decisions of the Congress, and that the time is already past, replacing a party College by a private circle. I brought the Evidence a that certain academics in our Party their inconsistency and Unstandhaftigkeit disclosed, and that they had no right, their lack of discipline in the shoe of the Russian pushing proletarians. The workers of Russia have often, in the most diverse Occasions in favor of obeying the party congress resolutions. It is almost ridiculous when Comrade Luxembourg a pertinent statement to be "optimistic" explains ... Rosa Luxembourg wants to talk about the present situation of our party, ignoring completely our Congress who actually laid the real foundation of our party .... Comrade Rosa Luxembourg ignored majestically the concrete facts of our Party struggle and declaims magnanimous about questions that are impossible to discuss seriously ... The reader who will take the trouble to get to know the original sources of our party struggle, is easy understand that the statements of Comrade Rosa Luxembourg on the ultra-centralism, on the Need a gradual centralization udm concrete and practical a mockery of our Congress are abstract and theoretical (if this can be of a theory mentioned), nothing but a flattening of Marxism, as an abuse of real Marxian dialectics are so. "

This article, the German Social Democracy under the leadership of Bebel and Kautsky the German workers withholding, shows in the clearest form of the Rosa Luxemburg errors and the method of Lenin, who recognized its great importance as a revolutionary and nevertheless did not hesitate to fulfill its misconceptions the sharpest principled struggle to lead. Again, corroborated the fact that yes, and from the entire history Practice of the Bolshevik Party gives Solo Bolshevism embodied in the II. International unconditional application and continuation of Marxism, Realization of the legacy of Marx and Engels. To this international role of Bolshevism is on it now We especially loved the letter of Comrade Stalin pointed in the strongest terms. That was the great fact to which Comrade Neumann has pointed that Leninism, Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and the World revolution is, the according to the situation and the historical tasks was applied and developed, based on the scientific foundations, Marx and Engels had given. If Comrade Munzenberg says, as he himself during the war with Lenin together, one must ask the question sharper way. There are with us comrades who have not undergone such a school.

Party program and Party History

A few words to the questions of our program and the party's history. We already have last November in Polbüro accordance with a decision of the VI. World Congress of the sections required to elaborate a draft program to the VII. World Congress, asked this question. Preliminary work is already underway. Today's plenary session of the Central Committee will be elected by its decision a particular program Commission have. Furthermore, the issue of party history. We have also decided that at least the first section of the party history to cleavage Party USPD in Halle in attack is taken. So that means that we need to gather materials today, to zoom forward together on this difficult and responsible work.
Yet some concluding remarks to ideological offensive: The most important thing we need to realize is the question of the connection of the ideological offensive with revolutionary practice. The ideological offensive is on the line of uplift our revolutionary mass work. The ideological offensive is indispensable from Standpoint of revolutionary practice. It is inextricably linked with the revolutionary Self-criticism.

*Bolshevik self-criticism is control and help*

It has been said here by some comrades that there are tendencies that criticism attenuate to dismiss natured about errors or make them smaller. We would no Bolsheviks if we give such tendencies. And we give here for our plenary session from the serious declaration that the vigilance of the party in the Implementation of their general line, the Bolshevik vigilance to the theoretical Front, as remains in the practical work, and that we Bolshevik the will apply self-criticism as a method that does not mean only control but also help to educate the party comrade and to lead them forward.

One last word on the question of the "Iron Front". The discussion has clearly result: The "Iron Front", this large-scale maneuvers of the Social Democrats, the at the same time serves the terrorist organizations, civil war organizations of social fascism zoom pull, is exceptionally important. It is the SPD, the reformist Unions and the Reichsbanner succeeded in some of their followers illusions to awaken. This again confirms our view that the party through the must learn tightening their principled struggle that lies maneuver to crush social democracy.

*Offensive defense of the party against the class enemy*

I will conclude, comrades. A few words on the question of defense of the party against the class enemy. I have already pointed out in the paper that the Lies campaign against the Soviet Union will continue to intensify. I refer here to the fact that, for example, the Social Democratic "Chemnitzer Volksstimme" a while ago A to Z fake log about an alleged meeting of the Communist International publications - such a meeting never took place - on the allegedly Comrade Manuilsky to have spoken. It is in this "protocol" that the Communists "want to deliver deliberately Nazi state power, so that they the Social democracy, the unions and the Social Democratic influence liquidate, the ie smash ". Hitler was "in the current portion of the development of the German Revolution our undoubted ally ". All this is said to Comrade Manuilsky have.

Comrades, these lies are made a little clumsy. But that's only until the first Beginning. We are still very different facts of this anti-Bolshevik experience lies offensive intensifies, the more active the bourgeoisie, the problem of Intervention war against the Soviet Union represents.
Comrades, we are a part of the Communist world party in a country that we as
one of the weakest links of the imperialist world system conceived in a country,
where the economic crisis with the vibrations of the Versailles Treaty still
more interwoven. On us rests a special historic responsibility. And this plenary
must be a step forward to solve our major tasks arising from the situation
arise.
Go to work, increasingly out of touch with the masses of the working class, extended and
increases the activity of the party and the masses. As part of the struggles that stand before us,
will have to create the conditions that we wrestle the dictatorship of
Bourgeoisie and the victory march of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Brochure,
published by the KPD,
Berlin 1932
At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on 14 and 15 May, and in his speech on the eve of elections in Oldenburg, the leader of the German Communists, Comrade Ernst Thalmann, the passed groundbreaking KPD program of assistance to the toiling peasants of the public. The Communist Party calls on the workers, employees, the lower officials and small traders, the struggle of suffering Bauer million to its very existence, against seizure and Foreclosures, support.

The farmer utility of the CP is clearly the line of social and national freedom from program August 1930 continued. This historic document must be taken in all the villages, on the whole countryside. Everywhere the workers of the city have to ally themselves with the rural proletariat and the working peasantry and prove to them that the Communist Party alone to rescue the starving peasant masses against the Hunger Action of the enemies of the people fighting.

Help for the oppressed peasants

The debts of small and medium farmers, wineries, vegetable farmers and small-scale fishers be at least 5 billion marks!

*We require crackdown this debt!*

The amount of debt interest toiling peasants to the banks and money Wucherer at least 500 million marks!

*Way with this tribute to finance capital!*

The direct taxation of small farmers are at least 150 million marks a year!

*We call for repeal of this tax burden and reduction of taxes for the middle peasants!*

The indirect taxes which burden the working peasantry when purchasing products strongly and by increasing cost of living expenses of urban masses, the marketing of products restrict peasant economy strong, a major cause of the large price difference between Producer and consumer prices are, amount to around 5 billion mark!

*We demand abolition of indirect taxes!*

The lease expense of working farmers be at least 400 million marks annually.

*We demand abolition of this tribute to the landlords!*

18000 large farms in Germany have more than 5.2 million hectares agricultural area (not counting forest ownership).

*We demand expropriation of large estates and unpaid*

*Providing land for land-poor farmers and farmers' sons!*
2.5 billion marks are the Brüning government for so-called "aid to Eastern Europe" the East Elbe Junkers, big farmers and bankers.

We call for State aid for the toiling peasants, providing 2.5 billion Osthilfemittel exclusively for the working people!

Increase the feed and industrial tariff policy of Brüning Schiele Pegierung the Production costs of the peasant economy by about 40 percent. The Corn Laws increase the cost of living of people depending on purchase of food grain farmers, restrict the consumption power of the masses and thus the outlet for the products of Bauernwirtschaft enormous one.

We demand abolition of anti-popular tariffs!

hundreds of thousands small Farmers, farmers' sons and daughters have by Mass unemployment the need to preserve traditional existence merit lost wage labor. means the mass unemployment and short-time working in Germany Only a reduction in the mass of income and consumption power by 5 billion Mark annually. Restore this consumer power means expanding the Sales market for agricultural products by 40 percent of the total value of German agricultural production. The drawn up by the Communist Party Program to create jobs by reducing working hours to 40 hours a week with pay, housing and road construction, river management, etc. allows for work all unemployed and improving the mass consumption power.

We call for accelerated implementation of the work program of the KPD procurement!

Through laws and regulations of the Reichstag and the government have determined that Tens of thousands of pointed affected by unemployment, wage labor Small farmers, young farmers, as well as the small-scale fishers, no unemployment benefits obtained thus ruin their small business is accelerated.

We call for full support for the entire duration of unemployment, and for those of Unemployment affected small farmers, the peasant youth small fishing!

The burden of old parts, to secure their well-earned evening of old Farmers, has become intolerable for hundreds of thousands of farms. Expenditure ill family members (doctor and medication costs, etc.) can largely are no longer supported by the peasant masses. Altenteil and medical expenses burden the peasant farms with at least 500 million marks annually.

We urge government retirement and medical care for the peasantry, wineries and Fischer!

Their fascist decree of March 27, 1931 decreed the Brüning-Schiele Government in favor of large landowners the forcible restriction of cultivation of Sugar beet by 30 to 40 percent for farm sugar beet growers. With the help of Reich Branntweinmonopols the government has the benefit of the large distilleries a outrageous restriction on the internal law of smallholder burner.
We demand immediate lifting of sugar beet Kontigentierungs Ordinance of 03.27.1931 and the abolition of restriction internal law of small peasant burner!

The contractor drove an unprecedented offensive to reduce the wages of workers and Staff by 10 to 30 percent. The implementation of this wage robbery would a reduction the mass consumption power by a further 4 to 5 billion marks, and thus more Restriction of the sales market for agricultural products by about 30 to 40 percent of mean total value of German agricultural production, and also reduction the income of the still standing in custom work small farmers and peasant youth. Under Communist Party leadership and the RGO therefore has the laboring peasantry the struggle of the proletariat support: Against every penny wage cuts! Around 2 billion marks annually be laid down by the Young Plan Reparations, the German capitalists fully from the working masses Press out.

We call for setting the reparations!

The bourgeoisie chatters of facilitation and removal of reparations, thinks However that only the moneybags of the rich and increasing their profits. Their slogan is: give the rich and the poor steal! Therefore, all these fight demands to help the working peasantry of disregards this capitalist government and fought in the strongest terms.

The toiling peasantry must, under the leadership of the Communist Party for this Insert Bauer demands and in firm alliance with the industrial proletariat for Implementation of these demands are fighting everywhere. The only guarantee for the victorious Implementation of the requirements is the common struggle for the overthrow of capitalist Rule, for the establishment of workers 'and peasants' government, that is for a free socialist Soviet Germany!

*The Red flag,*
*05/22/1931*