Ernst Thalmann

Speeches and articles
about history
German
labor movement

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Thalmann battle cry

against imperialist war,
against capitalist system,
Tribute to slavery and fascism,
for red united front,
for work, bread and freedom,
for the revolutionary way out!

Flaming appeal to the working class and the working classes

The huge mass rally of the KPD-Ruhr in Europe's largest hall in the crowded Dortmund Westfalenhalle, received by the first major campaign speech of the red presidential candidates Thalmann and particularly by the decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, in conjunction with the national and social liberation program elaborated and proclaimed by Comrade Thalmann declaration its special and programmatic significance.

The mass cheers of those present in the hall 25000 workers and laborers, the enthusiastic response among the remaining 25,000 marched in five other Dortmund halls and in the streets proves the proletarians deep attachment of the working masses with their Bolshevik Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Thalmann. It demonstrates the willingness of the masses in the struggle class against class, by outside parliamentary mass movement against the front of the national and social oppressors, against the reactionary front of Hitler to Wels, against fascism and the front of the criminal Kriegsprovokateure be classified under the leadership of the KPD in the red united front. Comrade Thalmann Proclamation of the revolutionary Ausweges is the campaign's special and basic Stamp on. Comrade Thalmann leads, greeted by several minutes of, gale-force applause from:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the KPD and the red class front I bring this mighty Muster the Ruhr proletariat the most fraternal and revolutionary greetings.
It has a deep meaning, that the Communist Party your campaign of the heart opened and tried from here its strategic line and their great German industry Aim to illustrate the working people of all Germany.
When seven years ago around this time began, the then presidential campaign, were present in many millions still big illusions. Seven lean years are the Promises followed. These seven years of great teaching and tremendous experience German working class are of the utmost importance.
These millions are now faced with the question of whether the open fascist dictatorship to come or whether the proletariat recognizes its huge power and following the example of the Russian Worker performs his freedom struggle.

Hindenburg and the SPD - 1925-1932

1925 we said that the Social Democracy of Marx came to Wilhelm Marx.
Today we have to conclude that the SPD of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht the steel helmet General Hindenburg came. To the ruthlessness with which the SPD
shall in its campaign to brand, is reminded here of what Social Democracy seven years ago, wrote to the then presidential election. At that time, namely on 9 April 1925, read in the "forward" the following: "Herr von Hindenburg is a monarchist from head to toe. Its members include a bolster and slippers." Today, all Social Democratic and Republican leaders and arrangers of "Iron Front" for the election of Hindenburg. What they ableugneten 1925 they do today! So to expose all Hindenburg parties.

One can say that the patience of the SPD-workers exhausted more and more, even the SPD Workers will no longer take part of this policy.

Against parliamentary illusions

Never Hitler is by the presidential election and its other policies liberation of the German people from the Young slavery perform. We Communists make these Candidate of the bourgeoisie the candidate of the working class against. The Communist Party will not lead the campaign with the illusion, as if the Workers and laborers believe the worker candidate would in this election, the majority get. It would mean the same illusion that the SPD their electorate einhämmt. You tricked their members so as if the emergency regulations "the Road to socialism"!

The decision about the victory of our struggle class against class is not in elections fail, but outside the Parliament.

The current campaign mean for us extraparliamentary mass mobilization to not only to solve the problems that can be corrected, the proletariat now, but the Proletariat to higher historical tasks uplift.

The independent candidacy class that we, as representatives of the Communist Party represent, is only part of the revolutionary communist politics.

We do not say Selects Thalmann, then you have bread and freedom. We say, for bread and Freedom must fight her! We therefore make this campaign preceded the battle vow: Class against class, the struggle vow for our political struggle and demands for a councils Germany.

This large commitment and struggle vow is so rousing the masses of indifferent, yet away from stationary masses of working people work, the greater the number of Communist voters. That is why we call for the mobilization of the presidential election, so weighs every vote from the standpoint of the proletarian class struggle, mobilizing about we faithful to the teachings of Marx and Lenin for the candidacy of the representative of the proletarian class.

Chaos crisis in capitalism

Just as the presidential elections are just one part of our overall revolutionary policy, we must proceed from the overall situation today. What about the capitalist system throughout the world and particularly in Germany?

In all countries, unemployment is growing. In all countries will bring salaries. In all Countries goes back production. In all countries, social benefits are mined. Throughout the policy response or even the application of fascist rises Suppression methods. The economic crisis has also detected the countries that initially Remained spared, such as France, Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian Countries.

What we witnessed in Germany since the beginning of the banking crash in the summer of 1931 who can also be seen in the wider world: Everywhere a severe shock to the
Credit system and main difficulty for Finance.

Bankruptcy before the door

It is clear that if more and more unemployed people flying on the pavement from the production, if fewer wages and support is paid, then sink the
Control inputs, then even the ruined middle class pay more taxes. Then is the hole in the public finances getting bigger, then stands in many countries, as the case today, the national bankruptcy at the door. That's already in South America, Austria, Hungary and other countries in the case.

Or take Germany: In recent days, arises as to how the bourgeois press notifies out suddenly that the major banks to have a deficit of one billion have. One billion, ie one billion mark, they lack to implement its obligations comply. Now finance capital has the bank merger, by the Consolidation of large banks, a maneuver performed to the public calm, now is, as we are already used since last summer, from the Pockets of taxpayers again half a billion to bankrupt banks in the throat thrown, and it is hoped that financial disaster postpone for a while. Of the Decline of the capitalist system, the collapse of an entire number of giant corporations and banks - all featuring the aggravated crisis.

6¼ million unemployed and 6 million short-time workers in Germany - these raw figures are already a terrible indictment of the capitalist system.

Industrial area makes an impression of a graveyard

Take for example the situation here in the Ruhr area. In 1930 were 353040 Promoted tons of coal per working day. In 1931, only 281 966 tonnes per Working. During the last three years, no fewer than 142,000 workers from the Mining excreted. Of which in 1931 about half. The entire industrial area with the countless abandoned coal mines today gives the impression of a cemetery.

The whole insanity of the capitalist system appears today more clearly than ever before. This is so in Germany, which is around the World. Take, for example, a message that came from New York some time ago. America was you know, the land on which the reformists and SPD leaders always the German workers have pointed. And what does that message from New York? While millions of workers starve, annihilate the entrepreneurs to increase prices, huge quantities of milk, Vegetables, fruits and other foodstuffs. The dairy farms pour hundreds of thousands Gallons of milk into the rivers. Millions of children unsupported unemployed no milk. The destruction of milk reached such an extent that the director of health in New York State a notice publications, is in the warned that "Fish can perish if milk in such quantities is poured into the rivers. " For similar methods also attack the fruit and vegetable farmers. Recently were in Los Angeles (CA) 120 wagons carbon destroyed. In many places the fruit trees are like. Tremendous quantities of apples and other fruits were allowed to rot in the gardens. In a rayon were burned 30,000 chicks to increase the prices of poultry.

Shareholders feast - the people are hungry!
The capitalists, their system for this mismanagement, for this madness, for Anarchy is responsible for providing the most brutal effort to still at the helm to stay. No agent is too poor to obtain their profits. This can be understood if one knows the income of these people. Suppose a
In the incomes of directors and supervisory boards of public companies in Germany. It gives in Germany 11344 Stock companies. The Total annual income of the directors of these public companies amounted on 31 December. August 1931 1702000000 Mark. Mind you, this is only the sum that they willingly have taxed. In fact, they have even more "occupied". So prassen the capitalists, while the people starve. They feel that their system staggers she feel that the masses no longer want to bear this mismanagement patient. So grab them to the strongest measures of the attack on the working masses. The policy of Capitalists, with which they want to force a way out of the crisis, ie:

Hunger, fascism, war

We see the politics of hunger. They do not need to discuss in detail, almost everyone among the millions she feels firsthand. What are the emergency regulations Bruning or Braun-Severing in practice? Of the Wage cuts, the support removal, the strike prohibitions - took the last emergency decree again four billion workers, employees and civil servants, yes, more than 4 billion that the capitalist pack the toiling masses steals from his mouth. These are, from the standpoint the individual proletarians: a bread less a week, even less fat than meat or previously, even less milk for the children of workers than before. What does the Customs Wall, as he is today erected by the German capitalists? Let's take the rye bread. It costs in Germany by the customs Rogge almost twice as much as, for example, in Czechoslovakia or Poland. With the whip of hunger, capital tries to make the working masses and crumbly from them squeeze out even more for their own profit!

Fascist dictatorship and terror whip

Or take fascism. What is so in Germany? That the Notverordnungspolitik the growing fascist attacks of the class enemy against comprising the working people, today no one dares to challenge. Every worker knows how the disenfranchisement and repression over the past year has grown. Let's just take an example: the growing fascist murder terror. The Red Aid has set up a statistic, from the result, the egregious facts. In 1930, 41 workers were murdered by the Nazis, in 1931 59 workers. In January this year, so alone in a month, 10 more workers. If one adds to, that proletarian in this period since 1930 about 90 workers in demonstrations and other Rallies were shot by the police in that 7000 proletarian political Prisoners currently behind prison walls sitting, that it is not less than 40000 proletarian political defendants are, and that the number of light and heavy casualties, in addition to the 200 dead workers is 19,200, so you can only a right image of the monstrous degree of suppression and terror of the bourgeoisie against the German proletariat make. But that's not all: You do so at the expense of working people, at the expense of
Proles their compliance policies.
Year after year, billions of tributes from the masses of working people blackmailed. Not only the actual reparations to the German workers, Pay SMEs and farmers out of her pocket, but also the so-called "private" debt to the foreign finance capital and the interest. The means annual two billion marks alone for this "private" debt. Two billion marks, ie 2000 Million Mark that, her workers, employees proletarian housewives distressed SMEs, exploited officials and poor farmers from land muster with your hardships and your work must! But all who hunger and fascism are not the worst crimes of capitalist robbers and their system. Your worst crime is: imperialist war.

Worst crimes: Imperialist War

While we are gathered here in Shanghai thundering cannons, puts the Japanese Imperialism his claws around the throat of the Chinese people, destroyed with Gas grenades and bombs, with barrage whole villages and towns, whole Blocks of red working-class neighborhood in the metropolis of Shanghai, slaughters thousands and but thousands of Chinese working people down.

Some Social Democratic workers wondering amazed: Where is the instrument that its leaders have called an "instrument of peace", the League of Nations? We Communists have said the workers have always been, that the League is not a Peace, but a war instrument that only has the purpose of the working masses capture by pacifist illusions of the dark plans of the capitalist powers. In Geneva, the cheeky grimace Japanese imperialists comes to light. The Chinese representative, As for the the capitalist powers for help there, was treated as not having a dog treats. The social fascist Boncour, Socialist agent of French bourgeoisie, dared the war in the Far East as "a misunderstanding" to describe. Only one power in the world are there who really fights for peace, which is the Soviet Union. From Versailles to the Hoover plan we Communists of the bourgeoisie ruthlessly the mask torn from his face. Even at the present so-called Conference on Disarmament is the representative of the Soviet Government, Comrade Litvinov, the only, really fighting against the imperialist war.

Comrade Thalmann then deals at length with the problems of Sino-Japanese War, where he the notorious Tanaka memorandum in which the objectives of Japanese imperialism with brutal clearly sets out, draws on the evidence of the war plans against the Soviet Union.

The war in the Far East shows us the monstrous plan of the imperialists, China divide and enslave the Chinese and Soviet revolution with bloody violence strangle. But this war is also against the Soviet Union. Already formed in Manchuria White Guard armies to the Soviet Vladivostok attack. After the Japanese imperialism has ignited the torch of war, grows the monstrous danger that immediately the world crime of the imperialists, the War of intervention against the Soviet Union, flares. Comrades, I say with all seriousness that the hour of the war against the Soviet Union still has never been so close as now. The bourgeoisie of all countries sees the war, the large Business. The show innumerable omissions of the bourgeois press. Even such newspapers as the
"German", the organ of the Christian trade unions, rushing to war. The shares of Defense industry rise.

The plenary session of the Central Committee

The plenary session of the Central Committee of our party, which was held a few days ago, therefore rightly at the heart of our revolutionary work in the fight against the Imperialist war crimes provided. We call: Hands off China! Against the Partition of China by the imperialists! For the protection of Chinese Soviet Revolution! And above all, for the most active defense of the Soviet Union! We declare from this point: We are the only party that fights for peace. The Defense of the Soviet Union is the defense of the socialist fatherland of Workers of the world. If the imperialists should dare to attack on the Soviet Union, will enter what our Comrade Stalin said:

We Communists show the proletarian way in Germany!

Even against the Young slavery and against Versailles there is only one way: The
Working class must take the place of capitalist slavery the victory of socialism set! The presidential elections are dominated by the struggle of two worlds: There, the world capitalist warmongers, the capital servants, here the world of working class and socialism!

There, the Field Marshal von Hindenburg, for the Leipart and Noske their signatures have put under the nationalist election manifesto, in which the sentence is, Hindenburg did during the war "Our weapons victorious in enemy territory worn". Here we see the bellicosity of the German bourgeoisie.

The second candidate, Mr Duesterberg, is the Chairman of the Stahlhelm, whose Honorary Chairman Hindenburg's. Here one can only say: the same caps, same brothers!

The third candidate, the party of fascist murder terror has placed the man of joint conferences with the industrialists, Adolf Hitler, is the mortal enemy of social and national liberation.

Hitler incited the interest of capitalist exploitation and policy of fulfillment its killer on the proletarian freedom fighters! Thrice - again today - the Nazis in Reichstag against the setting of the tribute and against the withdrawal of Germany taken out of the League of Nations position and the Communist requests that this include receivables, brought to reject.

Against this united front of workers enemies we call on workers, toiling layers, the women and the youth! The fascist attacks we oppose the front of the red mass self-protection.

Never be the workers of Germany, this highly developed industrial country, it tolerate and admit that the Nazis to conquer this country. But of course the oriented policy of the bourgeoisie on exploitation and plundering of the toiling masses not to the question of the composition of the government.

The Brüning government is that in the policy of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship Germany operates. The Christian center, driven by Hugenberg, this most impeller and whip the policy of finance capital, is that his actions against the masses, the policy of "cold fascization"

performs. The Christian center, the party of the Reich regulations, the party with social democracy bears the greatest responsibility for the whole mass of misery, it is that the services of financial capital bears the greatest responsibility for the whole mass of misery, it is, the serving of finance capital, the mutual utilization of the SPD and the Nazis operates.

The entire offensive of the bourgeoisie is directed against our party, the bourgeoisie in illegality would urge. The masses are struggling with the utmost firmness for maintenance of legality. But if a party such as ours that not merely by bloodlessness formulas, rather by struggle and by blood sacrifice hard as steel is forged, would be forced by the bourgeoisie, to the legality illegal pass, then we will tell in this campaign:

*We will never, neither in the legality, still in hiding, our revolutionary duties neglect or set against the proletariat.*

We feel connected with the masses, because we embody the future. We embody the way out. We are the only party to submit to the masses a program, a way
In August 1930, the Central Committee of our party has his freedom program created that shows the way of social and national liberation.

Combat declaration of the Central Committee

A few days ago, at the last meeting of our Central Committee, we have a new Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided that is passed to the public. In this Declaration states:

"Every worker, every worker in operation, every unemployed on the dole, every employee in the office, each craftsman and small business, every farmer behind the plow has the knowledge:
As long as capitalism exists in Germany as long as there can be no liberation from the chains the Versailles robbery peace and Young slavery give!
As long as the factories, the mines, banks and large estates to private capitalist exploiters are, as long as the ruling class is also in the service of international plunder finance capital, the German working class and toilers twice and suppress! ...

Who wants to smash the double yoke of social and national slavery, marching with the Communist Party! In our ranks is the flowering of proletarian youth. The bravest, sacrificing and combative usual regiments of the German working class follow us.
At all the working people of Germany was made our reputation: Fight with us against every penny wage and content robbery, increased to every penny of support and pension robbery, against every penny tax burden! Every penny, the one takes you, is a tribute penny for the capitalists Germany and France, England and America!"

This declaration is for us a new weapon to the masses with tremendous Elan to mobilize to strengthen our battle formations and expand. Today there are millions in Germany, no one knows if he will ever return to the production process, if he returns to the pits, in the factories, in trade or transport ever work gets.
These arms are opposed driven to starvation. The capitalists who Social Democratic leaders and the fascists talk all like the "National community". What is this word? What did the capitalist Volksausplünderer with the working people in common? As much as the louse with the people in common!

Two fronts face each other!

The struggle between these two class fronts is in Germany more violent will. Already announced the Hitler party intensified murder terror. Mr Gregor Strasser explained literally a few weeks ago what the Hitler party for a government program:

"Marxists there when we rule, not more. Who is committed to any International, listen on to be a German and who should call about "Heil Moscow", is suspended."

Or take the Essen Nazi Journal that announced for the Third Reich that the Bone of RGO leader in light morning breeze rattling the lampposts to today "bleaching will. All these bloodthirsty terrorist plans are on the heroic Contempt of death and the proletarian determination to fight the red united front Nothing shattered. Millions are already with deadly enmity against the capitalist system. Millions remember that it does not this continues, millions lined up already in the red class front one. Today's massive military parade shows the enthusiasm of Masses of our party is the only party of the proletariat in Germany.
Take a small example: Even the middle class fights back. This shows the Beer strike in Berlin and Hamburg, the light strikes the small business in Hamburg and more. So always be new layers in the struggle against the capitalist system dragged and recognize the proletarian leadership. They understand our slogan in the presidential campaign:

For the poor, against the rich!

We are the only party that is not affiliated with any clique of finance capital. Could you imagine that at this rally, as with Hitler, the precious luxury cars Industrialist appear? Come to us other cars: the trucks of the proletarians, but especially the famous police car, the raid cars. That's no disgrace for us, but an honor!
The Germany of today is not belongs to the poor! The Germany of today is the Germany the Young system, the Germany of millionaires and their lackeys, the Hitler and SPD leaders.

We want a different Germany. This other Germany is on the march! The Germany, are exempt where her from the chains of capitalist and Versailles Slavery!
The Germany, where only shall eat, who also works!
*The Germany that belongs to us and in which the proletariat is the ruling class, the all the power in her hands!*
*For this Germany attaches an enthusiastic martial vows on March 12 from: For the Germany the proletarian victory!*

*The Red flag*, 
01/03/1932
The slogan of the Red Berlin: Thalmann!

20000 cheer the red worker candidates at the Sports Palace to
Tens of thousands in 13 parallel rallies
Comrade Thalmann reputation against imperialist war
Settlement with Lobe program Declaration of social and national
Freedom policy of the coming councils Germany

So triumphant as at yesterday evening never roared the "International" by the Sports Palace. The Working people of Berlin yesterday since his voice. It flooded the West to tens of thousands. It filled the largest hall of Berlin, the Sports Palace hours before the rally Thalmann. It moved on to other halls that were crowded in seconds. It moved through the streets by the thousands, also in the 13 parallel rallies in the districts found no inlet. The Notverordnungspfer came hours far marching in the cold and snow. The working masses of Berlin cast their ballots, and That voice kept shouting: "Long live the Communist Party! Long live its leader, the Presidential candidate of the red united front! Long live Ernst Thalmann"

Elan and sacrifice, revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm give our rallies the stamp.

But what happened at the Sports Palace yesterday, no one has ever experienced: This storm of jubilation, the rose, as the workers' Ernst Thalmann entered the hall, in front of him, pushed head to head, 20,000 representatives of the KPD Cheering toilers, beside and behind a column Flags and transparent support to the other,

Flags and banners that proclaimed there:
"Here marching on entered National Socialist Workers!"
"We former policemen fighting with the Communists!"
"Select Former Sajler Thalmann!"

The masses have risen from their seats. They salute the flag that reads, in letters of fire:
"Schutzstaffel Hans brothers!" You clap to the uniformed giant Delegation Berlin transport workers. they waving the invading railway workers, the state workers, the postal learning. You thunder their "Rot Front!"

, Reported the class comrades who have just entered the hall a banner on their heads, on the is: "Neukölln SAP from the splitter to the red united front!"

There is only one requirement, stating these masses, there is only one goal that they have; there is only one will, animates them:

Finally with this system? We want a free, socialist councils-Germany!

Speech of Comrade Thalmann
Comrades!

Today's revolutionary military parade in the rally in the streets of the red Berlin shows the huge, passionate attachment of the revolutionary proletariat case Berlin with the Communist Party.

We know that no dirt and lies are proved right, but the facts of Policy of one party as opposed to the facts of the policy of the other parties. If we today find in this demonstration, that all class enemies, all class enemies that the People cheat, the poor, the German workers from their blood and sweat, the Tribute penny squeeze, we must from this point in particular the development of today can reminisce years 1918th

Hindenburg broadcast speech - slaps for SPD

A few minutes ago the imperial Field Marshal spoke on the radio to his so-called program to explain to the masses. What did Hindenburg in this short Speech? He said that he is not a candidate of the left, not a candidate of the black-red-golden Front was. He has thus given the social democracy a slap. He further said, that his candidacy was offered to him by the rights groups and so he aggravated the Slap, which was a double slap to the Social Democracy.

On the question of the Young Plan, he said, it could not be avoided, the Young Plan to sign. And on the question of emergency regulations, he informed that he from the military Point of the emergency decrees, yet they brought heavy loads, necessary consider. And at the end of his speech he declared that in all his actions he remember the spirit of 1914, which must animate us again.

Comrades, this speech of the imperial Field Marshal Hindenburg is proof for the boldness with which these and audacity SPD leaders millions of people into Face hitting.

We take stock of 14 years

Comrades, in these weeks in which in Germany for the third time since November 1918 the choice of the so-called head of state capitalist Republic is to take place, we draw Communists before the vast masses of the German proletariat, the stock of the fourteen years that lie since the end of World War behind us:
At that time, was formed in Germany from the vast masses of the field-gray, the Munitions workers and -arbeiterinnen, from the vast masses of a bleeding and starving people, the army of the revolution.
They formed up under the slogans of Karl Liebknecht, under the slogans of uncompromising struggle against imperialist war and against imperialist Government. They formed up in the sharpest struggle against the Social Democratic Leadership of all shades.
On the morning of November 9, 1918 gave the "forward" the workers, not from "Irresponsible agitators" mislead allow. Yet this morning wanted the Socialist leadership save the German Empire.

*But the masses march over the heads of the social patriotic leaders away.*
Twenty-four hours later, Wilhelm fled to Doorn and a few dozen Prince Throne were swept onto the rubbish heap of history. Back then called Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, the founders of the German Communist Party, the masses of the German proletariat, that it is not enough to overthrow the monarchy, but that drive the revolution forward, building the Soviet power in Germany
must build and socialism.

"Ingrowth" into socialism?

What then answered the German bourgeoisie and social democracy? The Social Democratic leaders declared the German proletariat is not yet ripe to already to govern alone, we could not build socialism. We would have to share power with the bourgeoisie, we needed the contractor for the economy. We would "gradually grow in the way of democracy into socialism".

The capitalist madhouse

It was none other than the well-known Socialist leader of Württemberg, wedge in December 1918 said the following:

socialize "In the middle of this transition period, a piece from the madhouse would be. Midst a world of capitalist states can not a single socialized polity exist ... The Russian model is unable to provoke us. Bolshevik states of keep Germany, is required."

What Wedge said, was at that time in hundreds of thousands of posters across Germany persuaded the crowds: If the Communists come to power, then there is the Anarchy, then there is the madhouse. Therefore let capitalism live!

I ask you, comrades, what is left of all the prophecies today? look to you, in the capitalist world!

Look around you, on the capitalist Germany! The bare facts of reality develop a much more eloquent propaganda against the former lies of social democracy and against the capitalist system than they ever develop a Communist speaker could. I ask those assembled and beyond, millions of people in Germany: is what we today to five-sixths of the earth, in all capitalist see countries and experience, not a piece from the madhouse? What of all the Prophecies and promises of time left?

Hunger of the masses, destruction, decline, rotting of the capitalist economy, fascist disenfranchisement of tens of millions of working people by a handful capitalist drones and parasites and to the terrible crimes of the new imperialist war that the predatory Japanese imperialism in the Far East unleashed - all this is capitalist reality.

The SPD leaders wanted to "build up", but they have in truth only a system of Destruction alive. Destruction of machinery, destruction of lives, Destruction of public health, destruction of ever broader layers of the working people and their existence, destroying all the achievements of human culture - that's the Truth.

And only in the single country where the communists ruling in which the Bolshevism reigns, where the capitalists are off, and the supposedly "Immature proletariat" alone has the power to put into his hands, only in the Soviet Union There is no anarchy, no chaos, there there is no decline, there prevail no States from the "madhouse"! Would a man in the Soviet Union as the economy umspringen how do the capitalists in Germany, so you would him for observation bring his state of mind in a mental hospital. In Germany, however, these People called the flower of the nation. Go in their luxury sedans in Hindenburg
or Brüning or Severing before and determine the entire policy in Germany. And that is why we say in this serious situation in Germany and beyond in the world: The Toll House, of the languages, the social-democratic leaders is, come. But not in the character of Bolshevism, not in the character of the proletarian Dictatorship, but in the character of bourgeois class rule, marked by the Capitalism, in the sign of bourgeois democracy.

*Only Bolshevism means peace, freedom and rise from poverty and misery.*

The vibrant socialism triumphs

This is already no assertion, but the living socialism, as in the Soviet Union from year to year, from month to month luminous and inspiring grows, the practical proof of this assertion. The rise of the socialist Soviet Union, where there are no crises, no unemployment, no fascism, no Warmongering, no oppression and exploitation are where the capitalist profit motive from all the craft is placed - this is the proof of the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, the proof of the triumph of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In the name of this victorious socialism, we also carry this campaign as all our extra-parliamentary mobilization campaigns. We can proudly say of us:

Look to where we Communists are in power where we Communists govern! There we showed what we are able to afford.

*And we are firm and implacable determination, the same work done in Germany accomplish. We are determined to restore order in Germany: socialist Procedure replacing the capitalist anarchy.*

Capitalism has gone bankrupt

What can our class enemies, our class opponents this, our reference to the Triumphs of socialist practice oppose? Have to any areas, even in the victor countries, achieving success? There are in the world, no such Area. On the contrary, they have only failures, only bankruptcy, only incompetence, mismanagement exhibit and fainting.

The program of the three candidates of the bourgeoisie, which is the continuation of the previous capitalist mismanagement, this is the perpetuation of capitalist anarchy. We clearly state in this election campaign, on 13 March and 10 April addition: *We want the working people under the leadership of the proletariat in this madhouse lead out.*

Our class enemies our class enemies, they want to defend the madhouse and receive! Look at them, the candidate of the bourgeoisie. It is the best evidence of the downfall of bourgeois class rule that the bourgeoisie and social democracy today can no longer remember any so-called by the Republicans the vorzusetzen people as candidates to draw up any civilians. That's extremely interesting for this period of history in Germany. One might mockingly say: Man begins in bourgeois Germany to a certain extent until time of officers, and if it has only brought to the corporal as Herr Hitler, so replaced him the big mouth and the phrase the missing officer stressing and
Epaulettes.

The three candidates of the bourgeoisie

The various directions in the camp of the bourgeoisie, especially the Social Democrats, try the masses a principled struggle between the various candidates fake. Whether Hitler whether Duesterberg or Hindenburg be selected which should - as lying to the masses before - constitute a fundamental difference. Is that so? Can you really be so simple as to believe that between the Honorary Chairman of the helmet, the Imperial Field Marshal Hindenburg and the national chairman of the steel helmet a fundamental struggle can be done? No and never! Or can the SPD scams believe that the monarchist Field Marshal Hindenburg the defenders of the people against the interests monarchist corporal and Prince servant Hitler could represent? Only a fool can so believe something!

What about the "fight" of these candidates from among themselves? The "clash of Candidates with each other is just a plain scams maneuvers throughout the bourgeoisie! In the last few days has been blabbed about something. The People's Party leader Dingeldey revealed that Hitler was about to enter for Hindenburg originally. Only Hugenberg and the sub-leader of the Nazis would have dissuaded him from it. And now with one blow should they suddenly be principled opponents?

Or take the Hugenberg candidates Duesterberg. Two days ago it was the new Nazi speaker, Prince August Wilhelm, divulged in Potsdam: Hugenberg wanted in

Negotiations on a collective candidate of the so-called Harzburg Front for yourself Post of Chancellor, Duesterberg should get the Ministry of Defense and Adolf Hitler, the great man should get the Ministry of Postal Services. As you can see his real position.

HUGENBERG Einpeitscher the fascist bourgeoisie

With the candidacy Duesterberg Hugenberg secures the German Nationalists, the role of Züngleins the scales in the camp of the bourgeoisie. He counts on the Stahlhelm votes in the second ballot the highest possible price to sell and thus its to achieve political plans. Is this method Hugenberg new? Not at all. Hugenberg has this role of the actual Einpeitschers and Hauptantreibers years of can play fascist policy of the German bourgeoisie. It is the practice Brüning government decisively determined also from the outside. He is the Hitler party prescribes the course and exploiting the mass base for the plans of finance capital.

Refined hoax of capitalists

You must be clear, by what ingenious methods the bourgeoisie organized fraud of the masses. Take for example an editorial of heavy industry "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" yesterday. There giddy this sheet, it is the fault the Communists that must enter social democracy for Hindenburg. Of course, without prejudice to the "forward" this fraud immediately and relies now on the "DAZ". This too is nothing new. Just like fabricated the same sheet of Heavy industry already at the last parliamentary elections in 1930 a similar choice Schlager for SPD. Outwardly one feigns a mutual fight. In reality thrown in
Sets but the three candidates of the bourgeoisie the crucial questions, and look at their response as they have long since given by the practice:

**What are the three candidates of the bourgeoisie to the capitalist system?**

**How do they relate to the problem of fascism?**

**As they are all three together for imperialist war?**

Is it not self-evident, that all they three to these main issues the same answer give? No one can doubt it.

You want to keep capitalism. The parties who stand behind them, pray for Sanctuary of safes and the capitalist profit system. They want to continue entrepreneurs exploit the workers and the rich dividends may suffer. The three candidates are saviors of capitalism, one and all!

Three fencers price of fascism

All three candidates defend the position of fascist reaction. One has all Emergency decrees signed by which the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie always boundless revealed their fascist face. The other - I think of Hitler - only knows one goal: gallows and terror against the working class. Nay, more, Hitler has more than once announced that the emergency decrees of Hindenburg and Bruning actually his Policy and its program would. They are so price fencers of fascism!

Three defenders of imperialist war

And what about the third question, the question of war? Is there a difference? Is Hindenburg, get the World War in his own words as a spa treatment is what we proletarian combatants of us can not say suddenly Antiwar? If the Social Democrats would argue that no one would an on Such Ammenmärchen believe. Whether Hitler whether Duesterberg, or Hindenburg - they all affirm the imperialist war.

Today, when the torch of war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union by the predatory Japanese imperialism is already lighted, where the hour of intervention war already moved zoom as close as never before - today we say with all Communists Clearly: *The fact that the German bourgeoisie and social democracy only Generale or Supreme alongside such notorious warmonger like Adolf Hitler as candidate sets up, is one more proof among many others for the imperialist plans for the Bellicosity, for war resowution of capitalist Germany and its ruling class.*

Our red class candidacy: declaration of war against the imperialist warmongers

And the more is our red class candidacy in the presidential elections today and in the second round is not only a challenge to capitalism in Germany, but in addition, a declaration of war against the imperialist warmongers, the the Soviet Union threaten. Our red class candidacy, which is the vow of
Million that they defend the Soviet Union until the last drop of blood and every Robbers of imperialism, raised up against the socialist fatherland, until Stumpf will tee!

Our red candidacy is a commitment of millions of solidarity with the Japanese imperialism invaded Chinese people. Today we begin this Solidarity into action by preventing munitions transports and other war and armaments deliveries. And we promise our class brothers in the Soviet Union and the Far East, that we from day to day, our revolutionary energy, our implacable determination in this struggle against the imperialist will boost war crimes.

1918 was a different situation than in 1932. At the time, fought only a small group, few in revolutionary experiences. Today it is one million army, now it is rich in Experience in revolutionary practice. And we say: If the imperialists of the world dare the attack against the Soviet Union, they should expect that with this Attack in some capitalist countries has struck the hour of death of capitalism.

Defense of the capitalist system, increasing the fascist reaction, Continuation of Notverordnungspolitik and imperialist war - this is the program of three candidates of the German bourgeoisie, and therefore it can be used for every class-conscious Workers and any thinking toilers be only one decision: No vote for this candidate of hunger, fascism and war!

Our answer to SPD Loebe

Now comes the SPD and announced: Although Hindenburg was not a socialist, but he was a "Lesser evil". The Socialist Reich President Paul Loebe us Communists challenged to an opinion by an open letter. We take this Challenge, and I judge of this point some questions Loebe. Mr. Loebe is they do not answer. The Socialist leader will not answer. But thousands and hundreds of thousands of Social Democratic workers are the answer to find these questions of the Communist Party and draw their conclusions. We ask Mr. Loebe and the German Social Democrats: Who disarmed the German proletariat, which in 1918 the weapon in his hands had, and who armed counterrevolution in Germany, including today's Nazi officers and leaders of the SA?

It was the social democracy with Gustav Noske, Scheidemann and Paul Lobe on its Hot!

Who created in the period from 1918 to today by the strangulation of strikes, by the Cleaning of establishments by the communists, by the exclusion of the Communists from the free trade unions the omnipotence of entrepreneurship in the factories?

It was the Social Democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the Leipart, Wels and Paul Loebe at their head!

Who built itself parliamentarism in Germany from which in any case only a facade of bourgeois dictatorship, and who led in Germany, the system of emergency decrees, the system of open, brutal dictatorship?

It was the Social Democrats in communion with the Brüning center under the leadership of Ebert-Scheidemann, the Braun and Severing and the Lord Loebe!

Those with the Army of the Nazis? It was Noske, in 1919 the present Nazi General Epp and other Reichswehr conceded again, and it is Groener, the favorite of SPD!

And who preach the most unscrupulous white terror against the proletariat, worse than
Hitler, Goebbels and Strasser?
It is the Social Democrat Noske, in 1919 boasted that he was the bloodhound and the
today in a speech in Hannover two days ago for Bobby again to say dared:

"Before me are almost a thousand stahlhart trained men, equipped with good weapons, trained for
the fight. From thousand barrel of a gun, in which everyone can see which of violent
Seizure dreams, can not only be fired, but the bullets also hit."

Who Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party big bred and the gates of Government
out?
It was the social democracy with its policy of toleration, with its discrediting
Marxism!
Who has banned the Red Front Fighters Federation, lifted the ban on the Stahlhelm and
the SA never touched a hair on? That was the SPD with its policy of suppression of the
Labor movement, this was the SPD with the catfish, Severing and Paul Loebe at their head!
SPD The policy was never really the policy of the lesser evil.
The "lesser evil" - this phrase - is always just a scam of the masses!
the SPD's policy has always been the greatest evil for the German working class!
Considering their actions:
1914 they have the war credits granted and chased the masses in the trenches!
1918 wanted the Ebert and Scheidemann the war relates to another winter, to the
extend fifth year and create new 500000 sixteen to the front, as
Hindenburg and Groener required!
1919 they let Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg slaughter and beat the bloody
for socialism fighting vanguard of the working class down!

1920, as Kapp Lüttwitz on the shoulders of Noske and Ebert their coup conducted,
ally, the Social Democratic leaders against the militarist Freikorps
the Red Army of the Ruhr proletariat.
1923 occupied Poincaré on the shoulders of the German Social Democracy, the Ruhr area, so
as Cuno and Stinnes on the shoulders of the same German Social Democracy, the
Crime of inflation conducted!
1924 preaching the social-democratic leaders that the Dawes Plan bring salvation and
deceived as the people.
1925 and later they announced that the capitalist nationalization and workers
Help bring.
1929 it was social democracy that the world day of struggle of the working class, the first May, with
bloody terror and mass murder answered.
1930 they moved the advertising drum for the Young Plan, which should bring "relief"
and in reality the deepest misery, boundless slavery brought.
1931 was the year of Tolerierungs politik, billions and billions but from the
Tax dollars of the poor threw the bourgeoisie broke previous bankers and
Industrial capitalists into the throat.
But the SPD tolerated.

The working people must pay the bank failures.

When a banker makes bankruptcy, then they pull you, officers and employees, from content
From then robs you to SMEs new huge sums by exorbitant taxes and the
Workers through wage cuts, then cuts to the unemployed again Supports
to the bankrupt capitalist to secure his money and profit. I ask the SMEs present: if your small shops by the economic crisis be brought to a halt, you have the Brüning government you ever get out of trouble helped? But the SPD tolerated the Brüning government! Emergency decree followed emergency decree! The latest emergency decree shortens income the working people to more than four billion. But the SPD tolerated. And in 1932? 1932 crowns the social democracy its policy by the masses Hindenburg presented as candidates. 1925 it was said: "Hindenburg of Thalmann grace." And that was a demagogy of the SPD! 1932 states: "Hindenburg is the candidate of the people." And this is even more shameless Demagogy of the SPD!

"Smaller evil" - the greatest evil

This, comrades, is the balance of the social democratic betrayal policy. I ask: can speak of smaller evils? No, they always have the greatest evil over the proletariat brought! Hindenburg intended as an aid against Hitler? The car's praises and catfish that Breitscheid and Stampfer lie to the masses? Hindenburg received Hitler and negotiated with him about ministerial posts! Groener sat, like the Populists Dingelberg has now revealed this Negotiations continued and they were within an ace already bargain. Duesterberg candidacy means as I already showed that Hugenberg gets ready, the Reshuffle to enforce his will.

Who therefore voting for Hindenburg or propaganda makes, as the SPD leaders, which is the Backers Hugenberg and his vassal, who called Adolf Hitler!

The real masters of Germany

Whoever prevails because actually in Germany? In the Brüning government sitting, sitting Treviranus, sitting Braun, Severing sitting. But who governs? The real government - these are the big capitalists, are the giant corporations, such as the IG Farben, which is the financial capital! The Reich Association of German Industry, the Directors General, conduct a concert and carry the baton. The musicians to be directed by them! So what is the role of social democratic policy Hindenburg? We need it each SPD-workers say: The Hindenburg propaganda of the SPD, as its whole policy means nothing else than that they tear the working masses from the anti-fascist camp and the camp of Fascism is striving to maintain! Instead of leading the fight against Hindenburg and Bruning, which is a precondition of the struggle against Hugenberg and Hitler, to the SPD-workers his followers Hindenburg! Under the command of Duisberg, Bosch, Siemens, by almost all big capitalists should she pull the wagon of the capitalist candidates as beasts of burden! Once again proves the social democracy its role as a moderate wing of fascism!
And what role does Hitler? The Minister Groener has addressed the question of Hitler, which actually is the positive program of the Hitler party since. How replied Hitler? He answered with the phrase: "Our positive program is our positive movement."

What are these empty words? This silly excuses reveal the fact that the Hitler party in fact has no program at all, a so-called Perpetual Motion Program, except the one program: to protect capitalism and defend!

One can all Hitler's speeches from the first to the last word by study. It will not find a single word about what the Hitler party to the masses as a practical way has to propose. You can not thresh as phrases.

Herr Hitler has gone in recent times among the pious people. He tells in each Assembly that the "blessings of heaven" accompany him, and that he were "of God Grace" would be Reich President.

In a phrase in the Bible, Adolf Hitler could really rely. There it says known: "Blessed are those who are poor in spirit!"

Under this principle, Herr Hitler has really claim to heavenly bliss.

The dizziness of "savior"

What did the Hitler party in 1925, as well as the German National? They said: Hindenburg is the savior, Hindenburg brings the freedom of Germany from the Versailles system.

Seven years have passed. National oppression has become more formidable than ever.

What the Hitler party says today? She explains: Hitler is the savior, Hitler brings freedom Germany. And the German Nationalists say today Duesterberg is the Savior, he brings freedom.

You have 1925 swindled the people and trick the people today.

Hitler, lackey of Young capital

Herr Hitler declared the foreign press that he the bonds and compound interest will repay to the last penny. What does that mean? Every year two billion Tribute to the foreign financial capital wants Adolf Hitler out of your bones and muscles, from your sweat and blood out flay!

Worse compliance policy as the Nazi party can not operate the SPD!

Herr Adolf Hitler incited the war against the Soviet Union. In the official songbook of NSDAP states, inter alia:

"You little drum, a beat!  
After Russia we want to march.  
After Russia, we want to start.  
The Bolshevik should feel our strength!"

Comrades, when all SA and SS Nazi Adolf Hitler and his chief of staff Goering and to the helmet with Mr. Duesterberg, marching once to Russia should - we know the Red Army: 24 hours later we could perhaps Mr. Hitler Watch in Moscow zoo.

Hitler on his stomach
I say this not in any humorous or even sarcastic sense; I say this with full responsibility, because there is an example in Germany, where this special hero of the day showed all his wretched cowardice. It was in 1923 there was this hero, as he regards the conduct of war. In Bürgerbräukeller to Munich he declared grandly:

"Tomorrow we will have a national Reich government in Germany, or we will be dead."

And when the next day the first shots rang out the policeman, since the same hero Adolf was Hitler flat on his stomach.

The heroic Hamburger October fighters

As a comparison: a few days before these phrases of Hitler there are real fighters: Fighters in October uprising in Hamburg, the intrepid and bold with an open visor their class enemy, a 300- to 400-fold superiority contrary occurred. There trembled no Pants, there were no belly crawling, but only contempt for death and revolutionary courage and determination for the historic cause of the future. These are two historical examples.

The bourgeoisie knows no way out

All, the candidate of the bourgeoisie, know no way out for the masses from misery and slavery. They all want the capitalist system and the snare of the Versailles not touch the Treaty but perpetuate. And because they show the masses no way can, therefore they thresh phrases, so they work with lies and deceit. Whether any SPD-sheet or a swastika Journal of the Nazis one opens - the same Calumnies, the same Schmutzkanonade against the Communist Party and its Candidates! With dirt bucket they want to refute our arguments and facts from the create world.

There is no dirty lie, before they would shrink. We laugh about it. We march forward.

We have facts with which we propose to our enemies.
Our practice as Communists to one sixth of the earth, where we govern - these are our positive arguments that can wipe any mud flood of slander.
If you ask us Communists, as Mr Groener asked Hitler: What did you do for a positive program? Then we answer:
Our positive program - that is the government program of the upcoming free Socialist councilors-Germany!

Our revolutionary way

We have the revolutionary path, the way out of the crisis, for which we the masses mobilize. I want to highlight just a few basic questions.
We will get rid of unemployment
Suppose the most important question, the question of work and bread for the 6½ million Unemployed and more than 6 million short-time workers. If we Communists in Germany get power, we will open the disused factories and from today Cemetery industry make the living building of a socialist economy.
perhaps there is no need for coal, textiles, for all the items of the
Mass consumption?
Million need exists. Millions starve, freeze million. have millions tattered clothes. Million need coal, need materials, clothes, all need Products which can be produced. It's just the madness of capitalist
Private sector which prevents them to consume the goods to consume, which produces will.

Today is already working in many districts, the German industry for the most part for the Orders of the Soviet Union. How will it be when a proletarian Germany with the Soviet Union completes the closest economic and political alliance?
*Only those who eliminate capitalism, the production can boost again and the masses really completely create that work and bread. We will do that Communists!*

We will abolish the housing shortage

A second question: The housing problem. Thousands of apartments stand empty today in Germany. Villas and palaces are of individual and small capitalists families inhabited.

As the latest emergency decree came out, the SPD praised it as "social benefit" that the Renters may terminate and remove their expensive homes. That's a blessing in Capitalism, if a family her apartment may be going on. Is not that bloody mockery?

We Communists ask ourselves another goal: We do not want the masses to help out from the apartments, but we want to bring in to the apartments. *We are the palaces and villas and the Kurfürstendamm apartments to the many children Proletarian families allocate. And the gentlemen who inhabit today 20 and 30 rooms, We are quartered in the homeless shelters, where they belong!*

A third question: Today in Germany the fascists are armed and able workers shoot down. Today, the mercenaries of the bourgeoisie and the policeman of social democracy the weapons, and Mr. Noske stated that they want to shoot at the masses.

Outdoor socialist councilors Germany only the proletarians will be armed! The Red Army and the workers' militia will ask the weapons!

We will tear the Young Plan

A fourth question: the imperialist slave contracts, debt slavery, the predatory Young Plan and the whole Versailles system. Social democracy has more than For 12 years servile compliance policy driven. Hitler curries favor with the imperialist governments that he also wants to operate compliance policy.

*The Free Socialist councilors-Germany is the tribute slavery and all Slaves contracts Cancelling a revolutionary way and as tearing a scrap of paper!*

The imperialists will not Bruning Germany more face, no Hindenburg Germany, not Hitler's Germany, no Severing-Germany, *but a Germany the working class.*

For the capitalist Germany today no class-conscious workers are only half a bone out.
For the upcoming free socialist councilors Germany all workers and all Working people, men and women entering with ardent enthusiasm.

Because it will be their socialist fatherland, as already the Soviet Union for the Workers and working people of all countries. *We want to fight us our socialist fatherland.*
Therefore red class candidacy!
We want the Soviet Union, the land of the proletarian dictatorship against the imperialist
Criminal defense.
Therefore red class candidacy!
We want the vast masses for struggles to earn a living, for strikes, for
Mass action of the workers, employees and civil servants, the unemployed, the
urban middle class and the working peasantry mobilized.
Therefore red class candidacy!
We want to galvanize the lukewarm and wavering, the fainthearted and desperate
make raise and fighters through a million commitment on March 13 for the
Communism!
Therefore red class candidacy!
Not a capitalist Reichspräsident chair it comes to us, but to
Combat mobilization of the vast masses.
Red class candidature - that's declaration of war on the modern capitalist Germany
the rich.
Forward, comrades!
tense all forces to strengthen freedom army and activate
against the Germany of predatory Young Plan,
against Germany the emergency decrees, hunger and fascism,
for the free socialist councilors Germany!
Everything for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship, the millions of bread and work there that
a guarantee for the freedom that new ways shows the mass of creative initiative
Future! For the entire world proletariat and all the oppressed colonial peoples, the
German revolution be a signal that not only the Land of the Soviets, one-sixth
earth that governs proletarian power that is greater not only in China, in an area as
Germany, workers and peasants have erected Soviet territories and with her red
Army defend, but that if we build in Germany socialism, in the
World history, a turning point occurs!
If two such countries as the Soviet Union and a German proletarian power
be made, then the whole world bourgeoisie is hard nut to crack it!

The Red flag,
03/11/1932
The tasks of the Party

in the presidential and Prussia-election campaign

The main lessons of the first round

Comrades, I'll try in treating the main cause of the election results, only the questions and tasks especially concrete and to provide detail that in next time, are in the next phase of development of the party, because yes known at the last meeting of the Central Committee, the baseline of the most important tactical problems the elementary task circle of the party and the revolutionary working class at all has already been rolled up and placed areas sufficiently.

If we attentively the result of the first ballot of the presidential election check, so we will have to confirm all together, that what at the meeting was provided by the Central Committee sharp and clear, was confirmed by the result itself is.

If we in revolutionary sober setting the result of the first ballot
investigate, we must ask the question politically, in class terms, as our results in
Comparison is assessed to the class enemy.
see if we examine the content of the "Pravda" article about the presidential election, so
we, that, apart from the self-critical formulations that are also in the article of the "Red
Banner", were asked by the Central Committee, there the baseline of the correct assessment
the first round of voting is indicated.

The "Pravda" to the presidential election

I want to pick out a spot of "Pravda" article about the presidential elections, the
actually represents the entire political foundation from which you can go out in
this relationship to have a revolutionary analysis of the election results:

"A survey of the entire period since the presidential elections of 1925, so can
one to the current elections only with the plebiscite in Prussia on August 9, 1931
compare where it is also about the struggle against social democracy as social
Mainstay of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie acted. From this point of view, has the
KPD achieved a great success by gathered 5 million to be covered by any
are ratios prepared to act against the bourgeois front as a whole and viewed
which probably are aware that the Social Democrats, the social mainstay of the bourgeois order
is, and that the success of the proletarian revolution is impossible without their destruction.

Presidential and parliamentary elections equate, is wrong

I believe that this sentence confirmed that an equality of any
Parliamentary elections, and the upcoming elections Prussia with the presidential election,
is not only wrong, but wrong. We must see that the voting process for a
Fight candidacy of the Communist Party a higher class consciousness requires, as
voting, for example, in parliamentary elections where the voters through the voting
his sympathy for communist program expresses.
The key question is here is precisely the difficulty of assessing such a
Location, which is caused by a struggle of the revolutionary party candidacy. here are
there are many moments that one would have to cite - the time is not sufficient for this purpose - to the important
to illuminate facts which indicated the correctness of the already in "Pravda" article
prove Analysis of the result, and unlike other elections.

One could cite the fact from 1925, of December 1924 elections to the
March elections 1925 - the presidential election - where a similar situation existed.
Could be given the facts of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, where known, two
Ballots for parliamentary and the presidential elections were placed in an envelope and where
Statistics show that of 92 communist parliament voters 17 Hindenburg
have chosen. Another statistic shows that Social Democratic from
Landtag voters 4 the representatives of the Communist Party gave their vote and 4
abstained.
Or we see that the majority of German Nationalists voted for the helmet that
part may be entered for the Nazis but.
In the second election campaign these issues are much sharper, because the party despite
highest intensity and activity will be hard, the votes of the first
Ballot to obtain again, although no one could say that in the second round
our positions have become worse - with the exception that the question
is asked parliament.
We ask the question but not parliamentary, but a question of the struggle candidacy. The
Delivery of the ballot for the Communist Party is not only a great moderate
Divorce by all parliamentary illusions, not only a separation from the
relatively few illusions in the assessment of bourgeois democracy, which at
Million proletarians are still recorded. These millions went, because they believed
to be for the "lesser evil", into the Hindenburg front.
But beyond that we still have to have the goal by the highest degree of
To achieve the type votes of the first ballot, not only, but when it
conceivable, further even to gain votes.
One has to facts that are present in Germany to date, in the individual
out districts fact that the result, even in different parts of a certain party
Depression has generated. If we such a revolutionary boost living
want to allow activity in our party, as I described earlier, it's
quite clear that we each pusillanimity, every slightest depression in our ranks on the
must eliminate fastest.
Comrades, we must of course in such an assessment, as fundamental in this
Article specifies, not assume the total result outcry over
to open such a success of our party anyway. We must emphasize:
in strengthening the principle struggle against the SPD, with the strongest brave,
offensive application of the united front policy towards the Social Democratic and
free trade union workers, in principle intensification of the struggle against the
Dizziness politics of supposedly "lesser evil" it would have been possible, the number of
essential for the KPD votes to expand still and increase. This shows
Also in the various results, which are present throughout Germany, from
where you can find the most important political decisions and mistakes.
The party must explain very clearly that, objectively speaking, the greatest
there are possibilities and passed to the radius of the masses obtained for us
expand much more. It is quite clear that the subjective role of the Party in which
Overall result and the result at the different locations, in the districts, no
plays subordinate role. Let's try, except in the specific main weaknesses
are already laid down in the decisions of the CC, in connection with the
extraparliamentary mobilization of the masses continue determine Which
Main causes of the weaknesses after now present a result in the election campaign
templates.
I think it must be said, more clearly than in this result could be the finding
not make, the other in each class action, with every movement, in any

Phenomena, events, etc. to show that the gap between the decisions taken
the party and its implementation has been shown here most clearly.

The general line of the party's right

There is agreement across the German party that the general line of the Party
is absolutely correct. There is also agreement that the implementation in the
General line, not only in their concrete, but in their actual, practical
Implementation, very big weaknesses are that already in the Central Committee in various points
were analyzed and determined.
We must note two very important facts in this election result.
First, if we examine the overall result, both of the class enemies as our
revolutionary class front, and determine that the class enemies 32 million votes
their candidates were - so this is a warning to the party.
There were three representatives of nationalist-reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie. So
the outermost reaction was this class candidates millions crowds introduced in Germany.
Secondly, we as the only class party of the struggle against dictatorship Bourgeoisie and stood for the dictatorship of the proletariat in this election contest, have 5 receiving millions of votes.
With this principle, class-consideration of the overall results can be seen only the towering difficulties under before the revolutionary class front guide the Communist Party stand.
One must realize very clearly that in the parliamentary million people are illusions even deeper yet, as we ourselves have believed. And one must also realize that millions of people not yet on the ground of this system think we see future possibilities or ways out - that these illusions and at the same time hopes very strongly made their appearance.
This does not mean a weakening of our revolutionary class line, which does not mean that we defer some degree our class policy, but conversely, that requires just that our class policy, our class line much must be sharply brought into the millions of people in Germany.
I think, comrades, you can not see from the point of the election result, that the sudden causes, causes that now shown only in this campaign have, but you have to go back and look at the development of the party, to what extent she has tried in various stages of the past in this area their enforce basic line without error.
If we look back a short time on the implementation of our political General line, so we have some fundamental errors in the Central Committee as well as in public already detected and corrected.
Take, for example, such a fact, where we tried the fighting capacity of the party to increase, such as in case of the participation of the party and the proletariat in the referendum Prussia. That was a jump, a push forward for the party, but we too late have occurred in the necessary basic scrimmage against the SPD in Germany.
Let's take the second question, the clarification of the problem of fascism, including the right by us and the moderate wing of fascism, social fascism.
The clarification is not timely enough place in the vast masses of this complicated Problem has us certain extent also in the pace of implementation of the general line of different sections inhibited.

Insufficient exposure to the fraudulent schemes of SPD

And the third major issue is that of not sufficient exposure of the hoax SPD in Germany. I believe in this principle crucial questions we must try much quieter, much more conscious and more revolutionary than the party, the exposure of the SPD and combating perform. The referendum in Prussia was actually the first more principled stage in the fight against scams of politics of "lesser evil" which recognizes not only the whole party, but you can see that more and more in the development, as they do now in these last few weeks in front of us and will be available in the near future before us. Nevertheless, it must be said that we as a party when we particularly the unsatisfactory be stated results of Hamburg and Berlin, warned on these three main areas are. One must say that the unsatisfactory results in Hamburg and Berlin, in these important centers of Germany, also created some anxiety, in other
Regions of Germany, where relatively really brilliant results recorded are, such as in southern Germany. This depression moods are completely understandable, if one makes a comparison between this result and the result in the two Cities of Hamburg and Berlin. I believe that we have to solve a great job here. We have to see that as the next and most important task before us, action initiate against the war, actions trigger on the issue of economic strikes and political mass strikes that we must not only penetrate more into the millions of must trigger unemployed, but also actions. On the issue of RGO work in Periphery of the free unionized workers, it is for example, those with the Unorganized together in the revolutionary channels our political work bring in. These are the key issues that are outside parliament in the Campaigns on the forthcoming elections, etc. We need to see that the elections on 24th April are the most significant elections for us, the elections in Prussia, Hamburg Bavaria, Württemberg held etc. The 10th of April the stage for the elections on 24th April, which are far more important than the presidential election.

Confronting the class policy of our class enemies sharper

You have to see that in the first days and still moods in the party and in the revolutionary working class can be reported that the a double pressure class hostile parties indicate to our party and to the red class front. This pressure in the Social Democracy is seen that they have a strong Mass party is that the social democratic traditions of the past from the Minds of hundreds of thousands, even millions, still not eliminated and that they nourish certain influences more in our ranks temporarily and sometimes penetrate - and the pressure of the National Socialist Party, which with all their methods tried with fascist terror and with other methods, a certain to produce revolutionary impatience which, to various areas lately as we have noted already in time as in the question of individual terror and the not enough recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary mass work and also have already shown the other questions. For example, the deviations in the line of revolutionary impatience whose carriers are sometimes very good comrades and good times Workers at the periphery of the party, to terrorist and coup methods and measures access, are also humor in accordance with the Reich presidential elections in another form expressed, for example, in such a form that we like in Germany Trends see in this area. I mean the question: One had the second ballot for Hitler occur by the conditions of the revolutionary crisis would accelerate. Such a tendency and the other opportunist tendency of parliamentary

Illusions, they drove in a channel of the red class front and the revolutionary Diluted class party line and blurred. The mood for lately Was expressed, especially right after the announcement of the election result and today, defend Hitler - this atmosphere means that we must try as a party, in aggressive forms, in prinzipiellerer lighting our opposition to the Class politics of all our class enemies, the bourgeoisie with all its props, resolutely oppose and sharper. It must be said that the danger of these phenomena is still increasing in that we even first inactive occur enough against these phenomena, or they are not equal in Choking germs, but only after they are there, try - sometimes with very minimal means - to clock these phenomena, not even to eliminate. And that this also has to be considered that these root causes, the cause
the not sufficient triggering actions of struggle, of mass movements in Germany, both in the field of economic strikes such actions as the Unemployed movements and actions that these facts with a certain role play, for whatever motives such moods arise.

It is very clear, if we had a far greater activity against the fascist Terror when we serious on the issue of the fight against Notverordnungspolitik Approaches economic strikes of greater importance would have if we have a wealth of Facts have on the issue of attack struggles against the bourgeoisie and its Measures, then even those moods, which are also strengthened by the would desperate situation in districts of unemployment in Germany, the two to three years no who work more, not yet to the extent that such is the case. This whole of course considering the location plays a role. In addition, the reduction in their Activity is increased by an insufficiently bold, aggressive application of United front policy in various fields.

Defective work on the internal union front

Suppose the whole campaign is behind us. Do we have in the field of red Election workers movement still existed good opportunities there such facts to noted that we can be satisfied with that? Can we be satisfied with the Mobilization of real million on the internal union front? Not at all! there We have so low approaches that small consents to the class of candidacy Communist Party that have been put up with shouting and noise in the press, in even out of proportion to the many strong trade union organizations, where has stirred and excited nothing.

It also comes at that, that we had direct capitulation trends against the Need the offensive line in this campaign against the class enemy roll up.

The position of the party for SAP

Take, for example, the position of the party at various points to the SAP, the branch of the Social fascism. One must say this grouping to Seydewitz, the Trotskyist Groupings, grouping to Brandler, etc., they have become an integral become part of the Social Democratic Party and the social fascism.
And we must recognize that they play the dangerous role, as we have sometimes have indicated in those situations where particularly the bourgeoisie with the Social Democrats and the Nazis by their deceptions large Confusion havoc.

One must also see that it towards our application and implementation of United front policy one of the main weapons against the policies of the SPD in the fight the red class front and against the policy of the Communist Party. The fact that SAP on the issue of RGO with Brandler together the sharpest fight against us leads, is evidence of the difficulties that they of us in the implementation and training make red class front.
And if this party made such a maneuver, that it towards said outwardly, for the enter candidacy Thalmann and declared at the same time that she was against the KPD, so had only intended to disguise their own counter-revolutionary policy. For this maneuver, they were forced on one side by the pressure of the masses but from below, on the other hand they do not think of themselves, somehow for this solution
And just in Saxony, where the party is strongest in Vogtland example because it shows, that there our losses are strongest. This is a proof that between the issued slogan of these people and their agitation is a big difference, that they appearance only a demarcation from the SPD pretend, but in reality as well as the SPD leadership for the Hindenburg front occurred.

Why is indeed any scale - with very minor exceptions in Germany - in the issue of assessing how much SAP members and -Anhänger for our party have occurred extremely tempting, especially if you really this fixed result of Saxony sees this is a sign for the treacherous policies of these Party.

We have to realize for our work and for the future that we in the question our struggle against the SAP must make a sharp turn, because just the role of this party be called moderate wing of the bourgeoisie may, in such pointed situations of great importance, as noted by Lenin was found.

These factions and these parties are those who in a sense in the revolutionary class front can cause greater confusion, as sometimes even the outspoken official Menshevik or Social Democratic parties.

We will also give out of our party a special open letter to the SAP members, where we refer to this Congress, and in which we all questions counterrevolutionary activity of the party leadership in Germany roll.

Tripling the party - but insufficient training

Comrades, there is then added the present nor to those cited reasons Composition of our party. In central committee we said that about 50 percent the officials had to be renewed in the last years. It was lately by other Facts proved that this our assumption is much too low, that it places airports are in key districts where a 70prozentige renewal of officials recorded is. And we see, starting perhaps September 14, 1930, almost triple in membership in the German party. These masses of workers coming from the join the opposing camp to us, are in the complexity of the problems, as in Germany are on the agenda, sometimes remain over the political level, which will in certain situations required by our party. The requires us to take this fact much sharper eye to the party as a whole, to help to the smallest cell, also in the sphere of ideological offensive, in Connection with the revolutionary practice of work to provide greater clarity. We the party will like to inform of a specific resolution of Polbüros,

what are the basic results, in our view, which results from the election result arise.

One must first say that the role of the party is not offensive enough to everywhere Expression came. The fact of the immense socialist construction in the Soviet Union, in contrast to the decline of German capitalism was very strong neglected.

The second issue is the question of the extra-parliamentary mobilization, because we known parliamentary elections and all elections not make from the standpoint of ballot, rather from Position, to what extent it us succeed, in of the extra-parliamentary mobilization actions, movement, strikes, etc. trigger.
The third issue is the question of the struggle against the war, where we over
Unveiling campaign of war production in Germany and other facts not
are also come and have recorded only very small individual examples where it us
succeeded, not even initiate small movements actions.
The fourth issue is the insufficient concentration of the work on the plants, the
internal union work and - what is most important in this area - the
Neglect of work among the millions of unemployed. We just need to
this field average - with some exceptions, of course - such
Tempo loss notice that I asked this question at some length in particular yet
will treat.
Then fifth, the question: no generous united front movement. Even where we have
shiny or promising approaches of the united front movement had, such as in Dusseldorf and
Baden - to these two districts to lead - even there we see no further
Progress in the line of promotional activity to this great united front movement yet
to expand.
And finally, the question that a lack of revolutionary mobilization of us
related mass organizations was generally recorded in Germany.
To all these facts listed course will be added minor facts
Sometimes at this or that point have a greater significance. For example, if we only
Check our material. Our propaganda and agitation material often looks as
when a shopkeeper propaganda makes. Sometimes you may be ashamed directly, this
to bring material to the masses.
We have tried in this campaign to make changes in this field.
Naturally, such a transformation is not easy to make such a popular liveliness
to show in the agitation and propaganda, which we sometimes see with the Nazis, of the
we could learn. Especially because they have worked well in this field. We will
try to simplify in this election campaign, the system of material to work with material
more provocative effect to interest the working class for the revolutionary
Policy of our Party. I see this on the facts of the late arrival of
Material at various locations in Germany.
I want to point out the weakness that too much in some places by
Focusing on the public meeting campaign all the power consumed,
as has been the case in some districts. I will also suggest that
Workers for the agitation and propaganda were paralyzed by observing
and securing the ornate houses during the night. And I also would point to
the overestimation of spontaneity towards the need for systematic
Legwork, under anywhere in the factories, the work detecting and stamping points,
the welfare recipients had to be made for all working people.

Success wherever actions took place

I think the most important thing you must determine when the election results, is as follows
Fact that we everywhere we had fighting where partial movements were, where
Strikes were triggered where actions took place, where not too many mistakes
were, even if the actions were not carried out victorious - that we here
have gained votes. This is like a straight line through Germany
through which we can see the fact of Gevelsberg in the district of Lower Rhine, of
Mörfelden district in Frankfurt, from Boizenburg in District water edge, Felseneck in Berlin
And throughout Germany.
And if that's true, then forcing us this fact especially to the
to draw attention of the party much more to this area, to what extent we
can affect election results more by certain action. I believe,
you have to see that here certain consequences should be drawn on the issue that
our forces must be set quite differently, on the issue of mobilization
Masses for certain individual or larger movements and actions.
I will therefore try because we have to make a leap, because we the party
must act together to reopen certain areas of work, out of which new
Initiative, new activity can be drawn, in the areas where we the tempo loss
must eliminate from the past and achieve a speed gain.

Our struggle against war

Take the question of the struggle against the war. Have we in this
Campaign asked the question of the struggle against the war in the center? I
think the comrades need to confirm that this was not the case. One can say that a
great disproportion between the good unveiling campaign in Germany, the
was introduced everywhere, even in the press, with very few exceptions, and the
Implementation of measures.
If an underestimation of the threat of war in our own ranks is, one must
not be surprised when the pacifist problem of social democracy and
War policy of the bourgeoisie if the working class, the approach of
takes underestimation of the threat of war still higher forms.
I think you must understand that through the years of campaign in the threat of war
against the Soviet Union - I say unfortunately - a certain fatigue has occurred.
We must see that we have a special situation that a particular situation
special activity, requires special measures. And we must, if we years
rightly signaled the danger of war, in this particular situation the question
particularly questions and not the question of the possible actions against the war as
sometimes happens in the press, so provide, as was the case a year ago. For example, in
Konigsberg, on the occasion of the funeral of a shot youth comrades demanded
Representatives of the district headquarters railwaymen on a poster to bear with the inscription:
"Prevents the ammunition transport". These comrades railwaymen explained: we need
not to wear, because the war indeed is already over. This is not a single mood. What
The action on the Japan-China war theater, is not serious enough
taken. With the armistice negotiations is certainly a worsening of the situation
occurred against the Soviet Union, which with every moment the question of the acute war
moves against the Soviet Union into close proximity. From this standpoint, we must
also reveal the war policy of the German bourgeoisie, which seeks not only
exploit growing economic war production, but also on the issue of
military training initiates new measures, particularly in the border areas. There

is the question of the military education of both the Nazis as well as the
Reichsbanner provided by the Army officers. Or consider other facts from
the border areas, where in the escalation of the conflict Memel the National Socialists
out gave slogan: "Here the German-Polish war is prepared" in order
eliminate illusions over the Hindenburg front and at the same time new voters for their
own front to win. And if we see that public in the border areas
Exercises are done so on, so does this fact alone, ideologically and also
military saw nothing more than the concealment of the fact that on this front
The German bourgeoisie already developed the plan for the attack on the Soviet Union.

The war against the Soviet Union has moved into close proximity.

Comrades, we check our out given material from the past. The important publication material dealt too little with the concrete problem: How do we put the masses in motion, as we demonstrate the possibilities, based on which in addition to the unveiling campaign the capacity for action of the proletariat under our guide is increased. I guess you can say that we are just in the War operations, in the factories, the war material for other war plants, also in Foreign transport, have achieved great success. We can there of course not only of the general question out, that the war is coming, but that alone Authoritative is to create the belief the proletariat that the war against the Soviet Union has moved into close proximity. But beyond that we must look for points of contact where we in the masses bring movement. And when was consistently found that one in Germany growing economy in the war production was recorded, then one must by Wage demands, the question of instituting movements and actions on the Agenda set.

How do we prevent ammunition transports?

The second question is: how do we need to transport war material, war production etc. prevent? This is a question which is extremely difficult, because the Entrepreneurs have already learned so much in the cover-up that it is not always the specify destination, but that for the most part all these transports three or four key nodes ignore where our comrades despite the best effort could not determine the actual Absendungsort. In Hamburg it is only at a Point standard that Chinese sailors were on a steamer in the strike that the Dockers showed solidarity with them. These are only very small batches for necessary larger movements that need to be enforced in this area. And finally the question of what we do, against all Japanese measures in Germany etc. have to do against the occurrence of Japanese committees in the factories. We have the workers of such establishments where special tours under the guidance held by Japanese officers or engineers, draw attention to the Predatory policy of Japanese imperialism and the question that these people in the have no business establishments

The extra-parliamentary mass mobilization

The next most important task is the question of the extra-parliamentary mobilization at all campaigns in the elections, as in the mobilization of the unemployed and the

Deepening our work in this vast masses. I think the fact that the RGO this has taken work to a large extent, because this work is in its territory, is part the party's attention returned in this field. I mean to say that the party itself must take care of those working in the RGO more, especially since 6¼ million People in Germany are unemployed and 6 million short-time workers, with their Members or one third of the population. Our work in this area is in the
recently declined sharply. Also Berlin and Hamburg, where we have unsatisfactory election results, have been working in this field too little. When the now can not generalize, but so was the Polbüro and the RGO found that the rest of Germany, there are similar facts: no sufficient living connection with the unemployed on the unemployment offices. We must also ask that we not only get along with Declarations of sympathy for certain demands that we, together with the Reich unemployed Committee and other committees set up. We need to be Unemployed movement, since already many years of chronic unemployment is, reawaken the action like these masses. And if one takes the election result or on election day observations made has, so you could see how particularly the Berlin comrades inform you that as before the polling stations no posters were with the request, who choose the unemployed have. When the Nazis were at various locations in Germany other facts, where really were unemployed and trying to make their people aware, Hitler to choose.

Concrete cooperation of our parliamentary groups

If the crisis Congress ADGB is announced, we must see that the appointment is selected in order to influence at the same time the 10th and April 24th. If we understand initiate a truly active counteroffensive, also in the ideological field, and by other facts, which I will point out, we are this tempo loss we suffer, thus compensate that we the dizziness, the rolled up at this congress becomes, this Hoax, to destroy. We have to attempt, from Reich unemployed Committee, together With of the Party, new independent establish jobless claims, which remain not only in the realm unemployed Committee, but which are the key to new opportunities for revitalization and achieve action tripping throughout Germany. Here, such facts are a play role in that for example the Reichstag, the Prussian fraction of fractions State parliaments in Germany, various fractions of cities and municipalities, starting from these jobless claims, these claims bezirklich and locally must concretize. Everywhere they must solemnly with the representatives of unemployed a hold session to turn the dizziness crisis congress million unemployed educate and secondly offensive mobilization of the unemployed for their own initiate claims under the leadership of the Communist Party. The question is that we are required to trigger certain actions; Actions that mass character a wear of giving rise without any illusions in unemployment; that we as Party can assume the guarantee that the requirements can be enforced, we have the questions in connection with the victory of socialism and the Development in the Soviet Union are, here as new opportunities for boosting exploit a wave of actions among the unemployed. That's why we also have the April 19 recognized the Reichserwerbslosentag who actually be a special opening intended for later tasks among the unemployed in Germany.

Mobilization against the 5th emergency decree

The fourth task: On the question of the preparation of measures against the new Attacks that carried out due to the expiration of the 4th emergency decree on April 30, to be. We check the experiences of the past, what is the cause
has shown not to trigger actions in the fourth emergency decree, and we positively the question of what to do now, the party and the RGO. The most important is the question the deadline moderate setting. Of course it is difficult, except such deadlines to provide a possibility that we may already before 30 April such actions trigger, so that even this date for the bourgeoisie no longer be called can. Individual layers, such as the workers try to push forward and not only the April 30 to be seen.

We have recorded such facts that the Reich Association of German Industry trying to ease the policy of the SPD and ADGB leader. For example, if a few days ago The question is asked, that they want to break with the tariff system, that they on Special arrangements with the companies take their course, so that means by no means, that the will and the intention of the class-conscious part of the bourgeoisie is recorded, that they want to try on April 30th. They want the policy ADGB Guide help facilitate, to the fifth emergency decree with the eventual reduction of wages and the creation of other working conditions prevail in the factories to help. Of course we do not know at all costs, as far as the bourgeoisie at the end of the fourth Emergency decree be alright. That depends a lot from us and the RGO on the extent we are able to educate the masses, to set in motion and opportunities to provide for the resistance and attack against the bourgeoisie. But we have the masses prepare, we need to ask not only make, but also organizational

Take action. We have a deep inner connection with the establishments and provide the masses, so that they are prepared to fight this Emergency legislation and the policy of Brüning and Severing. And all of these important Main questions we must of course be connected to the offensive attitude of the party to the upcoming elections in Germany.

Tone and content of our press

What is the tone and content, the language of our press? Here is not the question of Method, not the issue of conversion of the contents of the press here is not the question of how one connects agitation and propaganda with the political content of the press, but here is the extent to which our comrades try and try in the districts, so far as compatible with their time and they have opportunities to the content of newspapers influence. The specific problem in the various districts plays a enormous role. And if we, in the field of Schematismus the past that We assume that in journalistic form, which for example in the newspapers expressed comes; when we see what the example "Vossische Zeitung" and the "Berliner Tageblatt" bring for news and then make the press and not attempt a turn perform; if we do not try to editorial policy, foreign policy and certain other areas to connect with the deep distress and misery of working class life and the practical consequences from the revolutionary necessity, a readiness for action in to create the ideology of the masses, is our press not the press of the working and be all working people. Never was the question as serious as in the weeks and Months. If we survey the activity of the Bolshevik Party in the period when the party halfway legally worked, but she was still illegal because the press was not only the voice of the masses, which is a great precondition for the political orientation bring in the crowds, but it was at the same time the exploratory organ for the political course of the party. And you have to see if the party into illegality is driven, that it depends a lot of the content of the press, as millions

Crowds and party comrades in this or that question, which is suddenly and
have to be decided to discontinue. I think, comrades, that we all together must try here to really help. Not so, by saying that one side is for Workers correspondences and that's the end, not by saying that the other side is for Union policy and that's the end, the third page is for operational work and then conclusion; No, all the pages are for trade union policy, for operational work, for Workers correspondences, for the unemployed. This is the core point. So must, by all Press pulsating, the whole life of the proletariat with the life and politics our party combine.

A few remarks on the question of agitation and propaganda. I believe that Here you also need to see. We will be surprised by this time the class enemy in the agitation and propaganda. In the last week from the 3rd to 10th April and from 10th to April 24 is the bourgeoisie with their props in the agitation and propaganda much more can afford, is the revolutionary class front and the millions of people in crowds Germany directly showering.

but we do not have the opportunity to oppose the same. We have only the Possibility of new methods of mass creative initiative of the proletariat, because we are with the funds of the bourgeoisie to compete unable. We must seek new methods to some extent these speed gains of the bourgeoisie with our catch or at least compensate for agitation and propaganda.

To press a remark: The way the campaign was conducted without one sober parliamentary illusions took into account that exist in Germany, without having made the necessary clarity against the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, to present the class candidate of the Communist Party as a "Zählkandidatur" tried without us sufficiently sharp, the question of the fight candidacy presented that these Candidacy was connected to the mass struggle for certain political demands, with the ultimate goal and without being put to the fore the extra-parliamentary Mass mobilization of the proletariat and all working strata so had to show certain weaknesses.

So I think, comrades, this review of the revolutionary mass work with us in the Party, in youth and in the mass organizations is necessary if a party wants to grow and bring their revolutionary tasks at a higher level to meet want. One can say that a convenient location for us was upon consideration of the objective Situation, but it was also a convenient location for social democracy in that by the preparation of the candidacy of Hitler Social Democracy had greater possibilities to tie their electorate and clamp for Hindenburg. Social democracy has brought all her front quite closed at the ballot box, as proving all statistics with minor exceptions in Germany. And here we need to see them through continued its policy as from stage to stage their mass benebelte and at the last moment, when the Nazis Hitler lined up, came out with the slogan, enter open for Hindenburg, while the anterior weeks only at certain places by individuals and entities expressed came.

What options do we have for example in the second round, if we understand it, the role the SPD and the Stahlhelm show properly. Although the helmet has not officially Parole issued, for whom is this militaristic organization decides. But the Exemption to vote for Hitler or Hindenburg, is for us an argument, the role of SPD and helmet to illuminate in the Hindenburg front.

Or take the question Groener as immediately with the representatives of the Nazis negotiated over the Prussian government. Suppose the third question that a comparison came about before the State Court
Extra-parliamentary events between victory and defeat

Here we have the opportunity, the masses identify those facts and sufficient provide information about it. And moreover, we must also eliminate the illusions which are expressed in an underestimation of the party of social fascism. in the "Class struggle" as is the question shortly after March 13, "the Communist Party's had the winner of March 13 ", and the Nazis after assessing Editorial suffered a heavy defeat. If so assess the election results, as is the course a confused, assessment. One must say: we do not defeat suffered and the Nazis either. An equality of voting for the Nazis and the Communist Party would be absolutely wrong. The voices have been submitted for the Class candidacy of the Communist Party, weigh much heavier than the votes of the electorate for Hitler. And on the question of defeat this or that party, this or that development, it does not decide the March 13 not 10 and not the 24 April about deciding not parliamentary elections, but also decide other political things. Extra-parliamentary struggles decide who in Germany defeat receives: those who want the open fascist dictatorship, or those who set themselves as target have to trigger the fighting and to switch in the struggle for the dictatorship of Proletariat. So, I say the main thrust of our whole campaign must be directed against social democracy as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, which in no way weakens our fight policy against the Nazis and our concrete policy towards the center, in the areas where the center dominates.

Provide clarity about the scams of the "lesser evil"

I guess you have to say that the main source of our neglect Work is that our policy in the various districts and also at the local scale not enough concretized has been. Our methods to obtain the Social Democratic and other workers are far too easy and far too schematically. It was in the XI. Plenum rightly said that the policy of an entire period in "Lesser evil" plays an important role if we, the question of Prussia elections Württemberg elections, the Bavarian elections, the Hamburg elections mark, there is the question of the "lesser evil" even more sharply than in the Reich presidential election. It is quite clear that the Reich presidential elections are a stage for the important choices held on 24 April. If the Social Democracy in all constituencies and Brown Severing at the head, when it issues the slogan, in Prussia campaign for Braun and Severing, as I say, comrades, is a political provocation against the revolutionary proletariat, but on the other hand also a warning that an inner Consolidating temporarily, in the ranks of the Social Democrats since the Leipzig party is where the question was quite different, gone so far - and I mean temporarily - that they can dare to issue such a slogan for Braun and Severing. So I think, comrades, these facts compel us, in addition to triggering to provide combat actions, the question that we need to open a large debate in the Masses, in the factories, among the unemployed and everywhere, such a discussion, as we had starting from the Leipzig party, where we have the question of the "lesser evil" presented and we did not penetrate without success in the social democracy, where we even dared
to ask the question that a crisis in the SPD begin. But it turned out that the Social Democratic Party with its fraud policy and its Hoax together holding their own ranks and the ranks of the Reichsbanner could. Moreover, we must see that in front of us is the problem: how can we provide greater clarity in the millions ranks of the proletariat over the dizziness of "Lesser evil". Here is the opportunity to get the individual to take it, but I interpret, that we need to find a practical method for the theoretical justification of our fight against scams of the "lesser evil". This practical method is missing us. We have not in our Party to a sufficient extent, not to a sufficient extent at the RGO, not to a sufficient extent in the youth and of course in the Mass organizations with whom we worked together, not also. I am thinking in particular of the Prussian elections, where we expected to a very get different result than for example in the Reich presidential election. Here is located in the Result show the fundamental difference. If we of the current result transmitted Reich presidential elections and calculate on 40000 votes a deputy, so we will have to reckon with 74/75 deputies, we are far beyond this Number of 75 MPs out come. It is quite clear that we nevertheless try need to apply all methods with the best concrete material in the press Policy of Prussia government in the eyes of the followers and the electorate of the SPD clarify by providing them with reference to concrete the Severingpolitik their leaders Examples show and at the same time connect the necessary development to revolutionary class Front, the Communist Party. The mobilization of forces to the Prussian elections is much sharper than at any other facts. It concerns with this issue Prussia elections - as well as the elections in Hamburg, Bavaria and Württemberg, etc. - not just a question of votes, but to decisions that are not related to the war, to make decisions for two fronts: the Social Democrats, who mobilized their masses for the war front Bourgeoisie, and the Communist Party, which mobilized their masses for the solution of Defense of the Soviet Union, that is, for the attack against their own class enemy. This question is also related to the consideration of our political slogans. Better methods of our struggle against the Nazis policy It must be said that the struggle against the policy of social democracy at the same time the Question our policy of struggle against the Nazis touched. We need this fight not only see against social democracy as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie alone, but we must also see that an activation of our fight against the policy National Socialist Party is necessary. One must yet find an explanation for such Facts that the Social Democratic workers and even peripherals to a certain part - which at any moment may change again - have faith that the SPD is a party to lead the struggle against fascism. If such an ideology exists, and if it exists, we need to apply the appropriate action also in the struggle against the Nazis, not only in absolute necessary struggle against the fascist murder terror, by measures of mass self-protection and other Measures, but we must also in the ideological field, the National Socialist Party attack sharper. How can we Social Democratic workers convinced that only we are the only party in Germany that the for the fight against Fascism comes into question if we do not also better methods of our struggle Policy Apply against the Nazis? And in this area makes our general policy of struggle much to be desired. Take for example the fact of the declaration of the Central Committee. one
have to say that it is a great shame, as little attention to in our press of the Content of the declaration, a document of the Central Committee has taken. Why mention not they? A declaration of the Central Committee with the problem of Reparations, next to the national and social liberation program had be popularized to the basis of this declaration, with this key, the Supporters of the National Socialist Party at our liberation policy in this making stage attention. We see a negligence that by this example is expressed, it is not enough emphasis on the need to Recognition and implementation of the decisions of the Central Committee!

Reciprocal utilization of SPD and Nazis for the policy of the bourgeoisie

I want the issue of the reciprocal use of demagoguery in this issue both the Socialists as provide the National Socialist Party. One may say that lately based on facts these mutual utilization at clearly showed in Germany. The German bourgeoisie can not only and not meet alone with the National Socialist Party their task, which most recently Time shown by the fact that they are much more social democracy in all its must include calculation of the attack with. So clearly, as the decisions of the XI. Plenary asked this question, which has never been confirmed by the facts as at this moment. Take for example the center or other right-wing parties Bourgeoisie, as, according to the parliamentary constellation, as long as it goes, in the coming months, the National Socialists or the Social Democrats in the various Countries draws on where such diverse results of parliamentary Constellation arise. Of course, we ask not parliamentary, but outside parliament. Depending on how the attacks against the measures of implementation the fascist dictatorship harden depending on are the remains of bourgeois Democracy, parliamentary measures increasingly limited, and the Resistance and the attacks against the revolutionary proletariat will increase. But We have seen that in the same field also reversed by the whole development Germany itself the revolutionary class front is growing, as for example in the development Poland Displays. There we have such a degree of development in the country, where, reinobjektiv seen, the crisis assumes such a degree, and carrion all the misery and other Facts that the social democracy, there the PPS is not as strong sound, which at the same time also provides such opportunities that really victorious battles, successful Strikes, great mass movements, general strikes are possible, where even the social democratic unions and the PPS at the head of the general strike ask to turn quell this movement in the hand and companies. I ask the question because we are approaching such a development in Germany, where this standard of rebellion systematically affect in organized fighting becomes. Today we have not yet reached the scale, and it is quite clear that the party on this Area has to adjust all their concentration of work, even with the help of the RGO. About that, we have rural areas as southern Germany, Silesia, Upper Silesia, the Rhine and Westphalia region and the western region, where we especially among Bauer layers, as well as in some Catholic areas in the industrial proletariat, the role need to analyze the policy of the center also.
organize unemployed movement!

And now finally on the questions, how can we create some new facts to ever the process or the mass activity, mass mobilization to accelerate. It depends on that we are primarily those before the Prussians elections, not exploit artificial ways but really prepared facts on can act the election results promoting. The second thing is that with in conjunction with unemployed actions before town halls, etc. Jobless claims our system of quick orientation must expand that We help to a certain extent, the vitality of the unemployed movement to another bring level. I ask the question not putschistisch. I ask the question of the View that the actions of the bourgeoisie require a mass activity, even in such circles of unemployed who brought their own demands on the move must be, by the party, by the RGO, the unemployed committees.

The party does not recognize the Brüning dictatorship to

Furthermore, it must be seen that on April 24, decides - if you as the elections Scale of achievements will be considered in the parliamentary elections - the extent to which the party real revolutionary progress made. There stands before us the fact that the first Stage that is before April 24, April 10th, a certain importance, has a Meaning after the way towards that, if we succeed, each despondency, each depression bring out from our ranks, we also in the revolutionary working class and Moreover, these moods are eliminated quickly and boldly. You can say that - if about the second ballot should decline surprising nature come - the front everything depends on our party, as in the policy of repression of the bourgeoisie will the next few weeks to reply. The party has not the perspective, the system the Brüning dictatorship with their burgfriedenspolitik, their demonstration and Assembly prohibition of slow euthanasia of the masses in politics would mean bourgeoisie recognize. There must be a system of disseminating Leaflets and other materials to be found. must, depending on the balance of power we combine the events with our work in the next few weeks. There must be a Concentration of mobilization in the districts are initiated and carried out. It must be created with the highest degree of activity, not only in the form of real Express intention and agreement, but with the strongest mobilization of cells to the head of the party and the mass organizations in various fields. We should expect a new offensive of social democracy so that they at April 3 also starts, the last few weeks, and especially the last fortnight in exploit a concentrated manner for their policies - which is also true for Bayern, Württemberg, etc. We have the offensive of social democracy and the Nazis, as it is already taken by Hugenberg and the Steel helmet, a real, own daring offensive oppose and introduce measures, to even conquer by disappointed Nazi electorate votes. You must see that it the Nazis, yet they have a success we see and notice must, their successes were overestimated and therefore a great depression especially in the SA-Departments reigns that were set for all other imaginative plans. And if we succeed in this field, the National Socialists by our special methods attack - as the some districts already do, aroundthereby certain to create opportunities decomposition, so we can in this sense a certain make profit for our invoice.
And finally the question of the anti-war day on 6 April and the jobless Day on 19th April. It is necessary that we, if we carry out the anti-war day on April 6, really our solidarity with the Soviet Union and our struggle against the war clearly and clearly need to express.

Furthermore, on April 3, at 12 am, where the truce expires, a throughout Germany General appeal of membership to take place where at 12 am a leaflet distribution takes place, to which must be held a classification in the first two or three hours ago by farms and district organizations in each city where the red

Election workers and sympathizers are divided. Then all have to the country

be sent, as it were to a red country Sunday with certain material,

because it is the last Sunday before April 10. We need certain villages and goods

visit, which unfortunately did not happen during the last election campaign, which in many

Gutswohnungen no material got there we where sometimes thousands of

People live where the bourgeois front that Hitler front and Hindenburg front her

has thrown material. In these areas we have to go on this Sunday. The

is particularly true for the periphery of cities. In addition, we have decided that

April 11, comes out a leaflet, which the masses immediately for the elections to the 24th

April newly mobilized. This should be a special prelude to April 24, because there on the 11th

April Leselust the population is stronger and also perhaps the opponent does not mind

thinks to issue such a material also on April 11, and we therefore already

in a sense get a head start in the political orientation, where the issue of

Prussian policy and our policy is provided.

And last I think all have to be connected these methods, special

Questions of elections in Baden, Württemberg, Hamburg, etc. - for example, in Bavaria, we will not

can not use the leaflet Prussia, in Hamburg and Württemberg. There

have to come out special leaflets, also on April 11, on the whole

Issues that are there, we have to approach bring to the masses, to April 24, the

prepare extra-parliamentary mobilization.

So I conclude from that if we, starting from the result of the first ballot,

starting from the main defects which we summarized and focused only

were able to express who we later in special materials for the entire party yet

issue that if we understand a larger radius of people politically

influence, if we understand the extra-parliamentary action ability

Proletariat, especially the unemployed and other toiling layers on a

to bring a higher level capacity for action, if we succeed, not only in the

Cities but also in the area of the villages to penetrate with the agitation and propaganda

and political orientation, then I am convinced that it is possible,

that on April 10, even with a not very satisfactory result, this fact in

our own ranks is not important, but the party is preceded on April 11, which for

us important elections that come before us to perform accordingly on 24 April.

May 1 Anti-War

Furthermore, we will use May 1 as Anti-War competing this year,

to anywhere in by revolutionary slogans under independent leadership of the party

Germany to keep a revolutionary military review.

choose delegations to the Soviet Union!

The workers' delegations to the Soviet Union to be elected in the factories - the

Schematismus the past in these delegations to listen. Again, must the
Campaign be conducted both in the preparation of the election of delegates as well as in reporting, the use of delegates, not only in the factories, but at the larger periphery of the proletariat to these questions much more promising for us in the to provide coverage and utilization.

And finally, the question that we organizationally and politically with the election campaign, particularly in those cases in which Berlin, Hamburg and elsewhere, our political successes must be anchored more. What was the biggest mistake of the Hamburg organization? That she from 27 September no organizational consequences attracted to political sustainability her former significant successes. But the enemy has consequences drawn from its temporary defeat. Thus he has the pace loss compensated and has the Communist Party surprised on this simple area. We must in Campaign ask that where we had great success, as in Bavaria, Southern Germany, where we must immediately establish these achievements organizationally and politically use and recharge at the various locations. The fact is too light, that where we were strongly anchored in the companies where we in the union had positions there we had, even if no movement was also greater Success, even without movement, because by the revolutionary mass work connect the party and the RGO was expressed with the masses. So I think, comrades, if we tense all forces, if we do not make it as the "world in the evening", the last night in their number, either, especially when the "Red Flag "is forbidden, so" humble "is that they at one point on the second side the courage applies, something to take over the red class candidacy. Otherwise you will find not a word from that. If such a setting exists in an institution, the 300000 People will read when just forget such a fact that the Bourgeoisie is in their leaves every day, it's hard for the party and its Management, the need for political accountability on all fronts to take it as it is the case. So, I believe that for the near future, where new attacks come against the entire leadership of the party, a closed tank must be present against all these attacks. I take out one of many examples. The peasant leader Dr. Home writes for example in an open letter to the NSDAP:

"...I had spoken in my Munich speech the fact that the Communists in 2nd ballot would choose Hitler. "

Why the man says? He says the course because he wants to deceive the masses. In Bavaria, at the successes of the Communist Party, Communism is already for a Danger, particularly in peasant circles, so he brings this fraud in a case many credible acting form. But we also have other examples. Take, for example the "Hamburger Echo" that lash out against the Hamburg lead with almost incredible slanders, of which not a word is true. On this basis, we have the whole party surrounded with a tank. We must try the socialist development in the Soviet Union and the demise of capitalist system in Germany to oppose each other, and the inner faith to awaken to the future of the oppressed class, the proletariat. We need new create enthusiasm, not a moment in these few weeks each let comrades rest, but try with high consciousness, the role of the party, their To provide meaning for the future as it is essential for a Bolshevik Party is such that arise from this fight new fighters for socialism!

Brochure, published by the KPD, Berlin 1932
Beat Hitler and Hindenburg!

*Red battlefront against the capitalist front and their supports*

*Speech Thalmann in Wroclaw*

We give below the main excerpts from the speech of the presidential candidates in the red Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau. Comrade Thalmann led, greeted by stormy, several minutes of applause, from:

Class comrades! It gives me particular satisfaction, here in the East Germany, at the point of deepest misery, to you, the revolutionary working class being able to speak. If the states in Germany, this interweaving of will consider capitalist crisis and predatory Versailles system, then must to denote the states here in Silesia as particularly typical. Eastern Germany is particularly affected by the Versailles system. The separation of Upper Silesia robs Wroclaw and the whole of Silesia hinterland and important sales areas. *Of course, you can not for the prevailing mass misery only the Versailles system make responsible.*

The Nazi leaders who are in the pay of financial capital, want this Method of the enormous debt of the capitalist system detract at all. It is true that the noose of Versailles Schandvertrages and predatory Young Plan with the barbarian lead weights tribute slavery throat of the German people twice pinches, which is already encompassed by the greedy claw the German capitalists.

The tribute slavery of German workers

under the lash of international finance capital and capitalist plunder and Extortion by the German exploiters because the capitalist system are not be separated from each other.

Anyone who wants to eliminate Versailles, must recognize that this struggle is inevitable connected the struggle against capitalism in their own country!

Who wants to keep capitalism who defends therefore inevitably the Versailles System!

This is especially true of the Hitler party whose national demagoguery by their Bonding with the German financial capital, through her boundless commitment to the Private ownership of the means of production at the mines, factories and large estates, is punished priori lies.

Here in Silesia one sees it best, as the capitalist inability and Anarchy with the Versailles bondage twins and thus a direct

Putrefaction of the capitalist economy

is caused by the strongest degree.

The class antagonisms in Germany. The class fronts are located rugged than ever over. This is even more evident than at the first ballot Now, in the second round of the presidential elections. Over the two Class candidacies of the bourgeoisie: Hindenburg and Hitler! Here the only Class candidacy of the working class, the candidacy of the CP!

So sharply and unambiguously the class fronts are facing. And this one Class difference is not only reflected in the program of the proletarian Class candidacy against the candidacies of the capitalist class, but in the whole
Art, as the class enemies of the proletariat and as on the other hand, the class party of Proletariat enter the election campaign. Before 13 March, the first day of fighting election on the presidential elections in Germany, declared all the bourgeois parties the masses that this day a fateful day of German people had. The Social Democrats, the Nazis, the German Nationals and the center - they all proclaimed in full compliance: If you our Parties does result, which is a turn, giving an improvement in your situation. The SPD told the masses: Selects Hindenburg, then you beat the 'fascism! More than 18 million have the watchword of social democracy and the other made Hindenburg parties episode, and now I ask especially the Social Democratic workers, workers and young workers:

Has fascism on March 13, suffered a defeat?
The simple, clear facts show it to any worker who opens the eyes and the head not stuck in the sand:

Fascism has suffered no defeat, but on the contrary: The fascization Germany cold process continues!
The Brüning dictatorship of Hindenburg grace assumes sharper forms. New attacks the capitalists and the capitalist state apparatus against the working people and all particularly against the proletariat are performed. New wage robbery, New content reduction, new cuts in subsidies for the unemployed and pensioners of all kinds - this is the practice the German bourgeoisie after March 13 that only an intensified support and Continued represents this capitalist Hunger Campaign of before March 13. Millions of existences of the proletariat, the urban middle class and the poor Farmers forfeit any possibility of existence and are the naked hunger abandoned. We ask further: maybe one wing of the fascist Front, the Hitlerism, by 18.5 million votes for Hindenburg a setback suffered? If even a true word out that the SPD-workers through their election of Hindenburg Hitler have beaten?

Severing certificate action against the Nazis

Also this swindle the Social Democratic leadership is the facts of recent weeks ruthlessly exposed. The apparent action Severing against the Nazis in Prussia due to their mobilization on March 13 that the SPD for the elections Prussia should create a favorable electoral situation is already fallen into the water. That it only an apparent action was, has the central organ of the SPD itself, the "forward", divulged, declared already on 13 March,

"It do not think anyone from prohibiting in Prussia as little as in the Reich, the Hitler party."

All the "action" Severing ended with the open solidarity of the Social Democrats so often celebrated Reichswehr and Minister of the Interior with the Groener Hitler party. And then came the third blow: The Supreme Court forced the Prussian government, in spite of all Revelations about the coup plans, armories, murder committed by the Nazis, a "comparison" complete with Hitler.
Groener commanded, Severing obey Hitler benefits!

That is the situation. Such is the struggle of the social fascists against Hitler. As these days in the Hamburg parliament, the Communists presented the request, the SA-barracks repealed and prohibit the SA departments in Hamburg, agreed the Socialist Group on the other hand, although for this application, for a majority of Communists and Socialists possible been would. Can the believe Social Democratic workers on the basis of all these facts any longer because that they beat Hitler, if they choose Hindenburg? Or they have not rather recognize that we have been right communists who we. before, as after 13 March explain:

Who chooses Hindenburg, Hitler chooses!

Who does not believe, where it says the bourgeois press of all shades with full Openness. For example, wrote the "German Allgemeine Zeitung", this journal of Heavy industry, by 13 March:

"The election result also means that the German nation refuses to Nazism the to give sole power in the hand. But it is also the most poignant reminder that far was heard to involve him in power, it, according to its national political zoom pull importance through lawful ways of responsibility. Just as Hindenburg Reich President is nothing nappy more than to that him this great work at the right time will allow."

In other words, inclusion of the Hitler party in the government - that is the consequence, the bourgeoisie of all shades, whether People's Party or State Party, of the even to mention German Nationalists throughout, pulling out of the election results of 13 March. Of the so-called "victory" of the SPD over Hitler thus opens in fact Hitler the gates. Do we need more evidence to the great Socialist amount of maneuvers alleged struggle to refute against fascism?

We ask the Social Democratic workers:

Who has banned the Red Front Fighters Federation and not touched the SA and the Stahlhelm ban lifted in Rhineland-Westphalia?
It was the Social Democracy! It was Severing!
It was the Socialist Prime Minister Otto Braun, who wrote to Hindenburg:

"Dear Herr Reich President, To your desire Reich President, on readmission meet the Stahlhelm in the provinces of Rhineland and Westphalia, the Lord Prussian Minister of the Interior with my consent to the Federal Office of the helmet against By letter of 14 June 1930, the re-registration of the resolution in these provinces groups this union promised. ... With the assurance of my special devotion your very devoted Brown."

To operate the Social Democrats with Hindenburg. So they breed fascism large. It is no coincidence that social democracy in all the years from 1918 to today always everything has put it, the counter-revolution in Germany, the monarchist officers, the Free Corps, who are now resurrected in the Hitlerite SA, the weapons and deliver power.
From Noske and Ebert to Braun and Severing takes a straight path.

When the Social Democratic workers, the whole emergency decree, the Brüning lead Braun-Severing dictatorship in the Reich and Prussia in mind, they will understand that the Social Democratic leaders, the most active factors of fascist are policies of the German bourgeoisie.

*Social democracy is the twin brother of Hitler fascism, is the moderate wing Fascism!*

What about the Hitler party?

Before March 13, it said: Hitler is not merely a candidate for the presidential elections, but he is the future President of the Reich. These grandiose phrases put a Hitler party to drive the masses to the polls. Mr Goebbels, the Reich Propaganda Leader the Nazis declared before March 13 in Berlin Sports Palace:

"Hitler Becomes Rich President, it is all in the first 12 hours of his presidency Emergency decrees cancel."

What has become of all these phrases and promises of the Nazis? Hitler himself has 24 hours before the 13th March from the capitalist countries the vow filed that he, even if he came into power, the policy of Brüning, Hindenburg and wanted to continue Severing. On March 12, he told the American correspondent Knickerbocker in Hannover for the event of his election:

"I will not do now immediately all emergency decrees of the Brüning government reversed and I will announce nor immediately that now the Treaty of Versailles would torn. The emergency regulations although as the Treaty of Versailles created facts that you do not simply by may amend that one cancels the emergency regulations and the contract tears."

So this is the real program of the Hitler party. I present here in public the Question:

Questions to the followers of Hitler

Are among the more than eleven million voters Hitler March 13 - if it is not the perpetrators are, but the toiling followers and followers - are under them many who knew that they vote in favor of this program if they choose Hitler?
Are many of them who knew that they and for maintaining the Treaty of Versailles the emergency decrees vote if they vote for Hitler?
Are many of them who knew that they and against the rupture of the Treaty of Versailles fight against lifting the emergency decrees, when they give Hitler their vote?
These questions must be answered in the negative.
The great mass of Nazi followers with the phrases of the social and national demagogy of Hitler's party captured, put to sleep, been intoxicated. one has given them a "Third Reich" dangled without hunger dictatorship of emergency decrees without Tribute slavery of the Versailles system and the predatory Young Plan.
Million were fooled. Just as shamelessly as the social democracy has Hitler party to their electorate on 13 March, the method of fraud, unscrupulous demagogy applied. As the Social Democratic Hindenburg voters, so are also the Nazi Hitler voters ahead March 13, although in a different way and with been deceived and lied to other methods.
Only one party has the crowds telling the truth.

Only the voters of one party are not misled on 13 March and by 13 March of have not been disappointed and betrayed their party: These are the voters of the Communist Party! These are the five million who vote for the candidacy class red United front of the revolutionary proletariat have given!
We communists have the masses before March 13, clearly and unambiguously stated that Never the ballot is able to change their destiny, the balance of power to change. We have the masses unequivocally stated that there is a change of the existing Conditions only by the extra-parliamentary mass struggle of the proletariat and all can give working people.
We have the vast masses of pure wine poured over it that Communists Never fill the position of a civil Reich President under capitalism can, just as we expect it to conquer capitalist ministerial posts. We do not want the sinecures of the capitalist state as the SPD, or the Nazis, but we want the overthrow of the present system and in its place to another without Germany capitalist wage slavery without imperialist tribute slavery, a Germany without social and national bondage:

The Free Socialist councilors Germany!

We said before March 13, even though we knew that the parliamentary Illusions in the German working class are still great, even though we knew we more Voices would get if we like the other parties to this build parliamentary illusions work with election promises and the masses would lie to that a prospect for the communist candidacy would. Instead, we have tried to destroy all such illusions. We have the masses telling the truth. We did it because for us Choose an opportunity of extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses to fight are. We called the masses themselves that our participation will serve the goal of the presidential election, millions of Workers and laborers from the capitalist front of Hindenburg-Hitler Duesterberg tear out and collect as

Fight army against the capitalist system and the Versailles bondage.

I ask, Comrades: Do we keep not right? Has the election of 13 March any changed? Is capitalist plunder and mismanagement diminished? Is the national enslavement and bondage of the German people by the imperialist victors of Versailles also become weaker in the least? None of these! Look round in Germany! Look round in your own District!

Mass misery in Silesia

Take here in Wroclaw the decay of capitalist industry and the immensely large Mass misery! From 3 million inhabitants in Silesia were the end of February this year, 363,983 already unemployed. Since 1931, unemployment has increased by about 72000th Only the city of Wroclaw has a population of 150,000 unemployed, of which 43,000 already Welfare are transferred. In the number of welfare recipients - 1,000 inhabitants always 70 Welfare recipients - marched Wroclaw at the top of the 14 largest cities in Germany. The closures always assume greater extent. 10000 evictions
proletarian tenants have taken place in the last year in Wroclaw. All features
best how tremendously the mass misery.
The Weber misery in Bielawa and Landeshut, the misery and famine in
Waldburger area and in Neurode disaster area is in Germany for a long time
literally. In Silesia, the lowest wages are paid. Especially great is the distress
of agricultural workers and poor peasants. Here sit the landowners of the caliber of
Count Henckel-Donnersmarck, the Prince of Pless and similar feudal exposure apparatus. On
Part of them is one of the crucial backers of center policy,
while others are among the backers of the Nazis.
Here particular sitting of the former crown prince, the hero stage of Charleville, in Oels, where he
the peasants exploits. He is one of the largest landowners, the million
Tax dollars received as compensation by the active help of the SPD. Today he calls for election
Hitler on. From Socialists Ebert brought to Germany, be operated this
very rich Hohenzollern today as cheerleaders for the Nazi fascism. Without the SPD would
this impossible.
It is not the glory of Silesia that here the Chancellor of the emergency decrees, which
Politics has thus brought terrible misery to the German workers, Mr. Brüning, in
the Reichstag was elected.

SAP - a branch of the Hindenburg-SPD

The party, whose leaders for policies in Silesia and Breslau and thus for the fruit
this policy, the primary responsibility for the excessive misery of the masses, whose
Stronghold Silesia is in a sense, this is the Social Democrats and their alleged
"Left" branch, the SAP. The Social Democratic leaders, which of course also the current SAP
Guides include, since 1918 occupy the main offices and livings of the capitalist
State in Silesia and Wroclaw. For the policy of its social democratic mayor,
Country councils, city councils, police chief wearing today's pseudo-radical SAP recommended the
full responsibility.
They have for years the oppositional Social Democratic workers with the hope
cheated, they on the other hand always nourished by a Congress of the SPD again: The
SPD could once again be attributed to the way of the class struggle. Today will
every honest worker in the SAPD admit that we had communists right when we
said that these promises of the then "left" SPD leaders nothing but
Mass fraud were.

The crime of SAP-leaders

As this fraud could not be maintained longer than by the Leipzig Congress of the
SPD leadership forbade even the docile opposition and Seydewitz,
Eckstein and Rosenfeld in a sense put the chair in front of the door, as committed these
so-called "left" a new crime against the German proletariat: They set up a
new party, the SAPD.
That was a vile, counter-revolutionary attack against the revolutionary
United front.
That meant erect a wall between the opposition Social Democratic workers
and the only revolutionary party of the German proletariat, the party of Karl Liebknecht
and Rosa Luxemburg, the Party of Lenin, the Communist Party.
If today the SAP leaders issue the demagogic slogan, against the
Communist Party to fight, but supposedly but for the class candidacy
The candidacy Thalmann is no person’s candidacy, but the class of candidacy Communist Party.

For such demagoguery, ask to fight the revolutionary party and the same time to say: Vote for the candidate of this party! - These are honest workers not to have. Such demagogic slogan should only serve the to conceal counter-revolutionary role of the SAP and its leaders and in fact the to support the slogan social fascists for Hindenburg.

We extend the SAP-workers hand.

Undoubtedly, there are numerous, honest workers in their ranks that really for the cause want of socialism and proletarian revolution fight! But this must Workers do not even feel disgusted when they see that their party a Melting pot for all the dirty defector from the revolutionary camp, for all Renegades, is for all traitors to the proletarian cause? On the so-called SAP Congress in Berlin saw paraded all these bankrupt figures that the Communist Party has hunted for their class betrayal Devil. They now want together with Rosenfeld, Eckstein and Ziegler on the shoulders of SAP workers policy operations make. Every class-conscious workers in the SAP series must recognize: There is only one party the proletarian revolution, there is only one party of the revolutionary class struggle - the is the world party of communism, which is in Germany the KPD! For us Communists there are no dealings with the bankrupt demagogic SAP Leaders, the Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, Eckstein and Ziegler, the KPD against the opposite rushing RGO and against the Soviet Union and at the same time a "left" cloak reassign try. But we are always willing to work with each honest worker from the SAP and SPD series to make common cause in the fight when he is in turn ready to rub shoulders to fight with us against capitalist plunder and fascism, when he at Strikes, unemployed actions tenant strikes or the fight against usury taxes is ready to participate. These workers, we have brotherly and comradely our hand. We provide them not the condition that they must have the membership card of the Communist Party, provided that they are willing to fight against the class enemy. Because we are sure: In practical struggle, side by side with the Communists, these workers are on fastest themselves realize that their place not only in the red united front with the Communist Party is, but be directly in the ranks of the Communist Party have to be. We call the revolutionary class-conscious workers in the SAP to: power circuit with your treacherous leaders who sabotage the united front, the most like even the Unemployed movement split or want to dilute that you misled for years have, when you were in the SPD, and the misled today by SAP, founded! If the SPD for themselves the sad glory takes, "doctor" of capitalism be, then the Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, Eckstein and Ziegler are the physicians of the bankrupt SPD, the Physicians of social fascism!
With their frauds they want the class-conscious workers from crossing the Communist Party discourage and inhibit the advance of the KPD.

This SAP leaders reveal themselves best by their agitation against the red referendum, the carried out the Communist Party against the Prussians of Severing and Grzesinski Has. The red referendum was an important fundamental advance against the Deceptions of the SPD with the "lesser evil". By the SAP leaders today subsequently agitating against the red referendum in its press and the KPD therefore together with the brandlerischen renegades and Klassenverrätern slander, showcase, that the SAP is nothing but a branch of the Social Democracy, in fact, in their policy Services of Braun-Severing, the Zörgiebel-Grzesinski, the Prussian rulers stands.

We forge the unity of the working class

We call the SAP-workers as the Social Democratic workers to: Brecht with your class treacherous leaders, overcomes all cleavage and fragmentation of the maneuver commercial enemies of labor and fight with us for the revolutionary United front of the proletariat!

The unity of the German working class can only on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice grow, as they taught us Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The unity of the German working class can only under the leadership of the only workers' party, the only revolutionary class party of the German proletariat arise, under the Leadership of the party, for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg and countless others Revolutionaries have fallen.

The unity of the German working class can only grow on the basis of the program of proletarian revolution, the struggle of the program for a free socialist Councils Germany, for the dictatorship of the proletariat by the heroic example of Soviet Union!

The unit of the German proletariat can only grow under the banner of Communist International!

That is what we especially here in Wroclaw, in the stronghold of the SAPD, always new have to say the worker comrades of the SAP.

The police practice of SPD

And now a few words about SPD:
Since 1918, the Social Democrats ruled Prussia. Since 1918, here she had the opportunity to show what they can.
And what they showed?
Prussia is now the stronghold of the dark reaction in Germany. In Prussia was by prohibited a Social Democratic police president of the May 1 which is not even the black white red trim cell Bayern dared. In Prussia are under the bullets of the police Only in 1929 33 male and female workers like in the days of May in Berlin.
In Prussians in 1930 by the police of the Social Democrats Severing 43 workers, in 1929 even 54 workers, and this year also shot more workers been.
Never been in all these years any Nazi, Fascist any of
This police of the Social Democrat Severing shot. Must not this simple fact give pause to every Social Democratic workers?
We Communists do not just say that Prussia during the reign of the SPD a stronghold of Reaction is, but prove it with facts!
Suppose the budget of Prussia government for 1932. All editions are limited. But the police budget of Bobby has been increased again by 10 million marks.

If these funds about the mass of the lower police officers benefit? No, their Salaries are also mined and paid on stuttering, like all civil servants and Employee salaries of the Prussian state. But for new melee means the budget by 200000 Mark enhanced. Not for nothing has the Socialist leader in Prussia, Mr Heilmann, the sad Sentence pronounced:

"The police must necessarily be trained in shooting even better than before."

For police dogs you are from 460000 Mark in the budget. For a police dog pays the Prussian State 54.15 marks a month, for a monthly Schupopferd 46.83 Mark and for a proletarian child monthly all 5 Pfennig.

Spy system against KPD "necessary"

Has not today's Berlin Police President Grzesinski as Prussian Minister of the Interior in Dusseldorf in 1929 the need to spy system against the revolutionary Workers defended openly. Not for nothing writes the police Major Kronenberger, Severing commissioner in Ministry of Interior, in the official journal of the police:

"The police must take possession of the gas - that is the order of the day! To be successful, must also want the means! Introduced to tear gas, may also blend gas from Gas guns or small, fullfederañlichen tubes shot, or so-called gas wells to be called off. It penetrates even through walls and make the opponents completely incapacitating. Whether it is true that no physical through the application of the gas Damage incurred must be doubted. The police gas will be introduced and the police will have more of a dangerous weapon."

So it is no wonder that in Prussia, while the "old police state" in Wilhelmine Times annually 103 million marks spent on the police, now under Braun and Severing are issued more than 400 million marks for the police. It is now common in Prussia the Braun-Severing Government that the Police employed in all economic struggles in favor of the entrepreneur. Before the war, once had a Social Democratic member of parliament on the Use the police made a very important finding in strikes. It was at the Consulting the Associations Act in the Reichstag, on 8 April 1908 in front of a scarce Quarter of a century. At the time, explained this SPD member of parliament:

"We can at any great strike movement observed that when Pickelhauben on the plan appear, then immediately and order is being questioned."

Do you know who said that? It was the former metalworker Karl Severing, today Police Minister of Prussia! Must not every Social Democratic workers arrive horror when he at the socialist traditions of the German working class reminded of those labor leaders as August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht that against the revisionism not always the revolutionary clarity of Marxism advocated that the reformists, the opportunists
We Communists ask the SPD-workers:

Can you imagine that the revolutionary leaders of German social democracy from the period of the Socialist Law today adopted emergency decrees, a concordat with the Completing the center or the workers even the election of the imperial field marshal of Hindenburg might ask?

Can you imagine August Bebel, as he does for Hindenburg propaganda? That's impossible. is as impossible as this idea, so little has today SPD anything in common with a workers' party with a socialist party. The Social Democracy and its various "left" offshoot, the SAP or the Brandleristen or Trotskyists include, for life or death to the front of the bourgeoisie, to the front of the Capitalism, to the front of fascism!

_The Hindenburg slogan of the SPD is a fascist slogan!_

_Who chooses Hindenburg, true for fascist Germany!?_
_Who chooses Hindenburg, agrees for Notverordnungspolitik!_
_Who chooses Hindenburg, helps the Hitler fascism!_

Dirty mass amount of SPD

The capitalist state has millions and billions of using the emergency regulations the working people have been pumped out, used to the bankrupt continuous factories, banks and rehabilitate corporations. The fraudulent Social Democratic leadership dares this Billions to private capital at the expense of taxpayers to the masses as a "New era of state capitalism" issue. Yes, Herr Hilferding, the theoretician of the SPD, even calls the fourth emergency decree "a piece of socialism."

Thank you for this kind of "socialism". A dirtier mass fraud as this latest maneuvers of the Social Democracy can be difficult to imagine.

The SPD and Nazis defend the capitalist system. Your goal is to this system to receive.

Hindenburg as Hitler - the candidate of the bourgeoisie

the remnant, equally represented the capitalist system. Who for them True, the vote for the hunger of the masses, for the mismanagement of private capitalists, for the closure of the factories, the wage-robbery, for that million on pavement fly, for that them the supports are cut, for emergency regulations, for boundless mass poverty and unbridled fascist reaction!

But more than that: Those who vote for Hitler and Hindenburg, the votes in favor of imperialist war, for this ruchloseste crimes of international capitalists and also of the German bourgeoisie.

What has the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism far to bloody sacrifices cost? The Chinese authorities publish date following loss list:
killed 6060 civilians, 10,400 missing, 2000 wounded, the homes of almost half a million people destroyed, 160000 totally without shelter, more than a million Workers unemployed. The number of killed and wounded soldiers is kept secret.
This carnage dared the French Socialist Paul Boncour, of only a few
weeks has given up his membership in the French social democracy, as a
"Regrettable misunderstanding" to designate.

What we see in Germany?

The war policy of the German bourgeoisie

manifests itself already at the feverish desire of the economy of the
Armaments of world imperialism participate. We see again the beginnings
those rearmaments that we know from the time of war profiteering, where everyone
Fabrikant its operation Ground surrounded on ammunition production and other war materiel.
The defense of the Soviet Union is a duty of international solidarity due
the class-connectedness of the Workers of the World!
The defense of the Soviet Union is at the same time an act of immediate
Self-defense of the German proletariat, as the proletariat of all countries!

The Soviet Union is the bulwark of the international proletariat.

Their mere existence is the main support which the proletariat capitalist in all
possesses countries against the exploiters and the fascist reaction.
The Soviet Union is the refuge for the policy of peace. You alone fights for a real
Disarmament, which will only be achieved with the overcoming of the capitalist system.
If we look at the present situation of the Soviet Union and returned remind us of what
the bourgeoisie and social democracy 14 years ago wrote about the Soviet Union, it is
totally clear to us by what insolent and deceptive methods the capitalists and their
have tried to hold the masses from the road to socialism lackeys after the war.
At that time it was explained by all means the most savage atrocity propaganda that the
Bolshevism Chaos bring.
And today? Who could now so mad and mendacious assertion yet
put up? Today is indeed that the chaos is not Bolshevism but reversed
was produced by the capitalist system.
Today show themselves in all capitalist countries anarchy and chaos,
Decay of the economy, decommissioning and dismantling of production, millions of
Unemployed and million short-time workers.
In the only land but where Bolshevism is at the helm, where we Communists
rule, in the Soviet Union, the land of the proletarian dictatorship - there is no chaos,
no anarchy, no crisis, but the grand socialist construction, with its
Triumphs in town and country, with its gigantic industrial plants that the
Excellence of capitalist technology put in the shade, with its mighty
Grain mills, which harden the triumph of socialism in agriculture.
There is, still great difficulties to be overcome, not unemployed,
no reward robbery, not a child's misery, no decay and decline, but unremitting
Rise and rise!
We Communists have previously often criticized that we are a "negative Party", the
only "criticize", but could not afford anything positive. Today we stand before the bourgeoisie and
before the Social Democracy, as the Hitler party and ask these parties: Where are your
Services? What you have brought positive approaches,?
The hunger of the masses, the egregious mismanagement, the capitalist chaos,
Slavery and the war - that you have brought it!
For such "positive achievements" we thank you! We do not want communists compete.
Where Communist rule, as there is no crisis, no bondage, no war policy!
On a sixth of the world we have made a clean sweep with the capitalist
Exploiters rabble and his henchmen!

I like not the millionaires. The do not like the SPD and ADGB leaders. Like that
the Nazigenerälen and the Crown Prince's not. I do not like Mr. Hindenburg
and not Herr Hitler!
But you, the exploited workers, the famished unemployed, the starving
Workers in the textile industry, the enslaved young proletarians - I think you will
it like what we have done in Russia, and even more pleased if we the same
be operated craft in Germany!
To all who have not yet understood, it should be said with great sharpness:
We German Communists are determined not to rest and to rest than to
in Germany, the chains are broken, the to the proletariat and the working people
the accursed system of capitalist wage slavery and imperialist
Tribute slavery tie!
Our program in this campaign is clear and unambiguous:

The government program of the German working class!

When we come to power, based on the will of millions of proletarians in town and
Country, then we are determined never to give the power back out of our hands!
Then we are determined this land that is now using the SPD and the Hitler party
of the capitalist robbers and Fronvögten of international finance capital
ravaged, enslaved and turned into a hell, into a land of
Socialist Labor and the Socialist ascent. The factories that today from the
are capitalists canceled, closed and auctioned off - we are in operation
set, but without capitalists, without Directors-General without dividend eaters and
Shareholders without the fascist mob!
The mines, the large estates, the shipyards that steamship lines - today everything
Private property of a small clique of capitalist parasites - we are in the possession
the universality of the working people convict under the hegemony of the proletariat!

We will expropriate the capitalists without compensation!

We are the landowners who today always complain about their miserable lot, although they
Millions and millions in subsidies from the dime of taxpayers relate,
compensation of this their "misery" liberate, by their goods partly under the
Mass of land-poor farmers divide, partly in socialist property of the proletarian state
transform!
So we will put the ravaged capitalism production going again and thus
give millions of unemployed labor and bread!

Work and food for the millions of unemployed

- This is the first and most urgent task of the coming council government
will solve Socialist Germany!
A second issue is the housing problem. We are of the villas and palaces of the bourgeoisie, the current owner, the capitalist parasites chase and working people quartered. For the Directors-General, for Krupp, Thyssen, Klöckner, Bosch and Duisberg, for the Exkronprinzen is enough room in the shelters! If we Communists take power, then we will, together with the now nor Social Democratic workers and together with countless working people who today still fall for the social and national demagogy of Hitler fascism and which we must open our eyes, to eradicate fascism in Germany, root and branch. The fascist murder-plague we will burn like a festering sore!

The weapons will be in the hands of the proletariat. No Reichswehr but a Red Army, no policeman, but a workers' militia - which is the armed force be that the maintenance and security of the proletarian dictatorship and its revolutionary achievements and so really the vast masses of the working People is in town and country!

What we expressed in our freedom program in August 1930 and now in the have repeatedly declared our Central Committee, which we will put into practice: *The Free Socialist councilors Germany, the Versailles system of bondage and Tribute slavery null and void explain!* All this is our goal. For this, we fight and we know very well and tell the masses very clearly that this objective is not the ballot and parliamentary elections can be achieved. is still considered the great word of Karl Marx for us: *The liberation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself?*

We ask the million unemployed:

What you respond to your children to the question why they are suffering from hunger, no bread, no Shoes, no clothes and sometimes no apartment have? Why they are freezing and starve?

The answer is your freezes, you go hungry, it perishes because the maintenance of bankrupt capitalist profit system that requires!

You have no bread. But in barns and threshing floors it rots.

You have no shoes and no clothes. But the bearings are crammed.

You have no apartment. But thousands of large empty flats.

Of the German Country pays one war widow Every day 90 Pfennig, a Heavy war wounded every day Mark, a warrior orphan daily 46 Pfennig. But one disused General receives daily 50 marks, and the German government can for disengaged deserter Kaiser Wilhelm daily pay 1670 Mark. These criminals fund with your tax dollars, the parties of fascism. This is the situation in Germany. That is why we say:

Our candidacy is a candidacy struggle against fascism, against the Emergency ordinances, against police brutality, against the robbery of the right to demonstrate, against robbery and restrict freedom of association, to press bans, against the Prohibition of Red Front Fighters Association, against the workers murders, against the fascist Blood Terror!

We do not say the current presidential campaign to the masses: As you Ernst Thalmann cast your vote, you will be free from the chains of capitalism and Imperialism, it can accomplish the work of liberation for you! No:

**Our candidacy is a candidacy battle!**

It means that we rouse million to collect, organize and activate want
the extra-parliamentary mass struggle against the strike of factory workers
Wage cuts, for the mass actions of the unemployed to support mining, for
Tenant strikes, for the fight against tax usury in town and country, for the fight
against the capitalist foreclosures among small farmers and
Trader.
Our candidacy is a candidacy fight especially against the imperialist war!
Those who vote for the candidate of the Communist Party, the so puts the vow,
participate in the active prevention of war supplies and war transports
by strikes and other mass actions.

Who agrees with us, which has to contend with us!

Who wants to fight with us, who must understand that his vote on April 10 for the
Candidate of the Communist Party is not a lost voice, not a mere
Demonstration is, but just a part of that struggle to mobilize the masses
extra-parliamentary struggle!

Any more voice is a step forward

and means that this battle signal stronger and rousing the fainthearted and
Desperate is heard in urban and rural areas in order to awaken and entrain!
Naughty Ster scams of the German bourgeoisie and social democracy, if they claim
our class was a candidacy Zählkandidatur.
It is a struggle candidacy! Why is a deserter who does not fulfill his duty and
helping to mobilize the masses 10 April. Therefore the one who betrays the
Freedom struggle, who embarks on the inclined plane of thought and parliamentary
explains the communist candidacy is anyway hopeless, so we choose
Hindenburgh or Hitler or practice abstention.
Class-conscious workers fulfill their class duty on April 10, to the positions of the
consolidate communism in Germany in order to awaken the masses and to fight
mobilize, a prelude to the Prussian elections for election in Bavaria
Württemberg, Hamburg and Anhalt to perform on 24 April.
All votes of the proletarians and the non-performing workers for the class of candidacy
Communist Party - that means a fight pledge against imperialist war,
against hunger and fascism!
This means a struggle vow against Hindenburg and Hitler, against Brüning, Groener and
Severing!
This means a struggle vow to socialist revolutionary way out of the crisis!
This means a struggle vow against Germany today capitalist
Penitentiary barbarism!
This means a struggle vow for free socialist councilors Germany!

The Red flag,
04/06/1932
Last call

*From Ernst Thalmann*

We Communists have only one goal: All power in the hands of the working class, a socialist councilors Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union and its victorious Red Army. Drawing on the power of millions armed workers and peasants, the Red Germany all predatory contracts foreign powers tribute tear. Then will be finally realized what we have been Versailles fighting: Not a penny, not a penny more Tribute! Germany will be free, because its workers and peasants of all social Oppression are exempt! No longer the rule of greedy millionaire cliques and their bosses! Expropriation without compensation of all capitalists, financiers and Junker! The gates to the factories! Work and bread for all and forever! Land to land-poor farmers, socialist goods, adequate nutrition and Prosperity for all working people in town and country! Only we can solve the vast masses of these tasks. Only we want the destroy capitalist system of today, with the SPD, like the Hitler party to death and life is united. Only we want through the seizure of power by the working class

make way for the building of socialism!

In councils Germany there will be no Hitler, because it's capitalist "paymaster" no longer will be and no social democratic "statesmen" who Hitler best Pioneers are, the more the proletariat in its struggle against Hitlerism fall again in the arm and by their own policies on the most active fascization Germany operate! Yet it is not so far! But the day is not far off when in front of us the big decision is: downfall in capitalist and fascist barbarism or climb to Socialist freedom! Fighting for this day and upgraded the Communist Party. this Goal is also their struggle to rouse the vast masses in this election campaign, the Use the enemies of the working people to the ranks of the working class confuse and divide. Yes, Hitler must and will be defeated! But not with the ballot in this Election campaign, but in the extra-parliamentary class struggles, the German, the Proletariat must carry to defend its existence when it is not in the wants to go Hindenburg Republic based. Hitler would already beaten, had the Social Democratic leaders not to all
There are Severing laws that apply to us and you Socialist Worker be if we do away with the Nazi murder gangs.

It is Severing Bobby that, and you marched against us and the truncheon easy makes wherever we fought together against Hitler's brown murder-plague.

There are the SPD leaders, the Communist request for closure of Hamburg SA-barracks and prohibition of SA have rejected although KPD and SPD there a majority own votes in the citizenry.

All these are facts!

The Social Democratic leaders say: We communists want to "disaster". they understand by the disaster for the moneybags and beneficiaries of our misery, for the of them great again bred Gelichter the monarchist generals, princes and Dukes, for Exkronprinzen, the Thyssen and the likes! For these exploiters and their

Fate tremble SPD leaders, while unscrupulous million proletarian households have long since fallen into catastrophe.

Where the Communist rule,

as in the Soviet Union, there is the socialist system, there is no crisis, no Unemployment, no bondage, no fascism, no armament of white Columns!

The Social Democratic leaders who carry a mock battle against Hitler in their press, operate through their deception with the policy of supposedly "lesser evil" by her Advocacy of the Hindenburg candidacy only the day before, at which Hitler or his Confidant is entering the realm government!

There would be a cruel awakening for all those who believe, with the to propose ballot for Hindenburg or Hitler Severing police when not a Communist Party would be that despite all hostile, dirty lies Slander with their million followers their Marxist class politics performs as a representation of the general interests of the working class.

Be at any Social Democratic workers aware:

Who chooses Hindenburg, Hitler helps!

Those who vote for Hindenburg, urges the Brüning government straighten out their previous Policy of imposition of all loads to the starving masses and the systematic Fascist Germany continue.

Hitler operates its capital loyal policy with ruthless duplicity. He is always revoked today what he promised yesterday, and tomorrow promise anything, if he can thus serve its big business backers.

Weeks ago, the Central Committee of the Communist Party said in his declaration against Young and Versailles:

"With ruchlosem worker murder the Nazis try to the tottering capitalist system support. Where they govern, they are more reliable carrier of classic and Notverordnungspolitik. you alleged fight against "foreign capital" only disguises their role as strikebreakers and Garde Schuttruppe the German capitalists, the big industrialists, Junker and Exchange Kings. Under the "guise of their outcry" against "the Tribute recycle the more brutal enslavement of German workers before. Would the Hitler party enter the government, as is now already clear that they so pay reparations accurately and as overseer of international finance capital exploit and suppress German workers would like the rest of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy. "

Dukes,
We say to the workers, the unemployed, the workers, small businesses, agricultural workers and poor farmers: Who chooses as proletarians and working people Hitler, for the true good old Socialists word from the better time of German social democracy: "Only the very largest Select calves their butcher himself!"
Which workers and working people want the Exkronprinzen Wilhelm of Hohenzollern, the can press his million income from the suffering masses, the Alliance for the capitalist and monarchist candidates Hitler close?

Hitler and Hindenburg are the candidates of the same bourgeoisie, the same system!

Neither of them can be the candidate of the working class, the candidate of the working people!
The receipt, which already followed on 13 March by the introduction of new wage robbery attacks,

reduction of the Welfare pensions, further reduction of the Unemployment benefits, Plant closures, mass layoffs, profiteering, - this receipt is after April 10 hundredfold all be handed out to those who or a proletarian Hitler chose Hindenburg!

What the Hindenburg candidacy SPD means

which is clear particularly by the fact that the Social Democratic workers in second ballot page not to side with the Kapp putschists Captain Ehrhardt and the less notorious East Elbe Junkers, to march from Öldenburg Januschau.
Both of which certainly are but fascists and arch-reactionary workers enemies have to choose Hindenburg called!
We ask the Social Democratic workers: Is not it clear that the policy of your leaders is criminal when they are in such company? Öldenburg Januschau, the reactionary German National, Hugenberg confidant, said before the war Word coined:

"A lieutenant and ten men to disperse them the Reichstag!"

And Captain Ehrhardt, who through his putschist, fascist adventure throughout Germany is notorious - these are the allies of the SPD! With them calls together the Social Democratic party executive, the SPD-worker at the election of Hindenburg!
Which class-conscious workers will endure in this society? Do we have workers but not all common class and vital interests? Are not our families, our women, our youth, our children every day in the policy of the emergency regulations encountered the deepest misery? Are we not equally enslaved by the Capitalist class and their helpers?
Because it is so, so there is for all those who are fraudulent by not let choice phrases of Hitler's party and the "Iron Front" mislead, only one thing: The red class unity of the proletariat for the revolutionary struggle, as a guide of all working classes in town and country.

The red united front, headed by the KPD fights,

must and will millions of workers and toilers in the fight against Class enemies lead. Repeats the Communist Party has stated that they each Social Democratic workers hand sufficient if he is willing, with us, even without immediate
To become a member of the KPD, together against hunger policies and Fascism. The red unit of the German working class is more urgent than ever the order of the day. Conflagration in China and at the manschurisch-Soviet Russian border! Armaments in Germany and war transports on the railways and sea lanes from Germany against the fighting for Japan for its freedom Chinese people!

| The new world war is closer than ever to zoom moved! |

Why conceal the Social Democratic press the armaments and War Transportation, of which the Communist press brings new messages every day?
The "national Germany", which collects behind Hindenburg and Hitler, is the Germany of the new war, the war against the Soviet Union alongside the bloodthirsty French and Polish imperialism and the executioner Pilsudski.

War is the slogan of the propertied classes in the hope that the deadly crisis of to be capitalist system Mr. The enemy is the Soviet Union that of Bourgeoisie hated country of socialist construction, the hated by all imperialists Land of Peace.

We say: Not the imperialist war, after urging the bourgeoisie, but only the revolutionary struggle for the power of the working class for socialism - this is the Way out of crisis and disaster!

Who chooses Hindenburg or Hitler, vote for the war profits of the German Defense industry and the war policy of the German bourgeoisie!

Our candidacy is not a parliamentary ballot candidacy, but a Fight candidacy against the imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union and thus also for the defense of the German working people against new War crimes, as we have experienced from 1914 to 1918 with all its horrors.

Those who vote for the candidate of the Communist Party, who praised, active at the Prevention of war supplies and war transports through strikes and other attend mass actions.

Who agrees with us, which has to contend with us!

The candidacy of the Communist Party is not only a demonstration of millions, already marching with us, is not a Zählkandidatur, but a part of Combat mobilization of the entire working class to the extra-parliamentary actions facing the German proletariat and with him and under his leadership, millions of exploited working people are in town and country!

Any abstention is only the matter of the capitalist class enemy, helps Hindenburg Notverordnungspolitik and the Hitlerite fascism. Each vote for but our class candidacy strengthens the proletarian class!

Marching with us! Queued you into the red united front!

Enhances the anti-fascist mass self-protection, the sharp weapon of real Struggle against Nazism and his murder columns! Organized with the KPD and with the RGO Native closed fight in the factories and on the Stamp Set against the new wage cuts and the monstrous support reliever!

Only strikes and militant actions can destroy the attacks of the enemies of the proletariat
Give your vote for the fight candidacy of Communist Party of Germany! Then strengthens her the front of the real struggle against hunger, reaction and imperialist War. Then you strengthen the front against Krupp and Thyssen, against Ehrhardt, Oldenburg Januschau and the Hohenzollern, against Brüning, Braun and Severing! Give your vote for the fight candidacy KPD! Then you strengthen the front against imperialist war, against the threat of new massacres, against the Emergency decrees with their millions of misery, against the tribute slavery and disenfranchisement of Versailles system and the predatory Young Plan! Give your vote for the fight candidacy KPD! Then you beat Hitler and Hindenburg! Then you strengthen the front of the poor against the hunger system of the rich! All votes of the class-conscious workers and fight resolute toilers in city and country for class candidacy of the working class and its leader, the Communist Party!

The Red Flag, 04/08/1932

Hitler and Severing regime pilloried!
Red Prussia in socialist councilors Germany!

The Sports Palace speech of Comrade Ernst Thalmann

Comrades At the beginning of my speech, I want to deal with a question, the next in the Weeks doubt in the ranks of the working class big clashes will produce: The ban on the SA and SS, released today by the national government was pronounced. This ban raises the question: How can the German Working class beat fascism? Undoubtedly, the "forward" is tomorrow cheer early, the ban was a "victory of the SPD over fascism ". But we say:

Groener and Severing can never beat fascism.

Those are the only of a wing of fascism, never anything undertake serious against fascism.
Three reasons account for the SA ban: 1. is a foreign policy Measure in view of the upcoming reparations; 2. there is a double Schlager choice for both the SPD as for the Nazis - directed against the KPD; 3. there is a indirect labor of love for Hitler, which is thus freed from the uncomfortable SA and now legally can in the government into it.
We say openly that the papery prohibition with the true struggle against fascism has nothing to do. On the contrary, in the next few weeks with more stringent measures both from the government, as the part of the Nazi gangs against the Communist Party be expected.

Landtag of Prussia against unemployed

Besides this event, there are three facts in recent days that the guide for the Prussian campaign of the utmost importance. In Prussian parliament demanded We Communists treating our applications with the demands of the unemployed and short-time working, which now account for twenty million people in Germany. We demanded lifting of emergency decrees against the unemployed. But none of these
The second event is the Sports Palace rally the SPD two days ago, where the small Sensation was that three Ottos should speak at once. make two or three Ottos but the carbon of the SPD not fat. This SPD assembly was unspeakably political Depression. Not a word about the millions of unemployed! Not a word about the Wage robbery!
We are not surprised. But surprises were those choosing a program expected of the largest ruling party.
One would have expected that a "statesman" whose Party for 14 years at the helm sitting, the workers say what has been done and achieved in this time. But none of this happened!

The Minister of Congress ADGB

The third event is the "Crisis Conference" ADGB on which all but representatives of Operating workers and unemployed are kept. Just as Minister Stegerwald,

Warmvold, Braun and Severing are present. Stegerwald demanded, even under protest in this august Assembly, "equal pay", ie new wage cuts.
The "Crisis Conference" is just a hoax. He brings no work and no relief the emergency. It should serve to calm the unemployed, which also in a telegram French imperialism is expressed. The unemployed can characterize their situation only improve when the demands of the Reich Committee for unemployed basis their mass actions make.
All of these facts, as the election campaign is to be conducted in Prussia how to will receive the ministerial chair.
*We Communists are the only anti-capitalist party.*
We do not want ministerial posts. We are the only party of the deepest mortal enmity connected against the capitalist system, for better or worse with the proletariat and all that are oppressed. We are the party of the unemployed, the factory workers, the SMEs and poor peasants. The majority of all these masses in our ranks detect, is our historic task, we will solve.
The SPD fears for their capitalist ministerial posts, their policy is the policy of the Capitalism. We, however, know only one guideline: the class interest of the Proletariat, the class interests of all the exploited working people!

Twenty million unemployed prosecute against the capitalist system, against all parties to the system. If these starving Masses recognize their tremendous power, then we are much closer to the fulfillment of our goal. When these masses came to march, how would then shaking the class enemies begin.
This is the gray misery army. But it looks in the operation, in the office different? have the Employees and lower officials a better life? Are SMEs and small Farmers not plundered taxes and tariffs? They all have the same interest: Elimination of capitalist rule.

SPD and Nazis - two capital pillars!

However, it is still the case that large parts of these compositions is not our draw revolutionary conclusions. You all must be brought to consciousness,
that their fate in capitalism can not be improved.
We are mainly interested Hitler Party and SPD. The bourgeoisie used the two parties reciprocally, there is a competition for the sinecures between SPD and Nazis. Precisely because they are able to fool the masses. The SPD would have only a fraction of mobilize their followers for the imperial Field Marshal, Hitler had only one Part of the can muster 13 million, if not both each other's hands would work.
It is a serious warning for us that 33 million of the candidates of the reaction voted. This shows that the illusions about the capitalist system still are extremely large. But that does not discourage us.
We see the figures in class terms, not parliamentary.
We do not rely on the stupidity of the masses as the SPD and Nazis; we wake their class consciousness.
We have the deepest conviction that in the long run the deception and fraud is the crowds untenable that the day will come when the masses capitalist Plunder eliminate and fight for a free, socialist Germany are.

The comic strip, the "forward", announces as so often, to the bankruptcy of the KPD. In the "Forward" editorial sits seemingly a Goebbels. Whenever the "forward" our Bankruptcy announced it is getting him badly. Not the Communists bench rotteren but the SPD is, historically, the Decline and moral bankruptcy.

Prohibitions not hold on us!
If the bourgeoisie should try to ban the revolutionary organizations, so we tell her: the rise of such a movement like ours, you can never with stopping prohibitions.
If you think you can stop by tricks and maneuvers our party, is on the Wrong. Our revolutionary fervor will show the bourgeoisie that we have on April 24 will put a spoke in their behalf.
We ask the vast masses of the working people, those of the SPD promises were made about promises: Has your position changed after 10 April? Have the unemployed a morsel of bread more? Did they get a job? If the Operating workers, the lower officials and employees not rather how Stegerwald today announced wage and salary cut further? Are the attacks of the capitalist become less reaction?
Comrades! These days the class justice has a Schandurteil against our comrades Scheringer like. Scheringer has national fraud the swastika unmasked, he did not pass his exams at the university, but at the fortress. He learned at the Fortress that only one party leads the struggle against Versailles and Young: that is the CP!
Today they lock still our best. But we tell them that there comes a time where we they are locked up.

The duplicity of the Nazis
Goebbels explained in the Sports Palace, the twelve hours after Hitler's accession Emergency decrees would be repealed. Hitler himself but said in his famous Interview with Knickerbocker, that the Treaty of Versailles and the emergency regulations
Facts were, with which one must expect. So duplicitous is the policy of the Nazis. They make all layers promises, the exploiters and the exploited.

Only one party is fighting against Versailles: the KPD!

Who do not fight against the capitalists in their own country, can not against Versailles fight. And the Hitler party is how Krupp himself admitted, the worst of the Wage robbers of Montan trusts paid millions to make them communists who to be reflected fighters against wage cuts. And so we see how the Hitler party engaged to the best of our working youth, our red front murdered as rushes against the Soviet government, against the only government in the world the shameful occurred from Versailles. There is only one party, the life and death struggle with the is connected to the Versailles diktat shame and reparations: this is the KPD, the is the Communist world party, the Comintern. But Hitler fraternizing in the fight against the Soviets with Tardien who enslaves Germany, and with Pilsudski, the German minorities in Upper Silesia and in the corridor followed.

With Erhardt and Oldenburg Januschau can not fight Hitler to

We Communists know that you can not beat the Hitlerite fascism when allied with Captain Erhardt and the Hohenzollern Junker von Oldenburg Januschau and with this arch-reactionary selects together in a front Hindenburg, but only through the revolutionary struggle with the KPD, which alone can beat fascism. We say to the Social Democratic workers and members of the SAJ: Eure Voting for Hindenburg will give you once more to think about. If you do not recognize that their common cause drift with your communist classmates must, then you will worse than before the whip of finance capital to feel get. On the day on which the majority of the Social Democratic workers with us jointly take over the head of their leaders across the battle when the great Class army of the proletariat marches, at this moment is fascism be shattered.

We Communists have made great sacrifices in the struggle against Hitler and in addition to the Reichsbanner comrades we have the best columns in the fight against the swastika posed. And what happened? Severing police have our best Antifascist Fighters in brought the prisons and penitentiaries. Severing has the RFB banned and Otto Braun has his helmet allowed. I ask from this place all the Social Democratic workers: As long as the Red Front Fighters Association existed and could march, there were SA-barracks in the Working-class neighborhoods and the provocations of the Hitler party? As long as the Red Frontkämpfer-Bund existed, that was impossible. And who has the RFB banned? Around the Junker Keudell? The does not manage. Since only had the Social Democrat Severing come.

Your SPD leaders ruled since 1918 in Prussia. Where are your positive achievements that her show German workers can? There is none.

Severing has, once said before the war on April 8, 1908 Reichstag:

"We can at any great strike movement observed that when Pickelhauben on the plan appear, then immediately and order is being questioned. "

"
Today the same Severing sets as police minister in every strike his police. Do you have
Lost 1 May 1929, when 33 workers were killed? In 1930 were 43
Workers and 1931 54 workers killed by police. But not a single fascist!

Our leading candidate is the comrade of Liebknecht and Luxemburg

We ask the people who defected to the bourgeoisie and today the top candidates of the
SPD are, given the current state election a worker contrary, the well before the
War on the side and top of its class comrades fought: Comrade Wilhelm Pieck.
There the Minister of capitalist republic. But on the list of the KPD
Comrade of Liebknecht and Luxembourg.
The SPD has become the most active factor of fascism. Prussia is the stronghold of
darkest reaction and the firmest bulwark of Brüning Policy. Never could Brüning
his emergency decrees may be made without the support which he has to Braun and Severing.
Who wants to beat Hitler, must realize that the break with the SPD that the fight against
Severing is necessary. Because the positions are occupied by the SPD leaders are,
no weapons for the workers but for the bourgeoisie. Braun and Severing put the
State apparatus as well as an anti-working Brüning. Therefore, we are fighting Communists
so decided against Prussia government. That is why we say that conclusion be made

must with this regiment that the workers of the job creation requirements
must use KPD.
Million must be mobilized against this intolerable situation. Final with
Compensation for the enemies of the people! Down with the prices, so that the working people buy
can! Down with the duty, to pillage the people! Reduction of tariffs for usury
Gas, electricity and so on! Many thousands of luxury apartments with ten and twenty rooms
are empty. The unemployed have into these apartments!
However, as long as capitalism reigns, these states will remain. conclusion
so will be when we take the communist power in the hands. Then
We also recognize liabilities for received by the capitalists foreign bonds
and the tribute cancel!

Germany proletariat stands on the side of Soviet power!

The only socialist country in the world to attack the imperialists. But 1932
not 1918. Today know million, in case of war against the USSR
is doing. We make no secret that must be tried everywhere,
to prevent ammunition transports and to fight against the bourgeoisie in their own country.
The army of millions of the German proletariat will stand on the side of the Soviet Government.
And it is very likely that if the rulers attack, in some countries,
Todesstunde of capitalism will strike.
Allen workers say: Not on April 24 on the basic rights of the proletariat
decided but the extra-parliamentary struggle brings the decision. Our
Receivables are non-party claims, but the demands of all workers.
When the Social Democratic workers they check, they will recognize that they with
have to fight us. You need to not equal to the membership card of the KPD in the bag
wear, they will come in the battle to us. They too will see that the
Communists are the only party that is the revolutionary way out.

Million for List 4 - a battle signal
As in the presidential election, are also in the state elections two class armies facing each other. It is important that the proletarian army in the battle for higher Wage to work and bread for the unemployed deployed their forces against the bourgeoisie. We want to forward, and further forward! If we on April 24 for a list of 4 of the KPD agree, then shall a battle signal for the unleashing of strikes in the factories for be the increased struggle of unemployed to their demands. The gray columns of misery we will weld together to freedom army. We will go into battle among the great slogans of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxembourg: All power to the working class! Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the red Prussia outdoor socialist councilors Germany!

The Red flag,
04/14/1932

Kampfmai under the storm banner of red united front!

The capitalist world totters in its foundations. The more the capitalist exacerbated world crisis, the more open treads of imperialism in all countries the way of the war. Bloody mass murder, imperialist war crimes to the "salvation of bring humanity "after all other methods of capitalist politics shipwreck have suffered. Whether under Hoover or Brüning, under Macdonald or Mussolini, shows everywhere the decline of the capitalist system, everywhere reveals the bankruptcy of capitalist methods of government, where there is no difference whether the country Victor or vanquished in the last world war were. As always extend the capitalist world economic crisis in the various countries and what you will do to "rescue" of the decaying capitalist system always - there is no definitive salvation and no resurgence of capitalism! With the means of criminal crimes, as the scandal around Kreuger and Deterding has revealed the fascist violence with methods and brutal plundering Vast masses, tries the ruling class, to hold on to power and the Collection of tormented by unemployment, hunger and arbitrary working people suppress. All predictions that we made Communists for years, confirmed. Of the War is not a distant threat anymore, but already a fact. The raid of predatory Japanese imperialism and the criminal conspiracy of World imperialism is the partition of China and the strangulation of the heroic Freedom struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants are enforced. The workers and laborers throughout the world have given the progressive Provocations of Japanese imperialism and the White Guard bands in the see Manchuria immediate danger in the eye, that already in the next few weeks pass the Japanese imperialists to open attack on the Soviet Union and same hour, the client states of imperialism in the western Soviet border to the Up arms to their country of workers and peasants, the bulwark of socialism.
and the world revolution, the haven of peace, the land of the proletarian dictatorship warlike raiding.

Each worker, each worker and all other working people must evidently aware be that victory or defeat in this war of capitalist environment against the at all exploiters and their lackeys hated socialist country without crisis and without unemployment also mean victory or defeat of the world proletariat.

In this historic hour between war and peace, we celebrate this year the 1 May the World day of struggle of the working class!

We raise high the banner of revolutionary internationalism. Fester than ever we forge fraternal band of proletarian solidarity, the fight Bonding with the victorious proletariat - the Soviet Union and the working people of China!

The ruling class, we can not be in any doubt that we are all our forces use and be a hundredfold to each attack on our socialist Homeland, the Soviet Union, in active alliance with our French and Polish Classmates, with the proletarians of all countries, using all the means revolutionary class struggle to fight.

We reiterate our call to all proletarians who help war the German bourgeoisie for Japanese imperialism, the ammunition transports and war supplies to the to prevent Manchuria by deed. We are mindful of the word that the founder our Party, Karl Liebknecht, 16 years ago in the middle of war fever in the illegal May 1st demonstration in 1916 on the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin expressed that the Enemy we have to beat, in their own country is!

For years, the Social Democrats and the II. International with their shameless propaganda the war of intervention prepared against the Soviet Union. With cynical frankness lends itself Hitler fascism of the German bourgeoisie and the international financial capital than Sturmbock to join the war against the Soviet Union. Side by side with the predatory Polish imperialism, with the blood-stained executioner Pilsudski, wants the Hitler party, if it comes to power in Germany, the German workers and laborers as Mercenaries for the raid of the French and American imperialism against the Soviet Union barter. That is what the proletarian abused must recognize followers in the ranks of the SA and SS formations!

While we Communists the only party in Germany enslaving fated against fight surrender of the German bourgeoisie against French imperialism and the masses the way to real freedom, the fracturing of the chains of Versailles Systems and the predatory Young Plan, the revolutionary way out of the crisis show upgraded the bourgeoisie for a war against the only country the only state power that the Treaty of Versailles until today does not recognize and has always been the struggle for freedom of the German Workers standing against imperialist enslavement to: the Soviet Union!

Rearmament of Germany in the imperialist war front against the land of proletarian dictatorship - that is the requirement of the German bourgeoisie on that Geneva Conference, the the capitalist powers hypocritical and hypocritical designate "Conference on Disarmament" and on the sole representatives of Soviet power for the Peace and fight for a real disarmament.

War against the Soviet Union and the hunger whip of the fascist dictatorship against the own people - this is the "way out" of the bourgeoisie. Against the criminal policies of ruling class, it is the common struggle, the closed and the fight firm united front of millions of workers and working people in town and country forge!

For years, the Social Democratic leaders and the reformist leaders of ADGB wants to tell their followers that the policy of social democracy policy of a
"Lesser evil" and a way had to Hitlerism, the terrorist
Fighting organization of the bourgeoisie "by the power keep". Thrice called the SPD in
recent months their supporters to the polls with the promise by the
Ballots for Hindenburg or Brown-Severing could be "defeated" Hitler.
Three times the SPD announced its adherents, Hitler was "defeated" been.
What prove the facts in reality? Today the Social Democratic workers see
even as a result of this policy of their leaders that the Hitler fascism is not beaten,
but the point is to come to power. Today the simple facts hammering
every worker who wants to see, the observation that the path of social democracy and
its policy is a way of fascist Germany, the Social Democratic
Leaders raise Hitlerism in the saddle.
The Social Democratic workers who freely trade union workers, the proletarians in
Reichsbanner who performed twice the Hindenburg slogan of the SPD leader sequence at the 24th
April presented in the service of the Braun-Severing policy, are bitterly disappointed. Coming in from the
them elected Reich President rewarded with the requirement to terminate the
Reichsbanner and of them supported Brüning-Groener government shows its true
Face more clearly and more openly than ever before with the new Groenerplan that
prohibit proletarian military formations and in the way of Notverordnungsdiktatur
introduce compulsory labor service and a large fascist paramilitary organization, the
young workers strikebreakers, reward oppressors and usable cannon fodder for the
to make imperialist plans of the German bourgeoisie. Severing but who
Leading candidate of the SPD in Prussia elections, already announces unequivocally the latest
Stage at the Social Democratic toleration policy to consist in the

Hitler party peacefully on "legal" ways and voluntarily to the government power
Allow zoom.
All promises of the Social Democratic leadership as misleading
Masses proved. The most important lesson that the German working class in its entirety
must be derived from the three elections this early year, is the recognition that the working class
can never ascend to political power with the means of bourgeois democracy
and that only the proletarian dictatorship enabled the proletariat, all his enemies, and head
beating members of the fascist counterrevolution devastating and forever
eradicating. To this principle of Marxism have the Social Democratic
Workers return after Hitler after the so-called "rules of democracy"
could conquer 162 mandates in Prussia. There is no democratic way to
Socialism. There is no "economic democracy" in capitalist country. There is none
peaceful replacement of bourgeois class rule, not "growing into
Socialism". There is no struggle against fascism, of the parliament or
Standpoint of bourgeois democracy could be performed from. Because the bourgeois
Democracy and the fascist dictatorship are both only two forms of the dictatorship of
Finance capital.
This doctrine, which the Communist Party for years, of the masses again and again
has pointed out, it has been confirmed a hundred times by the experience of the last elections.
Therefore there is no bolder slander, no more stupid insinuation, as the lie of
Bourgeoisie and the Hitlerite and SPD-press, the Communist Party wants "a
Consummate expression", would alter its class line and class policy. This
Class politics and class line is the results of the last elections and the
quick facts the policy of the German bourgeois hundredfold confirmed and
been substantiated.
Everything we Communists our social democratic class brothers on the
real content and consequences of the SPD politics, about the real meaning of
Braun-Severing-policy thought in Prussia, is now by the practical facts underlined. Just the choice of 24 April has given us right a hundred times that the Prussian bulwark of Brüning Policy is a springboard for Hitlerism and that Social Democracy is a party to be the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, whose whole policy of the deadly enmity against the social revolution and against any real battle action of the proletariat against hunger, fascism and imperialist War is conducted. Just because we are serious with making the red united front real overthrow of fascism, we Communists will not for a moment the Forgot blame the SPD leaders in the growth of Nazism and not refrain moment later, their current role as a lackey of the bourgeoisie in the Denounce fascist Germany. Who would pass up who the role of SPD as social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, because of the growing importance of Hitlerism than the immediate terror and fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, would deny would betrayal of the proletarian class struggle, betrayal of the interests of Workers, not least the Social Democratic workers and SAJ membership itself commit.

That the development of the proletarian revolution until victory is not a straightforward way, We Communists never conceal the masses. Just the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie the mutual use of Hitler fascism and social democracy by ruling finance capital in Germany facilitate mislead the working masses and complicate the task of the communists in the class front of the revolutionary Freedom struggle the majority of the proletariat, the decisive vast masses of to collect the working class and to lead the fight. But nothing can eventual stopping win the German working class over all their enemies when in sight of fascist mortal enemy together tearing their powers and those insurmountable red manufactures united front whose urgent need by the Prussians elections by ever broader masses of the social. democratically organized workers is recognized.

If we at 1. May our cry for this closed battlefront against the renew fascism, so we do this as the only party that really always been this fight led, as we commemorate this same time those brave comrades from our ranks, that fell in their hundreds in the struggle against fascism, by the thousands in the dungeons languish, put their blood and their torment testimony that we are always in the front line have been in the struggle against fascism, the SPD leaders the Hitler movement directly contributed to ancillary services and afford. Given the fact that the methods of social democratic policy the Hitlerism have opened the way for government power, we are Communists do everything on our part, the vast masses of the revolutionary workers and workers together with the Social Democratic and free trade union workers on the way the economic struggle against Hitlerism ahead out. We are all do to block the Hitlerism the path to government power, his terror breaking and crucial it with the new red rise of the working class beat. The on the way to social democratic policy that is not possible, but only the methods of revolutionary mass struggle, with the use of the proletarian Class power in operation, to the punch points, in town and country - that is by the Experience of recent weeks clearly proved.

Not for the first time, but repeatedly in the months behind us, we have the social democratic and free unionized workers an honest proletarian struggle alliance offered. We have thus never allowed to doubt that in all the days fighting our goal adamant before us is: all power in the Hands of the working class! A socialist Soviet Republic! The proletarian dictatorship to the
Instead of always becoming fascist bourgeois capitalist republic!
Today also abandon one iota of it, would not only shameful betrayal in the face
the civil war ends equip class enemy, would not only be disastrous for the
Communist Party, but at the same time for the whole working class!
Not we, but the Social Democratic workers need to change the Front: *Extracted from
the Hindenburg front*, in the you have maneuvered your leaders, in you a
Höltermann issued the command to each active combat action against the fascists
refrain! *Into the united front of the proletarian class struggle!*
This is what we call the Social Democratic workers at this 1 Mai. Power
An end to the policy of your leaders, the politics of the compromisers with the bourgeois class and
their ministers, with the employers, with the generals! *Bethink you own on your
Class power!* Decides you to the methods alone success against hunger and
can bring fascism, the methods of the class struggle!
*Fight with us for your demands and proletarian real class interests!* The
is the only condition that and the Central Committee of the Communist Party
revolutionary trade union opposition in its call to all German workers to
Formation of a united front in the fight against new attacks on wages and
Support rates is.
"We are ready", it is said in this call to the in each operation, on each
Stamping point, in every proletarian organizational position must be taken "with
any organization, are united in the workers' and really the fight against wage
will lead and support degradation, to fight together ".
Comparing this new offering with the observations of the Social Democratic leaders, with
Severing the words in Hamburg that he would be happy, "when the movement of
Nazis would out of clear political heads, with which one policy

drive and go together a piece on the way to rebuild Germany
could".
Is it not a world that every honest Social Democratic workers from these
Confessions of SPD leaders separates the coalition readiness with Nazis?
But what separates the Social Democratic workers nor of its communist
Classmates except the artificial wall that the Social Democratic leaders and the
reformist ADGB leaders have raised, because for them not of Hitlerism,
but the proletarian revolution is the greatest evil?
When the proletarian masses of Germany march this May 1st then
they must be aware that we in Germany the largest and heaviest fighting
go to meet. Just now, the Finance Minister Dietrich explains, the upcoming
Winter would be even more difficult than the last, to the Chancellor Brüning already
had identified as the most severe winter for a hundred years. The dictatorship Briining
Groener Hindenburg is preparing a political general strike from the far-reaching significance
in front. The proletarian youth should be taken and suppressed in the first place.
Compulsory labor, new labor and paramilitary are the slogans under which
Germany is to be renewed for the impending war against the Soviet Union. Of the
Ally the Socialist ADGB leader, Minister Stegerwald, has the right
the entrepreneur proclaimed on new wage cuts. About eight million workers are operating
it threatened. *The support degradation of the unemployed is more brutal than ever
increased*. million unemployed can their children no bowl of soup, hardly a piece
give dry bread more. New pension reduction will be prepared! Social security should
be eliminated! The employees and officials shall be reduced, the content again.
*The black-brown coalition* between center and Nazis - another
dangerous step on the road to open fascist dictatorship - is only a matter of
Time. A boundless dictatorship Regiment threatened the toiling masses in millions
Germany. The paperne "ban" the SA does not prevent the continued
existing SA organizations in the darkness of their illegality new assassinations against
perpetrate proletarians and sooner or later, or in the state-sanctioned sports
Will awaken compulsory service organizations, or in another form to new life. New Terror, new prohibitions and brutal attacks threaten the legality of the Labor organizations.

During the working people in Germany by the domestic operations of the
major foreign policy issues was distracted, taking place behind the scenes
imperialist diplomacy events that the working masses of Germany million
want to become entangled in the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.
For hunger fascism, fascism war! This is the program of
ruling class in all capitalist countries.

Only one forget the gentlemen in Berlin, Paris and New York: stronger than their power which is the
Proletariat, if it united and the common fight against the
accursed capitalist system rises, which in itself is only the most brutal violence
the power can be obtained.

Million to be sacrificed to the slaughter of the new imperialist war,
to ensure the rule of the millionaires. Million, it will be that this
thwart criminal attack and in the spirit of Lenin, in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht against
their real enemies march!

On all fronts of the class war and at any time and hour forward under the red
Flags of the Communist International, under the banner of revolutionary storm
Marxism until the elimination of the capitalist dictatorship and the victory of
proletarian dictatorship, which opens the door to socialism!

Long live the red united front! Long live the closed, single revolutionary
Class struggle of the workers in the company and on the dole, the staff in the
Offices, banks and department stores, in the fight alliance with the poor peasants and the
non-performing SMEs, with all the exploited and oppressed in town and country!

Long live the common struggle of the Social Democratic, the free trade union and
unorganized workers and workers who Reichsbander workers, shoulder to shoulder
with the Communists against the common class enemy, against hunger campaign of
Exploiters and terror of bloody fascism, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,
for the victorious advance of the working class in the struggle for the conquest of political
Makes.

The Red flag,
01/05/1932
Comrades!
Today is heard throughout the world, in all the cities of Sturmschritt the marching
Workers' battalions. In the fight against all his class enemies the crowds committing the
Proletariat the great world day of struggle. Our great revolutionary military parade here in
Lustgarten and in the adjacent streets, in the city where Karl Liebknecht and Rosa
Luxembourg in 1919 in the revolutionary struggle of the White Guard soldiers
were assassinated, our revolutionary military review is steeped in revolutionary
Elan and the deep, passionate commitment to the victory of the proletarian
Revolution.
Here in Berlin three years ago, a Social Democratic chief of police the futile
Attempt made, the working masses to ban the road that one of the revolutionary
Movement can never rob. Comrades, at the will of the revolutionary working class
under the leadership of the Communist Party broke this attempt.

In Moscow our armed Red Army Class

Today we see that the masses of the revolutionary proletariat of Greater Berlin in unarmed
Lustgarten are deployed. The weapons are still in the hands of the bourgeoisie,
the police, in the Reichswehr, with the fascist organizations. But at the same
Time where here the unarmed red columns against the capitalist state, against
Brüning and Groener, against Braun and Severing, against Hitlerism and all his
Bands march, demonstrate in red Moscow the armed columns of
Workers, youth workers from the factories of the Soviet Union together
with the Red Army, Red Navy and the workers' militia. We know that there our
Class army is armed, we know that there on the walls and towers of the red
Moscow the banner of proletarian power, the banner of triumphant socialism, the
Graphic glowing internationalism blows.
In the streets of Berlin today march the gray columns of misery from the
Stamping stations and from the workers' quarters at while in red Moscow,
Soviet Union millions of people with revolutionary courage to the rise of their country
work. In capitalist state millions are at the gates of the factories, the
Shafts of the mines, from the steamship lines. Although they cry: "We want to work and
Bread!" The gates remain closed.
But hundreds of thousands demonstrate on May 1, their indomitable revolutionary will to
Work and bread to fight. In Bavaria, Württemberg, Bremen, Braunschweig and many
other cities, the bourgeoisie with their police forces by means of
Social Democratic leaders of the proletariat on May 1 banned street. We know, that
Today in these countries and cities and elsewhere, beyond the limits
Germany, where the May Day demonstrations are prohibited, as in Poland, in the
Balkan countries, etc., the storm banner of communism is carried through the streets.

Proud of communism, proud of the Soviet Union

Comrades, we are proud of our revolutionary movement, the massive, large
Ideas of communism. Although we temporarily repulsed parliamentary
are, so we know that never the way a movement whose content truly
is revolutionary, could extend completely straight.

In the Soviet Union the workers and peasants celebrate the 1 May today as a day of
Freedom, a feast of communism. Just today overlook the revolutionary workers
around the world, and also of Berlin, with pride in the completion of the magnificent power station
Dnjeprostroj, the most powerful of all the earth, the world day of struggle today the
Working class arrives at the opening. The workers look with enthusiasm to this country,
created in the new industries and new factories are being built, the millions
giving people work and bread.
Full of enthusiasm, we turn our gaze to the triumphs of socialism in the
Soviet Union against the decaying capitalism in the rest of the world, on the
immense superiority of the proletarian dictatorship against the dictatorship in the
capitalist countries.
The capitalist profit system has for the broad masses of the proletariat only
Anarchy that millions of unemployment, which is a source of immeasurable distress and misery. In the
Soviet Union we see the revolutionary energy and the creative initiative of the masses,
which in fierce internationalism laying the groundwork of socialist construction and the
Track consistent defense of peace.
Just at this stage suggests the bourgeoisie in capitalist Germany million
Working men and women, exploited working people, the fist in the face. You can
a new provocative attack against the working class to proceed because it is the
Support the social democratic leaders and the Nazi leaders is certain.
We are and remain proletarian class fighters

If today the Nazism thanks to the policy of social democracy sass his head rises when the Nazis speak the insolent provocation in red Berlin venture that it was uncertain whether the revolutionary working class nor the next year May parade is committing, so we answer them as follows: Once the bourgeoisie 1929 dared to prohibit the workers on May 1 street. But our party is with the revolutionary traditions of the past struggles connected. No ban is ever keep us and the proletariat of the traditions of class struggle faithfulness preserve.

During the imperialist war, the international workers' movement by the War and the shameful betrayal of social democratic leaders smashed, inhibited and suppressed. But on May 1, 1916 marched anyway in the Streets of Berlin, the revolutionary youth, the revolutionary proletariat on to led Karl Liebknecht to demonstrate against the war and the monarchist government and to fight. That was in 1916, in the time of deepest oppression. Police arrested Charles Liebknecht and the militaristic Prussian Justice threw our great revolutionary Fighters in the penitentiary. But two years later were all imperial Regime and a few dozen princes sent packing.

When the fascist mercenaries now believe Germany from Marxist spirit say to clean, they are mistaken as then the imperial masters, so we them ye shall be on the granite million front of the Communist Party and the revolutionary working class hard nut to crack. When Hitler when Goebbels today express its threats against l. May parade of the German proletariat, so they must know that the boots of the worker battalions march, sooner or later the brown mash murder-plague be that no more wet spot in Germany is left of her.

Today four main issues standing in front of the working class.
First, how we struggle against the imperialist war?
Secondly, how do we beat the bloody fascism?

Thirdly, how we fight the hunger whip of capital from and fight decent living conditions?
Fourthly, how we gain the revolutionary way out of the crisis in Germany?

War against USSR's war against Germany working class

Most particularly, it is the problem of the imperialist world war, Mai today at l. In such a burning situation where on the Sino-Japanese war zone thousands of proletarians are murdered for capitalist interests at the forefront of Interest of the working class. It must be ordered:

May 1, 1932 a day of struggle of the international proletariat on the eve of erupting World War!

Even thundering cannons against China already gather at the borders of the socialist fatherland Japanese divisions and White Guard gangs and lead their provocative actions. Each day can the start of the new slaughter of peoples bring, imperialism, the Soviet Union threatened to the east, while on its Western frontier to attack the vassals of French imperialism.

Given this threat to the country of socialist construction we call Communists the millions of the German proletariat to: The attack on our socialist fatherland is an attack on ourselves, on the German working class, is a
Attack on the international proletariat!
Who wants the war against the Soviet Union, wants the war against the German working class!
The Soviet Union is undoubtedly with its Red Army and its armed workers
and farmers prepared to withstand the imperialist enemy to the borders, it is
never allow even a shred of socialist soil is robbed. But not only
the Red Army stands against the enemy, but in all countries are at the back of
imperialist army battalions and divisions of the workers, all the here and in the
World are deployed, out of the factories, of the stamping stations, ready to
to defend the socialist construction of the Soviet Union.

Our slogan that goes through the ranks of the working people today is: the defense
Soviet Union, the fight against one's own bourgeoisie, against their own government, against the
Capitalism in their own country. That is why we let the Communists in Germany also do
no doubt that, if the German bourgeoisie in the war against
Soviet Russia involved, our goal the defeat of Germany and the capitalist
Victory of Soviet power and the Red Army!

Today the Hitler party operates the sharpest of all parties in Germany
Warmongering against Soviet Russia. Thus it continues the work that the
Social Democratic and ADGB leader in 14 years German Republic in propaganda
and agitation, have followed in the policy towards the Soviet Union. In all other
we see a similar development areas.
If the bourgeois press has alleged in connection with the election results, that the
Communists are planning a radical change its tactics and policies, so that's a
impudent lie. In reality, the elections in Prussia and Germany have shown that we
Communists were right, that is not by the social democratic politics, as the SPD
Leaders claim that fascism was defeated, but that social democracy the
Fascism has brought up in Germany, and that the bourgeoisie is willing the Nazis in
take the government. Three times the SPD voters went to the ballot box,
supposedly to "beat Hitler". And the result? The real success is that the
Hitler party is about, and in a legal way in the national government, the
accede Prussia government.

In Groener attacks the red united front must answer

Groener tried even earlier measures in the line of new emergency regulations
enforce that an attack on the few social rights of the working class
mean a stop which is directed primarily against the working youth. In front
all he is to carry out the compulsory labor service, by 900000 people
forced labor is dictated. The attack is directed against the proletarian
Military organizations are waging a real struggle against the bloody Hitlerism.
New so-called governmental sports organizations should be created that the
to serve military training of young workers.
We call on this point at this rate of development fascist millions
Oppressed in Germany, the Social Democratic, free trade unions and
unorganized workers to:
Makes us together those battling active united front of all the exploited against the
Policy of the bourgeoisie!
We say to all workers:
The hour has come when their fascism uniform fighting front
oppose must to stop him criminal crafts. Our appeal is
also an appeal for a joint struggle for the daily requirements of
Working class. The generous readiness of the Communist Party, with all
Workers, regardless of their party and union membership, together to their
common interests to fight, for sure.
In these active days fighting it will also succeed in the workers who in today
another political party are to convince of our goals and for us to
to win. If we go from this point to the work, it is the
Communists do not mean it honest with the battling red united front. The fights
the next weeks and months will refute these scams.
Revolutionary mass struggle in red united front is our slogan that the foreground
stands, which must be worn in all working-class neighborhood, in all establishments and unemployment offices.
Not with empty promises and hollow phrases the proletariat is served, but only
through the mass struggle! The proletarian youth must alongside their adult counterparts in
This struggle led by the Communist Party and the Communist
Youth League are in the front row.
The increased terror of the bourgeoisie, we oppose our increased combat readiness,
with which we are new ways of the class struggle tread. it is on this way
weiterzumarschieren and forge a united front. In this way we collect
Majority of the working class. In this way we will go forward to new
Siegen.

Only a party of the bourgeoisie hated: The KPD!

The hour is more serious than ever: There are today only a party that hates the bourgeoisie and the
the proletariat loves and is willing to form the fighting front! This is the
Communist Party.
Reichsbanner comrades, Socialist and unorganized workers, closes us
the front against wage and support robbery, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the
Dictatorship of the proletariat.
From this point we will send the class-conscious workers, who in the dungeons of the Republic
 languish, our revolutionary greetings.

We remember the great and nameless dead, on the battlefield of freedom
have fallen.
165 million workers and peasants in the victorious Soviet Union we greet hot and
fraternally.
Our Japanese communists, an under tremendous terror and victims
heroic struggle against the Japanese capitalism and imperialist war
result, our revolutionary greeting to as the Chinese workers and peasants,
raise their freedom banner.
We raise the banner against the war, against the imperialist war and
his accomplices.
We raise our Red Storm Banner and entbieten the international proletariat our
revolutionary greeting.
It applies not only to demonstrate, but go one step further and to fight. Out
the trenches of the class struggle out to the assault on the enemy
Capitalist class! If the vast masses of the proletariat its mighty power
recognize, the 1 May come when the working class no longer unarmed,
guarded by armed police deployed by the ruling class, but even
arms in defense of their socialist fatherland holds in his hands!
From the Department of Ernst Thalmann
at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the KPD in Berlin on 24 May 1932

The rise and rise of a revolutionary party and therefore a revolutionary Movement is not always straightforward. In the history of all revolutionary parties with an real class foundation in the proletariat, great historical experience and a core possessed Bolshevik clarity in the performance of their work and tasks are recorded such operations that - with such a development, as we in Germany have - a wave motion in the development of mutual relations a party not only feasible, but politically explicable with its related compounds and soon will be understood. That was so in the life of the Bolshevik Party, and the will be no different in the lives of other parties, unless special exceptions to this rule occur in any field ...

Today we have to see our mistakes and weaknesses more clearly and discover daring to thrive not only in the problem, the necessary internal knowledge, but to the party at improving the quality of work in all fields
We sometimes have the issue of the fight against Fascism seen a certain equality between fascism and social fascism. We have yesterday emphasized the appeal of the Central Committee that the social composition of the SPD and the Nazi party is another. The note is necessary for the strategic orientation for Winning the masses for the revolutionary class army and for our United front policy. The question of the united front, we must at the Social Democratic Workers provide very different from the Nazis ... The composition of these two parties is quite different. We have emphasized the appeal of the Central Committee that the social composition of the SPD and the Nazi party is another. The note is necessary for the strategic orientation for Winning the masses for the revolutionary class army and for our United front policy. The question of the united front, we must at the Social Democratic Workers provide very different from the Nazis ...

The most important is the tearing around the party to a real united front policy of below, to trigger battles and new mass actions in various fields. And here we need to understand in these battles pursue as party new ways that asked to take the main focus of which would have been in the past in a different form can be, but must now be asked, because the pace of fascism and
On the other hand the development of the revolutionary movement is our duty ...
The most important thing we have to create, if we want to trigger battles is that already existing wall that stands between the Social Democratic and Communist workers, to eliminate. There already have been a period where this issue to the party against Will various comrades was provided as revolutionary in the lead - in Ruth Fischer period. Today our Party has grown, matured, put questions much clearer and more thoroughly. But that before and during the elections between the Social Democratic and Communist workers a certain wall has passed, the denying would in my view, a flattery for the party and no right Assessment of the facts that are available.
On the other hand we have seen that the methods of the bourgeoisie as their enemy Attacks against the proletariat performs, allow today unfortunately large parts of Working class in the claws of these anti-people and others who are parties are that we will try to pull out as soon as possible from these claws have to. And this tactic requires the most basic strength in the implementation of Party policy; it requires the basic purity of those great correct general line our party that we all must take to perform much more concrete, elastic ...
And the question is now how far we succeed, in addition to the methods known to the Central Committee are to appear with a large, new in Germany, special action.
We could this question is not treated in detail, but I to interpret that we a great antifascist action in Germany by our party and the RGO in the way have to conduct. What forms and ways it should contain? All comrades of the Central Committee to think about, and if they believe in two or three days we are particularly to submit appropriate proposals, they should do it in the form of a letter, because we - in addition to the question of the appeal to the German workers at all - this question a must make great antifascist action.

*History of the German workers' movement Vol. 4,*
*Berlin / GDR, 1966*
To our strategy and tactics in the fight against fascism

I. The basic question Bolshevisation the KPD

On February plenary in 1932 the Central Committee of our party was in the analysis of Situation found that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat to the capitalist or revolutionary solution to the crisis in a tougher stage occurred. The current events in Germany, to overthrow the Brüning government, have led to the establishment of the Cabinet Pape and the Reichstag resolution, confirm this assessment. The class fronts face each other more sharply than ever. Germany is coming to a chain of fierce class struggles. In these struggles has German proletariat not only its social existence against the most egregious robbery plans defending capitalist class, it must not only to the counter-attack on the attempt reply, the living standards of the German industrial proletariat to the level of
Colonial slaves to lower of exploited Chinese coolies, but must also addition in the fight against fascist terror and the establishment of unrestricted undisguised fascist dictatorship for its socialist future fight. In this Battle is at the same time the bourgeoisie with the methods of cruel barbaric Violence the whole building of its class rule, their existence as a ruling class to have to defend.

So serious is the situation. And given this fact, it is the highest duty for the revolutionary leader of the German working class, for the Communist Party, the to give compositions a candid, clear and comprehensive response to the issues that arise for every class-conscious workers from the present state of de class struggle necessarily arise.

The first and most important question that we must answer if we German Proletariat the way to victory over the fascist mortal enemies show if we in goal the socialist future want to burp, is how it was possible that in the race Development of class forces of the revolution and counter-revolution, the pace of revolutionary advance remained? For it is a fact that the fascist concentration of counterrevolutionary forces, despite the crisis, despite the revolutionary upsurge in the past more rapidly developed, as the formation the class forces of the revolutionary proletariat and led by him toiling Masses.

It is the bourgeoisie managed to create a chauvinistic wave in Germany, as we have hardly ever experienced before. It has succeeded, widest vast masses from Hatred against the capitalist system on the hatred only against the foreign financial capital distracting. It has succeeded, the masses of the revolt against bourgeois Class rule and divert the class struggle to the mere revolt against the Stranded dictation, against France, Poland, America, England, etc.

But the determination of this fact alone not enough for us. We have the question answer why we did not succeed to stop this wave of the Nazism was borne aloft. The specific conditions under which the sch proletarian class struggle in Germany deployed, the position of Germany as a oppressed country and the resulting increased difficulties for the proletarian Revolution - which comes across the large front of world imperialism, when the German Bourgeois threatened - alone are not a sufficient response. These additional objective Difficulties mountains yes to increased possibilities for the revolutionary party. Out the vast masses of the wavering middle classes, now dominated by the are collected chauvinist wave of the Hitler party and 'collected and on the the bourgeoisie entirely at their intensified fascist attack against the proletariat

particularly supports, might as well under similar objective conditions of crisis and national oppression also considerable parts of the working class as an ally be recovered or at least neutralized. This, all their class position after fluctuating layers are based primarily on where the big battalions to stand. The core problem is and the proletariat, his strength, his appearance remains Class struggle.

The masses in the question of national oppression for the only real way out, to win for the proletarian revolution, the same time the chains of imperialism smashed - this is certainly a difficult task for the Communist Party. Of the National Socialism, which with ruthless chauvinist demagogy petty bourgeois and semi-petty-bourgeois masses intoxicated and enticed on wrong track, it has relatively light. The bottom line is, however, and the question remains why so far the proletariat under our leadership not through the curl of the class issues and the full
Use of its combat power, through its class struggle against the capitalist system, also those attraction to the remaining impaired and exploited vast masses exercised, they detached from the nationalist-fascist involvement and had dragged into the anticapitalist front of the proletarian class struggle. The answer to this question must be substantially: Because the proletariat no major fights resulted because mass actions and strikes of rousing scope and scale stayed away, so the working class and its revolutionary vanguard was not previously that magnet to captivate the other fluctuating layers per se or neutralize could. For this reason in particular, in addition to other, less determining causes, the revolutionary advance not yet surpassed the fascist counterrevolution!

And here we come to the fundamental question of revolutionary work and policies of our own party, to the fundamental question of their Bolshevisation: We have in the past still not learned, despite great progress and achievements, the real transformation our Party from a party of mere agitation and propaganda to guide all actions and struggles of the proletariat enforce. We still have not understood to give our entire policy and work these revolutionary struggle content. We still have the main method, under Lenin's leadership for the Comintern the recovery of the majority of the working class to the conquest of political power in the capitalist countries of Western Europe more than ten years ago developed the tactics of United Front not to a sufficient extent as a method of revolutionary apply mass mobilization to fight understood. We have to say this openly, that up to now the party had not yet overcome the past inhibitions and weaknesses, were opposed to the crucial task of their Bolshevism. but these, it depends on whether we beat fascism. All internal conflicts of the party in recent years, the fight against the right liquidators of 1921, the counter Brandlerismus 1923 against Trotskyism in 1926-27, against the rights and reconciled 1928/29 were stages the struggle of our party to the goal: to become a Bolshevik Party. Today, with where with ever higher development of the crisis, the intensification of class antagonisms in Germany is increasing at an ever faster pace, where the fate of German working class, and perhaps even more so, in the long run depends on whether the KPD revolutionary vanguard, victorious Bolshevik Party as the German workers to can beat - today it is the duty of every communist, helping out that the inhibitions eliminated overcome ambiguities, weaknesses are turned off and the Party is made ready for it, on the experience of their entire revolutionary Development Building, the step to the Bolshevik party fight finally perform.

Not "turn" as the bourgeoisie and its agents talk, but increased application of our revolutionary strategy and tactics, applying the principles and methods of Leninism by the KPD and overcome all remaining resistances and inhibitions - comes it!

If we from this point to the specific tasks of the German working class approach and the principles and methods of Leninism to the concrete conditions apply the class struggle in Germany in the current situation, arising a number of individual questions, which are answered by the Communist Party have to. This show questions and give an answer to it, to the following be tried.

II. The economic foundations
The foundation on which the more stringent transition of the bourgeoisie for fascist methods of rule came as by the replacement of the Brüning government the fascist government Papen-Schleicher expresses, is the further worsening of the economic crisis and the related sharp intensification of the class struggle. The approaching threat of financial disaster was the continuation of the previous Brüning policy no longer to. The further maintenance of the public finances, payment of salaries, pensions and subsidies, especially for the millions of unemployed, the rehabilitation of bankrupt municipalities and cities, the continuation of the millions of gifts to the big landowners, subsidizing of industries - all encounters immense difficulties. The intensification of the crisis causes in this years seasonable decrease in unemployment almost completely absent and in the next few weeks and months can be expected with a new rise in unemployment. Particularly acute the threat of disaster is for the bankrupt big agriculture, for estates especially in eastern Germany, for years, hundreds of millions in these things großagrarischen been pumped. Now came the moment the bourgeoisie wanted to leave some of these things to their fate. The was the meaning of „settlement plan“ the Brüning and Schiele, on the basis of which a number the completely indebted and collapsing großagrarischen Things should be acquired and released for rural settlements. Economic policy you Brüning government was from domestic and foreign policy reasons set on sticking to a stable currency. Until quite recently hoped the Brüning government in the face of growing difficulties for the public finances, as for the entire credit system, by a support of the foreign financial capital new, larger loans. This was what the former Chancellor with his Word of the "last hundred meters" meant to Lausanne Conference. In recent weeks finally turned out that such speculations would fail.

On the other hand, the mass poverty is increasing in all layers of the working people ever more terrible forms. The ruin of countless peasant farms, starvation level of existence, to the condemned hundreds of thousands of so-called "independent existences" in the urban middle class are, the pauperization former employee and the broad masses of the petty bourgeois and semi-petty-bourgeois strata in town and country form the social background of the tremendous impoverishment of the working class. The proletariat and the closest to him standing layers of employees and officials are approximate since the beginning of 1929 DM 30 billion was stolen on wages and salaries. These 30 billion around which the Living standards of wage earners have been reduced, are the internal market withdrawn and simultaneously cause the depression of a mass consumption extraordinary deterioration of living conditions for the urban middle class and the rural livestock farming.

What emerges from this economic situation? The maintenance of the capitalist system is possible only with measures whose aggressive character on the vital interests of the working class and all working people still many times more radical and must be more brutal than the previous hunger offensive in the era Brüning. With total openness the Papen government announced in its policy statement that it "Monstrous sacrifices demanded by the people." The previous social reaction is as "State socialism", the previous policy than that of a "welfare institution" means. With such words that appear to be controlled starving millions feisty Hohn need, the implementation of a program of capitalist offensive against the will
introduced the working people, the one never reached the degree of brutality of the ruling Class documented.

In the organ of finance capital, which is close to the new government especially, the "Berliner Börsen-Zeitung" it says in an article on June 7, 1932:

"Certainly the need is places already huge ... but the German people as a whole has seen in 1931 in housing, food, clothing and so on a consumption of over 1913 and therefore incompatible with its deep lowered revenue is ... the same time, these coming poverty of life, the only way for a revival of production and characterized for the fight against unemployment ... More work and simpler life - that is inescapable, German fate."

What is behind this "poetic" phrases, one need hardly speak: a new, immeasurably increased raid on wages and salaries, the monstrous attempt eliminate support of unemployed radically, smashing the Social security at all, in other words: the dismemberment of all rights of Working class and other working people, the destruction of the labor organizations Transformation of Germany into a penitentiary capitalist labor, militarized Plunder and enslavement. The show first emergency decrees the Papen government already that is committed to implementing this program into action.

III. The class character of the Papen government

The Cabinet of von Papen is made known, the majority of members the feudal nobility together. Upon its establishment, the special requests were playing the most most indebted Rurals a special role. The whole appearance of this Government and its associated circuits occurs a strong impact monarchist Trends in appearance. The Socialist leadership and the press used this Facts and speaks of the Papen government always only as the "Cabinet of Barons". Around it is so important for us, appearance and reality of the new government sharply from each other separate, fully clarify their class character to the for the workers' struggle to find the right thrust.

Concerning agriculture consist in the camp of the bourgeoisie serious differences. It is no coincidence that it also to the question of the settlement program of Brüning and Schiele Conflict with Hindenburg came because Hindenburg the extreme position of the Rurals and large landowners represented, the order for the maintenance of their indebted estates whatever fight. In industry, there are certain trends in contrast, viewed against too costly wishes and demands of the big landowners, the z. B. against the so-called "self-sufficiency efforts" of the big landowners are set and the Papen Government will lead to further differences.

In fact, it has the overthrow Brüning and the establishment of a Papen government some change in the context of bourgeois class rule accomplished. The dictatorship the bourgeoisie in Germany is based on the class alliance between finance capital and the big landowners. This class alliance took place in the form that the Trust bourgeoisie in alliance with the big landowners, the power exercised. Little has changed in essentially unchanged. but well brings the Papen government expressed that temporarily the weight distribution in disem class alliance a little in favor of the Agrarian Party - even the parts of the agricultural capital, the relatively less with matted finance capital - has shifted. Their share in the exercise of power is relatively
In his published recently talking to the bourgeois writer Emil Ludwig said Comrade Stalin among other things:

"Nevertheless, feudalism is a social order in Europe long ago shattered life considerable remnants of it still further in the manners and customs. From the feudal Circles go further still technicians, specialists, scholars and writers shows that the Mr practices in the industry, in technology, in science, carry into the literature. The feudal traditions are not broken up until the end "

How much these versions Stalin true just proves in the most recent Events in Germany. The Reichswehr, whose officer corps almost invariably the feudal circles originates, is intimately bound up with the particular interests of the East Elbe Rurals connected. The fact that the bourgeoisie this main force instrument their class rule and its General tip had to admit more influence extended inevitably, the share of large landowners under the capitalist Class rule. Today's support of power are also the champions of a monarchist restoration. The full restoration of the ancient privileges of their Layers in Wilhelmine Germany is their goal.

So it is no coincidence that the current stage of development in Germany a new Revival of all the old reactionary and feudal forms and traditions unleashed. As in 1920 the monarchist Kapp Lüttwitz coup was organized, contained the Ultimatum that the marching on Berlin counterrevolutionary forces the Ebert-Scheidemann presented, especially the following two points:

1. Formation of a Ministry of "professionals" and appointing a general to Reichswehrminister.
2. Immediate invitation of new elections.

Today we find this program into action in the Papen government. The third Point of the ultimatum of the monarchist coup in 1920 was the requirement after the election of the president by the people. It is characteristic that the time a leading Kapp coup, Colonel Bauer, in an interview with the American journalist of Wiegand aufstellte the demand Hindenburg had to Reich President chosen contact. Today Hindenburg Reich President thanks to the benevolent Use of social democracy and today he leads the former Kapp Lüttwitz program by. The monarchist restoration efforts that in the bosom of the miter Lüttwitz movement hid, were at that time just as much with the person of Exkronprinzen connected as heir apparent, as again today in the camp of reaction in the whole rabble of Junker, barons and generals appears to think the same Exkronprinzen for "Regent" * That is the placeholder for an upcoming

* "Locum tenens": althochdeutsch "fuerverwan" and means "represented one's body." (Note from deutsche-.kommunisten.de)
The monarchist danger is thus grown enormously.
The most important thing for us is not the external forms and accompaniments that
twist to openly fascist methods that traces the German bourgeoisie, but
the fact of this change itself. The fact that the Junker, Barone and barons again the power
exercise that the heirs of a rotten class and long vanished
Society be purged upwards again, is of great importance in the fight
against the Papen regime, but still does not affect the main questions of the class struggle.
The proletariat must not forget that its main enemy not the medieval robber barons
or their descendants, but still the bourgeoisie, the financial capital,
capitalist system, in whose service the generals of the Papen regime are exactly
as the "frontline soldiers" the Bruning era.
Does that mean a weakening of the struggle against the tendencies of a monarchist
Restoration in Germany? Not at all. It is, rather, by the illumination of
to provide class-relationships clarity about that these plans only on
thwarted class struggle against the bourgeoisie and just so struck their supporters
can.
If the SPD leaders against the Papen government is always of a "cabinet of barons"
speak, the captains of industry, the capitalists but "forgotten", so they want to allow the
Masses deceive and discourage class struggle. sharper order so we need the masses
show that the Papen government of captains of industry, Junker and generals a government
the big capitalist dictatorship is that immediately the fascist dictatorship in Germany
will be prepared and set up. sharper order we must make it clear that it is this
large capitalist-fascist policy of the German bourgeoisie, the feudal and the
lets monarchist elements again become more prominent, and thus also the greed
Rurals another leeway granted. No doubt may arise that
it is the here not in the least to a class moderate change since the of
SPD openly supported Brüning course is.
The new situation is rather by a significant change in the methods of
bourgeois class rule in. On this change - not on the
Class content of their policy - based the drastic difference of Pape regime
opposite the Bruning era.
We therefore need to fight in assessing the Papen government against two errors:
both against any underestimation of the extremely important phrase which the

Bourgeoisie has taken with the establishment of the Papen government, as well as against any
liberal juxtaposition of Brüning and Papen government.
Any such liberal opposition would hoax of social democracy as
facilitate the Nazis. Both have no interest - the one to
Defending their Brüning Policy, the other serving the Papen-Schleicher - the
current operations impersonate a "regime change".
The change that takes place the bourgeoisie in their methods of rule and - as we must always emphasize again - the class content of bourgeois dictatorship nothing changes, is the transition of those methods of rule, in which the mass fraud as the main means to conceal the dictatorship alongside direct Violence was used to open violence as the main method.
The XI. Plenary has noted that the transition of the bourgeoisie of the methods of Democracy to those of fascism is an organic process. Opposite some Errors and excesses we have in the German party this doctrine with reference to the defends concrete experiences and hardens. Even in the present situation it is of utmost importance for the revolutionary class struggle, for a truly revolutionary Strategy of the Communist Party, as the leader of the working class that we the handle operations in the camp of the bourgeoisie not superficially and schematically, but due to a really serious Marxist analysis. Not the respective position of these or that party within the bourgeoisie class front can for us the starting point be our consideration, but the policy of the bourgeoisie as a class against the Proletariat and the other working strata.
The transition from that rule method of cheating the masses to be Concealment of capitalist dictatorship served to that method, in the open Gewalt plays the most important role, is neither a single act, nor even a mechanical change in the forms of government, but a dialectical process. Neither the bourgeoisie under the banner of democratic rule method to the simultaneous Application of direct force method does not, nor do they remember where enhanced transition to fascism the means of cheating the masses overboard throwing. In the living class reality there is no absolute forms and Limits, but always transitions and links, even with the great historical Upheavals of a social order to another. It applies in particular to the change in the domination methods within the same class rule, whose Class content remains unchanged.
It is therefore not a contradiction to our characteristic of fascist Papen Government when the Papen government of the Junkers, generals and captains of industry, of the bourgeoisie was used to the immediate establishment of the fascist operate dictatorship in Germany, its activities with parliamentary elections and with Lip service to the "loyalty to the constitution" opens. Measures that euthanasia issued and mislead the masses as "mitigation" of political emergency decrees are, indeed serve only the realization of the most brutal exemptions against the Communists or mean, as the Reichstag elections, an open Favoring the fascist terror organizations of Hitlerism.
The essence of the current change in the methods of rule of the bourgeoisie, the personnel expressed in the replacement of Brüning and Groener by Papen and Schleicher was, is this intensification of the attack against the proletariat. The increasing fermentation of the toiling masses, the mass demonstrations and hunger marches the unemployed, the beginning of a certain wave rising strike activity in the Establishments, the simultaneous degradation and radicalization in the allegiance of Bourgeoisie among the working people, the expression in the total disappearance of the old bourgeois parties, the decline of social democracy and in, though still finds insufficient consolidation of the revolutionary movement, forcing the bourgeoisie to brutal methods against the working class.
Will they in the face, the growing difficulties and the worsening of the crisis their
V. Fascist dictatorship and war policy

The policy of brutal repression of the working class, the fascist attack on the Labor organizations is closely connected with the intensified war policy the German bourgeoisie. The firmer and final inclusion in the anti-Soviet front,
which results from the French orientation of the Papen government, makes the planned
Attacks on the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass organizations to
Actions that serve the immediate war preparations simultaneously. In the same
Direction are the plans for the militarization of youth by introducing the
Labor conscription. The Papensche foreign policy of capitulation to French
Imperialism does not mean a deferral of the imperialist lust for power of
German bourgeoisie but with the tendencies of the upgrade in the interior closely
connected. At the same time, as the Papen government in Lausanne again submission
operates the German workers under the Treaty of Versailles, lead the German
Militants in the question of the eastern borders an active imperialistic course a, of the
threat of military adventure against Poland and evokes the utmost
exacerbated. The danger dos war various imperialist powers groupings
with each other, including, yes - active role of Germany has grown powerful, thereby
the risk of intervention war against the Soviet Union is heavily reinforced.
The war policy of the German bourgeoisie wins all the more important, when
by the entire international development on the issue of the war theater of
next intervention war against the Soviet Union, a certain shift
looming. While this spring, the threat of the Soviet Union by the
World imperialism primarily from the far east increased, now clustered at the
Imperialist war risk related to the development in Germany
also in the west of the Soviet Union more threateningly together, without thereby affecting the
Meaning of Manchurian operations in the background moves.
Precisely because of the predatory Japanese imperialists underestimated his strength and a
greater resistance of the Chinese workers and stronger imperialist
Complications encountered when the Japanese imperialists had foreseen, the
War policy of the German bourgeoisie to a more meaningful the more danger. The
chauvinistic wave in Germany and the open warmongering of Hitler fascism
the Soviet Union contribute to increase this risk even more.

VI. The new kick for SPD

The stronger binding of fascist combat and terrorist organization of finance capital,
the National Socialist Party in the government system is a part of the planned
Violence policy of the bourgeoisie at all. What is the character of the Papen-Schleicher
Government takes today, is the continuation and culmination of a particular process, the
since 1929 falls with the overall development of the crisis together. In late 1929, as the
former Reichsbank President Schacht his forays to undermine Hermann-
Müller-government undertook and initially brought Hilferding case, then in the spring of 1930,
when the bourgeoisie with the fall of the Hermann-Müller-government of the Social Democrats
first kick staggered, started this development, which after more than two years
the Bruning era took its course. Right the KPD characterized the Briining
Regime and its policy as the policy of the implementation of the fascist dictatorship in
Germany. In this policy, the bourgeoisie made use of mutually
Social Democracy and the Hitler party. The first kick of the SPD had this from the
However, government participation in the kingdom away, she Reserve left in the position of a "silent"
tolerant Coalition Party, which also directly in Prussia and other countries and

was openly involved in the exercise of power. The latest twist is this
Development of the policy of the bourgeoisie, which began in the spring of 1930, in a higher phase,
gone to the stage of immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship. The
Social Democracy is doing in the kingdom of scale even from the position of a
At the same time takes place to a greater extent the attraction and open integration of the Hitler party, to which we shall discuss in greater detail, in the system of government Bourgeoisie. In the mutual advantage of the Social Democracy and the Hitler party by the bourgeoisie therefore a certain change has occurred. This change we need to examine very seriously to false, opportunistic avoid conclusions. It is not so that just the Nazis the SPD. "Peel" that as a rendered unusable instrument of the bourgeoisie, the SPD is provided the corner that "the Moor has done his duty and now can go". The would be a mechanical and undialectical approach and a gross underestimation today's role of social democracy in Germany. Such misconceptions appear sporadically in sympathizing with us proletarian press, sometimes even in our own party press and party organization on. Two days after the election Prussia published the newspaper "Berlin morning" a Editorial in its issue of April 26, which stated:

"Social democracy has done its duty, it can go. The Nazis, the Mainstay of capitalist dictatorship."

About the additional role of Social Democracy the article contained no syllable. On the contrary, the mere fact that the center, the former coalition partner of the SPD, now received the coalition negotiations with the Nazi, it was concluded that Social Democratic workers were already "thrown back on their class front" There is clear that the penetration of such illusions in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat a would mean great danger. In fact, can also be found in an article of the Central Organ our Party itself, in the "Red Flag" on June 8, the following wording:

"A significant internal political support of this government (the Papen government. E. Th.), Within the working masses their social mainstay, is still the leader of the Social Democrats."

Here comes a certain opportunistically derailment in the review of social democracy reveal where not even the term "social mainstay" is properly applied. - Non-as the XI. Plenary noted - the Social Democracy as a whole, it is with its policy as social mainstay of the bourgeoisie called, but only "the leadership of Social democracy". This amounts to the construction of the "left" social fascism, was performed at the elimination of "bad leaders" the "social democracy all at once again a proletarian party, could be a class organization of the working class. This blurring of the clear and unequivocal wording of the XI Plenary connected to an underestimation of the size and the difficulty of the task for the revolutionary class struggle to win Social Democratic workers and the isolate SPD. It is therefore no coincidence that the "Red Flag" in another article June 2, wrote:

"Between us and the Social Democratic workers is essentially the question of how to fight and we eliminate the capitalist system. The Social Democratic workers still believe a utility of democratic rules for the proletariat."
the proletarian majority - then the solution would be our main strategic task relatively simple. From such a reduction of the difficulties in the struggle against the SPD, from such overestimation of the importance of social democracy and its current role for its class rule, even from such a right opportunist blurring the role of social fascism would in practice consequently, a change in our strategy in the direction of weakening give our principled struggle against thee Social Democracy. With all focus must we say that the party to such a change does not think, but their General line resolutely safeguards against all deviations. It is, in the ranks of our Party to bring about a complete clarity on these issues to the last member.

We have seen that the bourgeoisie in the same extent that they the of "Democratic" and fascist methods of rule passed, the Social Democrats only from the national government, and more recently from the parliamentary "Tolerance position" repressed. What is expressed in this process? Has about the Social Democracy evolved significantly and is characterized for the bourgeoisie no longer so become useful instrument? That was a completely false grounds. Indeed has in this whole period of Faschisierungsprozeß the Social Democracy as a party further developed. The policy of the SPD leaders is constantly reactionary and fascist, the Conflict between the mass of the Social Democratic workers and their leaders always grown. The finding of the XI. Plenary on the role of social democracy as the "active factor" of fascism in Germany was - as the whole course of the 1931 and the further events have shown to the Hindenburg 1932 election - completely correct. And it is clear that social democracy by the new boot Bourgeoisie not "better" with the beginning of Papen era by a hair, not a hair has become less anti-working class.

On the contrary: The fascization the SPD and its policy has not only the Hitler fascism paved the way, but is still one of the requirements for the present Course of the bourgeoisie with the open attraction of Nazi combat connected and terrorist organization of finance capital. Precisely because the bourgeoisie Social Democracy is completely safe, they can follow a course which it waived, the SPD leadership for their other services appreciable remuneration turn. The sinecures in the State apparatus, the so far one certain arbeiteraristokratischen topsheet granted by the bourgeoisie, are in greater extent again by members of the ruling class itself and its Nazi guard with fitting occupied. The bourgeoisie is clear about that the social fascist leadership also kicked their services for the capitalist system will continue.

VII. The role of the parties in the system of bourgeois class rule

We have in the whole period of fascist repeatedly pointed out that the Use one of the two pillars of bourgeois class rule, the SPD and the Hitler party, the bourgeoisie exploiting the other does not exclude, but that here precisely a certain reciprocity, an interplay despite sharpest Competitive struggle there. Without a proper understanding of this dialectical Interactions and relationships between the financial capital and the various parties of the bourgeoisie, it is impossible to get a clear picture of the processes
In many cases we found in our press a simple, schematic identification certain classes and social groups with different political Parties. Such undialectical approach results in between different groups of the ruling class and the individual parties fixed to insinuate connections that do not exist in reality. But if you go from one such false premise, as one commits the mistake of competition Parties to each other, for. Example, the competitive struggle between fascism and Social fascism, understood as a struggle of different class groupings and thereby distorting the real picture of the class front. One forgets and disguises then the fact that all the bourgeois parties - including the "moderate Wing" of fascism, social democracy - Instruments of the ruling class are, which they, according to their class interests, in the most diverse functions operated.

On the other hand also highlights this relationship between the ruling class and the bourgeois parties not the "life" of these parties, which indicate in the Competition among each other takes the sharpest expression. This life of its own While reflecting usually differentiations within the ruling class, the sometimes also have a certain economic base, but is not in any solid form invariably bound to such class groupings. Nevertheless, it can these differences - theoretically - bring with them that the competition armed between the different parties, to the highest forms Clashes and mutual bloody persecutions degenerates.

If the police vice-president White in the Reichstag the truncheon of his bobby against can bring the application National Socialist deputies, he does so in the context its function that it fully at the service of finance capital, in the service; of the exerts capitalist order.

When the Nazis themselves in the event their full seizure same police vice president announce that they want to make it to the lantern, so would optionally perform exactly the same in their exercise of power, the fully at the service of finance capital, in the service of the capitalist order would consummated.

Some like the others defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, That they doing to fight each other, that the Nazis even are determined z. B. the reformist organizations after the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat to smashed, and that even the Papen government may thus already against the will begin socialist freethinkers, - does not change the least of these Compliance in class content of their policies. It must be recognized that this very mutual Sichprügeln or "hanging" or even in certain circumstances, such exploited armed conflicts of the bourgeoisie and to the Versnob be to deceive the masses and for. one or the other pillar of its class rule clamp.

VIII. The SPD remains the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie

If present, the German bourgeoisie in the reciprocal use of their various props rescheduled, this means - as we saw - not that simply the Nazis to take the place of social democracy. Even that would theoretically conceivable if the Hitler party in the fully deployed fascist dictatorship Breaking even the reformist organizations a huge part of the working class
could bind itself, when the SPD sink into insignificance in the proletariat would, without which we would be communists able to win their masses. That would about the Italian case. In Germany, with its huge industrial proletariat and its strong Communist Party is such a prospect already due to the all objective preconditions even theoretically unlikely. Practically, it depends course of our struggle, of our right strategy and our right Methods from, such a threat by the largest boldness of revolutionary Class struggle and development of all anti-fascist forces of the masses to banish. What is the situation but today? Social democracy continues to dominate in decisive mat those parts of the working class, the revolutionary of the Movement are not yet listed, especially the predominant part of Operating workers. Although the Hitler party is also in the proletariat, before alone among the Unemployed and penetrated in certain backward sections. But the proletarian Notes to the Nazis is still not so significant that he from Standpoint of preservation of capitalist class rule, for example, a "replacement" could make for more than 4 million, which are summarized in ADGB and together with members of other reformist mass organizations of the reformists are clamped in favor of the bourgeoisie. Summarizing this fact in the eye, then it follows that to be the SPD social is the mainstay of the bourgeoisie. One leader de ADGB once the verdict done that hold "anti-union" no government in Germany 24 hours could. This is only indirectly true, but it identifies the role of the SPD and ADGB leaders also against the Papen government. Would a guided us political mass strike, the entire detected in the organizations of the masses ADGB participate, so could hardly, despite Reichswehr and Bobby, the Papen government a such political mass strike, or even a general strike withstand. In other words: The Papen government exists by means of the SPD. It exists thanks to the fact that the SPD and the ADGB still many millions of Workers, including very decisive sections of the proletariat, binds, from the revolutionary class front keeps and possibly even actively against revolutionary class struggle begins. Of course, for us there is no doubt that the ADGB bureaucracy SPD Leadership of this policy will leave under any circumstances. On the contrary: Today the SPD begins with new frauds in favor of Papen government to work. Your naughty agitation against the Communist Party, against our alleged "Ludicrous talk of a general strike," shows how much the professional workers traitor tremble before real mass struggle of the proletariat against the fascist bourgeoisie. So passes the SPD new deceptions big shock a not the mass struggle, not Demonstrations, strikes, political mass strike, but the "ballot" was the Weaponry to stop the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. This fraud is so naughty, as the SPD-workers just looped only three of the SPD to the ballot box are, with the same false promise by ballot could "the Fascism are beaten ". At the same time, the SPD already tried that Papen Government spending as a "lesser evil" compared with a pure Nazi Government and so the old scam succeeded in the new situation. The fascism of social democracy zeitigt through a full range of the most diverse methods and phenomena. From the tops of the social democracy, certain parts of the fit new conditions of fascist forms of rule already so largely on how it them fooling D'Aragona in Italy: run like the former district president Grützner, as the former Prussian Minister of the Interior and other Waentig rather directly to Hitler party over. Horsing, former Reichsbanner leader, pulling a "private shop"
...where he also already speaks a relatively openly fascist language. So it moves on to the "left" SPD-branches, the SAPD and the Brandlergrüppchen that are as dangerous decomposition factors of the proletarian united front to their credit acquire the bourgeoisie and fascism. In such different forms plays the social fascist mass fraud from the stage of violent intensified class struggle. The fact that the Prussian Government Braun-Severing as so-called "executive Government" their own Notverordnungspolitik continues and the emergency decrees of Papen Government performs, is more proof that the SPD in its practical politics not different from the practice of the Papen regime. While the Social Democratic workers the extra-parliamentary mass struggle against the Papen and to recognize more and more as the only way regime against Hitlerism start, the SPD knows as a party only one goal: this mass struggle by all means defeat!
All this is why we continue to the full right of the Social Democrats as social mainstay speak of bourgeoisie and our strategy of this knowledge be guided.

IX. Today's role of Hitler's party

What is on the other with the Hitler party? We have already in the XI. Plenum of the ECCI noted that in proportion as the bourgeoisie to close Violence and open dictatorship methods goes that Hitler party for this specific purposes of violent overthrow of the proletariat, the more appropriate constitutes an instrument in the service of finance capital and therefore open as a governing party would be used. This course is in fact now of the bourgeoisie and the reactionary camp of the Junkers and generals smashed.
Nonetheless, the Hitler Party was as the terrorist and militant organization of Financial capital, organized by this itself and large grown already in the Bruning era fully a part of the system of domination of the bourgeoisie. Back then lay their Sham opposition to the Brüning government as a prerequisite for the great growth this fascist mass party entirely in the interests of Brüning policy Implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Today just is the apparent opposition of the SPD in the interests of intensified fascist policy of the German bourgeoisie, because by their Sham opposition and their fraudulent united front maneuvers Social Democracy can our revolutionary onslaught oppose stronger resistance. Despite that apparent opposition of the Nazis against Bruning formed the fascist Murder terror through its deflection of the working masses from the class struggle, as a method intimidation or provocation and the concealment of one's own capitalistic policies of the Hitler party, in the past an important Support for Bruning Notverordnungs diktatur.

Today, when financial capital with the Junkers and generals, the erection of fascist dictatorship operates directly, the terrorist and militant organization is the Bourgeoisie itself also directly and almost openly used as a support to the government. If the party does not do Hitler immediately Minister sentences - be it in the realm or in Prussia receives, so this tactic of the bourgeoisie to both the SPD facilitate their mass fraud, when the Papen government as a "lesser evil" compared to direct Hitler government outputs, as well as the Hitler party itself protect them from degradation, their responsibility for the obscure ruling system and so this weapon of the bourgeoisie for their terrorist Course intact against the proletariat. In any case, it is within the scope of this policy, Hitler party feit for next time and open to bind to the system of government.
The release of the SA and the beginning of her inclusion in the legal apparatus of power of Bourgeoisie goes hand in dog with a new huge wave of fascist Murder terror that strikes the determined resistance of the workers, the armed Counterrevolution as a mass movement, as embodied in the Hitler organization, and their unbridled use is a prerequisite for the Versnob, freedom of to destroy workers' organizations. But also for its active imperialist war policy outwardly, for its militarization and rearment plans inside needs Bourgeoisie their openly chauvinist nationalist militant organization as a direct Mass basis, without thereby waive the SPD in another function. What now happens in Germany, is the realization of that policy, Hugenberg as leader of the German Nationalists and the whip of the fascist course sought since time immemorial. Hugenberg policy he with partial destruction of one's own Party prevailed to the by growing influence on the Hitler party in National Socialist movement to create a more broader mass base, has in Papen Regime their real implementation found. This policy, as of the most class-conscious, extreme representatives of finance capital championed but does not meet the wishes of the whole bourgeoisie. The Sham opposition of the center is in the first instance a refined choice maneuvers since; simultaneously preparing open coalition talks between the center and Nazis to conceal. But at the same time expresses its opinion to the center and its South German branch, the Bavarian People's Party, the discontent of part of the German bourgeoisie to the achievement of Hugenberkgurses. The thrust of the South German Prime Minister shared with the center man Hirtsiefer as Representatives of the Prussian government against Pape Cabinet was such a significant Demonstration of the center, which logs its claims. These differences in the camp the bourgeoisie existed for years, and also with the accession of the Cabinet of Captains of industry, Junker and generals are by no means definitively discharged, relate basically only the question, at what pace and with what methods the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is to be implemented in Germany. While the Hugenberg-Papen-Hitler policy the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship under smashing even the old mass organizations, such as the reformist and Part also operates the Christian unions, the center defends the other, less dangerous, for lengthy way in which precisely these organizations as a important means to be used to determine the masses of the fascist policy Bourgeoisie chains. With the current bill opposition of the center the bourgeoisie holds the card back, they want to play, if the enforcement of the openly fascist course with the Methods of Papen-Schleicher-Hitler regime in the coming months too strong should result in straining the class rule. this includes of course does not exclude that after the parliamentary elections, the center also the course turn in disguised fascist methods and the open could enter government community with the Nazis.

X. Our revolutionary strategy

What conclusions emerge from the above analysis of the current situation for our strategy and tactics? The goal of our struggle is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, Eliminating the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all its forms. This means in concrete terms in the current situation that we conduct our struggle with the aim of the Papen government together with its fascist combat and terrorist organization, the Hitler party, crushing beat, and that we concentrate all forces on this goal.
Which strategy we need in this fight against the main enemy, the bourgeoisie, apply? We have to win the decisive layers of the class, but "to is the end of revolutionary "and called it, this goal, the overthrow of capitalism, as to fight for the leading force: that is the working class!
We must therefore unchanged with other words to our main strategic task hold as they last along the line of the Communist International, the February Plenum of the Central Committee in 1982 in its decisions formulated: recovery of Majority of the working class in the struggle for the conquest of political power. What results from this task? We must, without the slightest concessions to any social democratic hoax or opportunist tendencies, on the line of our class policy in the new situation certainly the strategy of Apply main impact against the Social Democracy within the working class. What does this mean? Our struggle for the abolition of bourgeois dictatorship makes it the indispensable duty, millions of workers of the SPD and the ADGB by the energetic Concentration of our work on the farms of the anti-fascist and anticapitalist struggle win. As long as they are not exempt from the influence of the social-fascist leaders, these are Millions of workers lost to the anti-fascist struggle. Therefore still remains the Isolation of the SPD and the ADGB leader in the working class of our most important strategic Task. Because this isolation of the social fascists's equivalent to the positive Task, the majority of the working class in the struggle for the conquest of political power to win. Nothing has changed on this our fundamental orientation. To those who on an opportunist phrase, a change of front, a right swing of the KPD speculate, we must put our revolutionary practice the craft.

XI. "Blocking" or united front from below!

This strategic orientation of the main thrust against social democracy within the Working class does not mean in the least a weakening of the fight against Hitlerism, as the slanderers of the Communist Party of the caliber of Leon Trotsky argue with fondness. It is on the contrary an indispensable component, a indispensable condition for the successful fight against the fascist dictatorship.
Mr. Trotsky is currently trying always, again, in the interest of the German bourgeoisie opposite to the class-conscious German workers certain perform deception. He preaches the "block" of the KPD with the SPD "against fascism ". A considerable part of the bourgeois press gives him this lively Cheers.
Lately begins the official leadership of sociality democracy to Trotsky thrown on the ball and trying their real struggle against the proletarian United front against the anti-fascist mass struggle under revolutionary leadership by fraudulent "united front maneuvers" and block proposals towards the KPD disguise. The occurrence of the "forward" -Chefredakteurs Stampfer from the party executive SPD before the Hamburg Social Democratic functionaries, the Afa-Bund Chairman Aufhäuser the Berlin leaders appeal to the so-called "Iron Front" on June 9, as well as the "two questions" Artist of June 14 indicate the future social fascist tactics in this issue. In so far as by the rebellion of the SPD-workers the conditions grow rapidly for the fighting, anti-fascist united front of the proletariat, leading the social-fascist leaders of the SPD and the ADGB their counterattack translucent radical Hoax in the manner of Stampfer, Höltermann, artists, etc. The SAP leaders and Brandleristen outdo it the official SPD sizes even in this type of
"Radicalism" of anything with a reflection of the honest radicalization of the SPD

Workers do.

We are not thinking about the object of the struggle against social democracy
to face those of the fight against Hitlerpartei, the one from the other
time detach. The silly insinuation Trotsky that the Communists "until the"
Social Democrats, want to "then" attack Hitlerism and
destroy, namely corresponding to the mechanical approach of Trotsky, which he himself in
its better days never overcame, but with the reality of the communist
not do politics the least.

Reversed: Mr. Trotsky and similar "guide" of the proletariat want the working class
Suggest such a policy, the struggle of the revolutionary party against the
Fascism and against social fascism, against the Hitler party and against
Social Democracy separates and juxtaposes. The KPD is to:

- Today dispense prescription to the fight against social democracy, a block with the
  form party of the Hindenburg socialism with "Noske and Grzesinski" and Hitler on this
  Type "combat".
- The KPD has serious on the issue of opportunistic distortion of the united front tactic
  historical experiences behind them. Against the falsification of Lenin for the
  Proletariat of the capitalist countries designed method of the united front tactic has the
  Fifth World Congress of the Comintern just the KPD in particular extent the ideological
  Weapons supplied. Open advocate a united front only from the top, a
  "Bloc politics" with leaders of the SPD and the ADGB, it may in the ranks of
  no more Communist Party today. But the fact that, due to the
  numerical growth of our party, a large percentage of the Party membership
  the inner conflicts of the years 1923 to 1928 not yet actively participated
  has, it makes it necessary, in our propaganda work, the revolutionary
  awake to call experiences and results of those conflicts again.

Mr. Trotsky dares his counterrevolutionary proposals with regard to the tactics
Lenin and the Bolsheviks to establish in 1917 on the occasion of the Kornilov coup.
A bolder falsification of Lenin's policy can devise is difficult. If
even the pretty challengeable comparison of the current situation in Germany and the
Situation in Russia in 1917 would allow before the Kornilov revolt, would the former
fully justify the policy tactics of Lenin, as presently from the
Communist Party of Germany is carried out.

What tactics recommended Lenin given the first rumors of an impending
Putsch of Cossack regiments, when the Mensheviks to the Bolsheviks - just like today after
the recipe Trotsky Mr. Stampfer the KPD - a "block" antrugen? Lenin wrote at the end
August 1917 a letter, which states:

"It's hard to believe that there are among the Bolsheviks such simpletons and Villains
could that would now give in a block with the defencists .... With people
which are final over went to the camp of the enemy, you can not negotiate with them includes one
no block."

The Bolshevik response to a block proposed by the Mensheviks would - so
Lenin wrote - are as follows:

"Of course we will beat us. We will but no vote of confidence
engage you - just like the Social Democrats in February 1917 together with the Cadets
fought against Tsarism without closing them any alliance without them even
a moment to be believed. The slightest confidence in the Mensheviks would be today
just such a betrayal of the revolution, as to the confidence in the Cadets in 1907
would have been 1917th " 
With the same clarity we need German Communists today the working class say:
You can not beat Hitlerism without the sharpest struggle against the Social democracy and for its isolation, without the struggle for independence of the millions freigewerkschaftlicher workers from the influence of ADGB bureaucracy without producing the common fighting front with them, whereas the SPD leaders, by all means of propaganda Demagogy and deceptions to fight.
One can not succeed in the fight against the main enemy, the bourgeoisie, the Papen Government and its National Socialist satellites perform without the strategy of Main impact against the Social Democracy within the working class, without this strategy the struggle for the majority of the working class. Not "bloc politics" with the social-fascist leaders, not and never united front only from above, but United front from below, on the basis of enterprises and unemployment offices, the Mass mobilization to fight corresponds to the terms of the present situation. The includes in certain cases, and particularly in a state of unfolded higher Mass movement, the application of the united front tactic from above and below in revolutionary meaning not.

XII. How must the Einheitsfrontaktik be applied?

The question is whether we - for the increased production of the united front from below leading at the same peak offers to the - to the masses for a common struggle Instances of SPD, etc. ADGB judge depends on two essential conditions from: First, it must in the compositions of the mobilization for the preparation of the common Battlefront have already adopted such a degree that a peak range of our site a real echo down at the supporters of the SPD or the Membership organizations ADGB triggers; secondly, must by given concrete conditions made certain that our approach to the upper contact Instances when the mass of the Social Democratic workers and party workers to Will be independent steps in the preparation of the proletarian united front Struggle against fascism does not weaken, not their activity in a certain Waiting transformed, "whether or not the above be because some well", but on the contrary the Mass initiative from below strengthened. These two elements are not naturally from to separate each other.
The bottom line is always that we down in the masses the basis for actions for real combat operations, provide for the real anti-fascist mass struggle. With the rapid pace of development, it can therefore no scheme for our tactics give, but only a living reaction of the party that in any situation the step must perform, which is adapted to the prevailing conditions and the combat effectiveness of Working class to the greatest possible extent unfolds.
The unconditional clinging to our revolutionary class line, the imperturbable Defense of our revolutionary strategy against all opportunist deviations requires at the same time the sharpest fight against other types of errors and Distortions that have arisen in the implementation of this line in practice.
Have we our right line applied correctly? Were there not sectarian Moods in the questions of the united front tactic but an indispensable Part of our revolutionary policy of attracting the proletarian majority and is therefore our struggle against the SPD? Undoubtedly had the practical Our Party's policy in this direction weaknesses that we must liquidate necessarily.
It is totally inadmissible, any neglect of the struggle against Hitler party about the strategic orientation of the main thrust against social democracy palliate or want to apologize. It is not permissible to interpret that revolutionary strategy as meaning that it is sufficient, in constantly denounce our practical agitation and propaganda the betrayal of the SPD, constantly without simultaneously by our whole practice the Social Democratic workers matey to convince them that we the only anti-fascist party that Party of the real struggle against Hitlerism and beyond against the Capitalism at all, the only party of Marxism and the proletarian revolution are.

The actual compliance that revolutionary strategy in the struggle for the majority of Working class requires so that we are able to answer the question as to the Social Democracy best proposes how to most successfully in the working class isolated. And it is clear that the social democratic and free union workers only thereby can be separated from the social democracy, that they in antifascist mass struggle against Papen and Hitler, the anti-fascist struggle Daily promotions and for the proletarian class goals through the application of United front tactic in the common battle front with the revolutionary workers of the KPD and the RGO involves.

Is this a new finding? That's not the case. Just based on the experiences of revolutionary work of our Party we have these tactical problems before more than Year period in full compliance with the Communist International on the XI. treated Plenum of the ECCI. Even then, it was pointed out that we just made have learned the experiences of the German party, how necessary it is, the masses in our whole policy through all our actions and by our agitation and propaganda to prove that we the only anti-capitalist party, the only anti-fascist force are leading the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism. Even then was expressed that the social fascism can not be beat if you are not the Social Democratic workers against the struggle led by the Communist Party fascism mobilized.

If we had this right method in a satisfactory manner by overcoming all errors and Weaknesses applied, we would have achieved greater success. The large Inhibitions against the use of the united front policy with the SPD-workers Omissions in the internal union work, so a major area of represents united front policy, the weaknesses in the operation and unemployed labor, in RGO-work, and the work among the unorganized and the already repeatedly criticized Errors in the assessment and control of Hitler's party prevented us. Only with the Overcome these weaknesses and inhibitions, the KPD, in the first section this article has shown, the crucial step of its final development perform the Bolshevik combat party.

By, based on our Bolshevik self-criticism, systematically and diligently to overcoming these major weaknesses and the eradication of existing Deviations and error approach, we are also creating the precondition for our Role as the only anti-capitalist and anti-fascist party in front of the widest clear and bright to document the vast masses of the German proletariat and thereby collect these masses for the revolutionary struggle under our leadership.

The correct application of the united front tactic as a revolutionary method of Mass mobilization to fight is crucial for the performance of our revolutionary tasks. Where this fight contents in applying the united front tactic missing, where it is merely applied agitatorisch, diving easiest opportunistic Weaknesses. Wherever the united front tactic as combat mobilization through
was conducted, there were fewer opportunistic mistakes and instead unambiguous successes the revolutionary class front.

XIII. The specific tasks of the future

What specific tasks arising substantially thus for our party?
1. We have the mass struggle against the Papen government, against the fascist unleash hunger offensive of the bourgeoisie as broad-based and to develop bring. Economic strikes, unemployed actions tenant strikes, mass Kämpe to Defense of social security, tax against usury, against foreclosures and Evictions, beyond the concrete preparation and draw political Mass strikes and eventually general strikes in all districts or even in Reich scale - that is the line of fights that we must bring about. By this mass struggle alone we can stop the other fascist development.
2. We need to Hitlerism retaliate, too, can only in line with the Leadership of the mass struggle of the working class and the working people happen. The broadest organization of the Red Mass self-protection is of the utmost importance. There are no concessions to the false and dangerous tendencies of the individual Terror, mostly of the class enemy himself in the ranks of the revolutionary working class provocatively smuggle attempts. There are certainly against only the sharpest struggle all Kapitulation- and panic moods, as in the of the Social Democrats Proletariat are grown.
In the fight against the Hitler party, we must be clear: namely, the exposure the Nazis easiest in the area of social issues, the economic demands, etc. take place. But given the great chauvinist Wave it is impossible to repulse Hitler's fascism, if we do not in unmask the national question and our revolutionary path in the fight for freedom against Versailles clear roll in the masses.
Also for the conditions are more favorable than before. The Hitler party bears openly Responsibility for the Papen government, the French orientation and block policies is fixed against the Soviet Union. Compared to the foreign policy of the cabinet, which, if with some nationalist embellishments, a policy of capitulation to French imperialism operates, and compared to a Nazi guard applies it, offensively and sharper than ever our struggle against Versailles on the line of Program of national and social liberation (August 1930) and the declaration of to deploy the Central Committee Plenum of February 1932nd The war policy of the German bourgeoisie, tightening its imperialist Aggression and the resulting threat of imperialist adventures on the eastern border are an occasion more for us, against the chauvinist demagogy of Hitler party our hand the banner of proletarian internationalism to unroll in the masses. We need absolute clarity on that only the proletariat is capable of all Questions of the liberation of German workers from Versailles yoke including Ostprobleme solve without imperialist war. We must provide clarity on that the revolutionary proletariat and its party against the impending imperialist Adventure of the German bourgeoisie, the Papen, Schleicher and Hitler, the most determined revolutionary fighting position relates.
The neglect of the ideological mass struggle against Hitler fascism, which The use of incorrect slogans like "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" And the Underestimation of the rising Nazi wave in our ranks have in the past, the party inhibited in their struggle against the Hitler movement. The largest Intensification of ideological mass struggle, with the creation of the Red
Mass self-protection necessarily have to be connected, the implementation of a serious policy to expose the Nazis as the mercenaries of finance capital, the
Battle alliance with the Social Democratic working masses in this offensive against the Hitlerism - which is the line on which we the successful fight against can lead Nazism and need.

3. We have the deceptions of social democracy, as if they, too, a "Antifascist force" would be shattered. The SPD is trying through its convenient Opposition to Papen and Schleicher to cover up the fact that she and the Papen Schleicher has in the saddle, by tolerating open Brüning. We must the Role of SPD leaders at the forefront of fascist reaction, the regime of Captains of industry, denounce Junker and generals mercilessly, the memory of the Hindenburg election fraud kept alive and the masses, especially the present role of, Social Democracy clearly bring to consciousness.

This tightening of our principled struggle against the SPD and ADGB leader on the Based on the broadest development of united front towards the Social Democratic and free trade union working masses who are really fighting against fascism want, must also serve the parliamentary and democratic illusions of destroy masses. We must in the fight against fascism, against the Papen Schleicher and against Hitler, fighting each Faschisierungsmaßnahme that the increase disenfranchisement of the masses and the existing laws by even a cardboard wants to replace reactionary, let no illusions arise about as if we for want Weimar Republic fight as if our goal is about, constitutional states restore.

We suggest fascism, because it represents the sharpest attack on the working class. We are fighting with all their strength against the Papen, Schleicher and Hitler because they fascist the Dictatorship will raise, because they reflected the proletariat, bloody and terrorist suppress and plunder enhanced short because they previous intolerable situation want to make even more unbearable. We are each fraction of all the rights Working class, every little concession, which the bourgeoisie used to be the working class conceded defend against Papen, Schleicher and Hitler with tension old forces. But we do not give a minute our strength, the strength of the proletarian masses to allow her a Brüning-groaner-rule to the "return".

So sharp and clear, we the Front position of all proletarian Zusammenreißung out working class forces against Hitler, Papen and Schleicher, as clear and sharp we source our front against Brüning, Braun and Severing as the pioneer of Hitler fascism and the open fascist dictatorship!

The XI. Plenum of the ECCI has in his theoretical findings also, among other things sometimes refuted advocated theory that the fascist dictatorship, the "last" Stage of bourgeois class rule constitutes, after it only the establishment of could give proletarian dictatorship. Such false theory was temporarily in the German party present and led, for example, in December 1930 the mistakes and Exaggeration in the assessment of the character of the Brüning government. Today we must be clear to us about the theoretical possibility that the well Bourgeoisie under certain conditions of the fascist regime forms also back to a stronger application of the methods of mass fraud and a can pass democratic disguise its dictatorship, for the center at any time wants to keep the door open. If we this possibility under changed conditions of Class struggle concede so that also means that we the proletariat even before the must warn dangers of such a development.

If it will succeed the German workers, through their combined strength the Papen regime eliminate to beat Hitler fascism in the flight and when the
Working class would be content that the Brüning and Stegerwald that Severing, Brown and Wels position themselves again and again with emergency decrees, govern concordats, Republic protection laws, truncheons and police carbines would, as the German proletariat of the fruits of his own victory would deprive have. So nothing would have been better. Therefore: Never will the Communist Party refrain from the policy of the Brüning government of Braun-Severing Government and the all crimes of the Social Democratic leaders in the past and present repeatedly to denounce before the masses and expose. This enables us to preserve German working class both from dangerous illusions, as well as on the way lead the fight, leading to the real victory and the working class in the state sets to secure the fruits of victory.

4. We need to mobilize the masses to defend the Communist Party. The Security and protection of our party against the attacks of the class enemy is not only a question of the party, its members and the staff, but the entire working class. The party and its revolutionary work secure - is the anchor of the party in the increasing masses. But that requires the concentration of our forces on farms and Stamping stations, the liquidation of all weaknesses of our revolutionary mass work and Moreover, a policy that in the broadest vast masses clarify the role our party as the sole anti-capitalist, the only anti-fascist party creates. A policy that shows the vast masses that we alone the interests Unemployed and factory workers defend that we the only party of the real Struggle against Versailles and the predatory Young Plan, the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the only party of socialism.
All this is not just a matter of agitation and propaganda, but also turn a question of leadership of mass struggles. This results in the close relationship of all these problems and tasks with the core issue of the Bolshevisation Communist Party of Germany.

XIV. The Antifascist Action as the proper "chain link"

Comrade Lenin said in 1920:

"The concrete path or the better turn of events that really the masses to decisive, last great revolutionary struggle zoom leads out herauszufühlen, to properly determine - is the main task of today's communism in Western Europe and America."

This question of the right link, we need to take to the masses to mobilize the fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its satellites and these to unfold mass struggle to higher forms, the KPD has through the introduction of answered Antifascist Action.
The Antifascist Action to all forms of mass proletarian resistance to summarize fascism, hunger and war and develop the active mass struggle. they to us the firm organizing a movement of millions of absorbing red united front enable. Its aim is the party beyond the masses to fight every capitalist road to collect from the crisis and to fight for the revolutionary Way, for the proletarian revolution to prepare.
So the Antifascist Action is the next link our revolutionary policy, Form in which we, the united front tactics Angle on the basis of plants, Stamping stations, the use working-class neighborhood in the broadest manner. But it is not enough, this
We must, as part of the Anti-Fascist Action, the internal union work forCreation of a broad opposition movement in the reformist trade unions with take utmost energy in attack.

We must work the RGO as one of the main transmission belt of revolutionary movement to the masses of our detachment of the working masses of the facilitates influences of the class enemy and an agent, with the rate on the farms improve.

We need to provide an understanding of the importance of the masses, the partial struggles to as part of the development of the mass struggle belongs to the political mass strike.

We must exploit the Antifascist Action to the alliance between city and strengthening country under the banner of proletarian hegemony what the straight fight fascist counterrevolution is of utmost importance.

In the service of the Anti-Fascist Action we offer entire campaign for Reichstag elections. This also means that we fully this campaign entirely on the Based on the concentration of our forces on operations and stamping stations for exploit extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses to fight. The stronger the Million commitment to communism fails, we all by the strain our forces want to achieve in the Reichstag elections, the fight joyful and to be determined the masses outside parliament during strikes and in the know to beat defending their revolutionary party.

Therein lies the great importance of these extra-parliamentary general election, we each class-conscious workers, each worker, each young workers, we the working people in must bring town and country to consciousness.

XV. The slogan of a workers and peasants' government

In our mass campaign for the Anti-Fascist Action, we have the slogan of placed workers' and peasants government against the Cabinet of captains of industry, Junker and generals undoubtedly has a large igniting force. Even on the issue of Applying this solution looks our party back to certain experiences that the large percentage of our new members are less familiar. Trying Right Opportunists under Brandler and Thalheimer in 1923, from the "Workers' and Farmers' government "a" intermediate form between bourgeois and proletarian dictatorship, a to make "transition solution" was a plate distortion of this revolutionary solution, which had set up the Comintern. The slogan of a workers and peasants' government for us a synonym of the proletarian dictatorship, a more popular and the broad masses million clearer formulation, with the content but otherwise expressed.

With this solution, we provide our entire mass campaign in the service of Antifascist Action that direction over the current stage to Reichstag elections and beyond indicating the target of the revolutionary way out. The is all the more necessary as the new situation created from the worsening of the crisis and Intensification of class antagonisms, turn all the internal and external contradictions increases and exacerbates all the contradictions. The conditions of the revolutionary crisis ripen in violently accelerated pace. With the unremitting propaganda for Workers and peasants government in place of today's capitalist-fascist regime we develop among the masses, the banner of the people's revolution, in which the characters proletarian army of liberation in the partial and daily struggles of the present, in the Defense and in attack, formed in all the battles of the class struggle!
The political situation in Germany and the tasks of the KPD

On May 31, spoke at a meeting of officials of the KPD in Hamburg-Altona Comrade Thalmann on "The political situation and the tasks of the Communist Party". We refer to the report of the "Hamburger People's Daily" the following parts of the large-scale political Unit:

The fall of the Bruning Cabinet is a new proof of the accelerating Fascism in Germany. Despite agreement in principle in the fight against the revolutionary proletariat differences are in the camp of the bourgeoisie, especially about the pace of the pre-coating the Nazis to government, but also from the difficulties to carry out the reactionary plans against the proletariat without running the risk that the proletarian revolution the rotten capitalist system is overthrown. But here arises the interesting and important problem, of which the other development depends on how far that is the combat power of the working class and its revolutionary party, the KPD, the implementation of this anti-people attack and may authorize completion of the fascist dictatorship and wants. Because of us, and whether we new ways to increase the activity and the revolutionary struggle of the masses see, it depends on whether we can the advance of fascism curb or not.

Therefore it is necessary that the party learns all their weaknesses and shortcomings not only critically determine but with Bolshevik daring and determination to overcome.

The current deterioration of the situation forces the Party, quickly all measures to take to the existing gap between our decisions and their practical close implementation. Of this, whether it is possible the party to solve this task depends the further pace of fascism in Germany to a considerable degree. There are currently three tendencies within the financial capital that a acceleration of fascism and an intensification of repression and exploitation rate against the working class and against the working people demand: 1. a part of heavy industry; 2. the Agrarian Party; 3. the Reichswehr.

These groups are with some plans as they pursued Brüning far, particularly with the development plans and proposed for this purpose Buying larger Lands by the state, does not agree. This demand of the bourgeoisie vigorously the complete destruction of the tariff system, the abolition of state Unemployment insurance and indeed the destruction of social security. The SA-Prohibition is for these circuits and in particular for the officers of the army, both from foreign and also prohibitive for domestic political reasons.

The so-called "national concentration Cabinet", which is now made up of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, actually has only three tasks: first, the rapid Solution of instantaneous financial issues where the most urgent cover the deficit in Question is, furthermore, the representation of the foreign policy interests of the Lausanne Conference and finally the dissolution of the Reichstag and the implementation of elections, by the Nazis a collaboration with the German Nationals Majority and thus intend to achieve the conditions for the takeover.

We must clearly recognize that it under the circumstances, and given the enormous chauvinist nationalist wave quite possible and conceivable is that the
On the other hand, we observe an increasingly ideological convergence translucent socialist Social Democrats to the Nazis despite all radical Maneuvers, which are now to carry out the Social Democratic and ADGB leader. A Such correspondence between Socialists and Nazis shows the way not only on the issue of compulsory labor service, but also in such issues stronger Attraction of unions for accelerated fascism and its transformation in organs of the fascist state. Even from this approach is clear what must identify the party with all seriousness, namely that even if the Nazis in the Government come, the Social Democrats still due to their strong anchorage in the workers social mainstay of finance capitalist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains. The Social Democrats declared guilty of fraud in the last election their masses, the to beat fascism, and in reality it was defeated in the elections. I ask the question, how best to our Antifascist action that we to a crucial axis must make in our policy around the development, as a real million mass movement on the basis of the proletarian united front can unleash. Until April 24, believed the SPD supporters, the Social Democracy will fascism beat with the ballots. But she was beaten. Hindenburg, from the Social Democratic leaders as a guarantor of civil peace and the Constitution, as Patron held up against the Nazis and the workers at the Presidential elections was recommended as a candidate, today Mr. Brüning walking papers in order the place of the old Bruning Cabinet the reactionary government of generals, the nobles and to set the Junker. Thus Hindenburg is the right wing of the bourgeoisie openly the banner of fascism in the hand. Never was the situation for the comradely conviction for obtaining the Social Democratic workers for the proletarian united front, for our Antifascist Action as low as now. We need to understand it, the events of the last time confirm our line and seems to be causing the bankruptcy of the policy of the "lesser evil" in a real popular mass agitation the masses of the Social Democratic Workers to bring in all their importance to consciousness. Undoubtedly, the mood of the workers in favor of the revolutionary movement has vastly changed. Undoubtedly, the fighting power of the proletariat and its order grown self-confidence. The show us the beginning of the unemployed actions Duty 'strike, which shows us the last stage of the mass struggles in Germany. Unprecedented is the rampage, the entrepreneurs and the workers' wages Employees have carried out in recent times. Both the actual wage level, as the entire sum of the wages paid to fall rapidly. From 1929 to today has one the German workers, employees and officials about 30 billion marks and wages stolen wages, and add to that the ever wilder predatory support to the Millions of unemployed. All these measures, the bourgeoisie, what we do not may conceal, no real mass revolutionary struggles of workers perform can. This is the most serious accusation that we our party as the best and must make the most revolutionary part of the working class. The RGO work permits desired. So we see that, although the chauvinist wave the main cause of our
Decline in the elections was that above all individual errors and weaknesses of our own party to blame for the unsatisfactory results of our work and our achievements carry. The united front appeal to the Central Committee immediately after 24 April to the German Working class has directed, has led in some places the party to that United front policy was purely schematic and not alive construed enough. But with this

We not served. We need the united front from below into the vast masses perform, so really to trigger fighting in the factories and on the Stamping stations to come. This means that our tactics at all principal strength and purity of our Bolshevik general line of which we not a centimeter wide vary, must be a hundred times more flexible than it was previously. This means no Turn in our policy, as claimed by the bourgeoisie falsely. Our current tactic means no change in the general line and the total price our policy, but it just means the tougher course and intensified Concentration for carrying out this general line in the current situation. The development of the RGO and the red organizations is still unsatisfactory. What we need is a systematic work to correct utilization of the discussion and Fight opportunities arising everywhere. Every comrade must be understood that the general fascization that the struggle of the unemployed against the support reduction and the wage and salary issues in the long run, the tension between leadership and masses must intensify even more in the free trade unions and the Social Democrats. What we must achieve is the creation of a large internal union Opposition movement alongside the RGO, without which it will not be possible in the Large companies, etc. trigger bigger fights. We have a wealth of new facts that we mobilize the masses for the evaluate Antifascist Action. Höltermann held for compulsory labor service a Speech in which he agreed almost word for word the speech of the Nazi leader Hierl, the explicitly said he was willing to share with the ADGB and its representatives at the Implementation of compulsory labor service to work. Also in the fight against this fascist Militarization, with the purpose of creating a state and Lohndrücker-Scabs army, our tactics must be flexible. Of course, we are the Workers and especially the proletarian youth calling, by all means for the Prevention of labor conscription to fight. But what happens when we weak are to really prevent their implementation on a large scale? Then is the question similar for us as in the struggle against imperialist war, it is necessary be that we send in our most active members, there to our senses work, such as we are in principle opposed to the parliamentary system, also go to parliament and there for the unmasking of the capitalist system and its Elimination fight enlightening. Another important fact that we have to realize is that the vast organizational growth of our party for us only really promote our Work and improve our combat capabilities means that if this growth Party to a real strengthening our influence in the labor movement, to form solid squad and for increased effectiveness of the organization and its cadres leads. It deals not just about accommodate workers in the party, but the advertising strategically to carry out more for 'activation party and especially by our influence in the Masses to consolidate to fight. Necessary are everywhere new methods, we have our Work redesign of the leadership of the party to the last cell in under constant The involvement of all party members. We need the political reliability and quality Check all our lines. All of our work can only be successful again be crowned, if we, a focus on a few focal points of our work
make a few points in the factories, on the land, etc., to a few of these
to make points really a serious breakthrough into the entire offensive
Roles brings.
Our storm plans and combat programs were often too general and too
schematically. We must have a good ear, each excited mood in operation, each
exploit whit demand this to cause major battles. Especially in the

recently have the Communist Parties in Poland and Czechoslovakia us
given brilliant examples of this right methods of struggle. Only on the part of fighting
away can be a general strike, also seen in the borough scale, come, and
also this big question can not be provided as a general and abstract, as previously
happened with us.
An immediate organizational tasks in front of us:
1. A political revival of our operating and street groups.
2. The reinforcement of our group work in the trade unions and all
   Mass organizations.
3. strongest control and comradely cooperation from top to bottom on the
   actual implementation of our decisions.
The anti-fascist moods in wide circles of the workers and the
are toiling masses exist, are an invaluable asset for the revolutionary
Working class and its Communist Party. Not only in the SPD, but also in
Centre to take this anti-fascist sentiments, but we did not have enough
have understood exploit. The agitation and mass work among the middle class,
with the poor peasants and the staff is insufficient. Especially considering the
Influence of the Nazis at the employee may employees claims
any operation be omitted from a list of demands of the workers. We
must in the methods of the united front policy with the Social Democratic and the
Nazi supporters different proceed. A important role play the
United front boards or committees, we the not only in the holdings and when
Unemployed, but also to the staff at the poor peasants and the impoverished
need to make SME. These committees have real organs of struggle of the united front
be led by the working class, if they are to fulfill their task. So think
I, if we in principle clarity greater mobility of our tactics achieve,
in comradely and convincing united front tactic in our
Mass organizations, particularly in the work of the RGO, if we are always where the
Masses and with them the questions of tactics and the strategy of class struggle
develop, then we will not only clocking the process of fascism, but also
create the conditions for revolutionary new achievements of our entire movement.

International Press Correspondence,
No. 47, 1932
Comrade Thalmann calls for Antifascist Action

*Campaign speech in Darmstadt*

The communist freedom program against the front of the reaction

In yesterday's campaign speech in Darmstadt Comrade Ernst Thalmann stated, inter alia:

Throughout Germany a mass rebellion breaks out against those Papen government, the Wednesday will adopt its new emergency decree and the KPD threatened with the ban. The Hessian workers and toiling peasants have to the revolutionary tradition remember their country from the Revolution 1848, of rebellion and revolt against 1834 and, mindful of their enormous mass demonstrations of 1922 on the occasion of Rathenau murder, now become aware of their tremendous revolutionary force conscious. You want today all over Germany turned into a mortuary, a country of the whip and the sword. When Bruning said recently, we stands 100 meters from the finish, so we call Communists masses to be: If we do not the gravedigger the hoe out of hand beat and the Fascists their weapons out of his hands, so we are 100 meters from the Cemetery!

Nazis as agents of money bag

Comrade Thalmann then described the sudden collapse of the capitalist mode of production, now on the Level of sunk 35 years ago is. Since 1922 the bourgeoisie robbed by wage reduction the Workers over 30 billion marks. SME and factory operating peasantry are becoming into the proletariat swooped. Young people and working women are sacked most cruelly. Comrade Thalmann described the miserable wages of the proletarians of the Highest inking unit, the Adler-operation and in particular the criminal pay cut that among the workers and employees of the Opel assembly was made, and then quoted the "Volkischer Beobachter", where the Opel plant as a German "Company "has been designated, the Nazis were to grant their support. Thus, the unmasked NSDAP than the dirty agent of the money bag.

the toiling peasant particularly suffers from the great blows of the crisis. By Decrease in consumption of fertilizers is a failure in the agricultural production of ½-¾ billion expected. Through taxation and usury the attachments grow into gigantic and increases in particular the debt of small farms. The Pape Cabinet with Nazi support the exploitation rate of the big landowners against the increasingly distressed farmers, while according to the calculation of the center's Dr. Dessauer annually about 3½ billion marks subsidies to Junker of cabbage and Halm be squandered. The NSDAP voted for the Agrarian Party-subsidies in the form of Osthilfe and untold Nazis that the Hitler party cast ballots recognize already that they are looted by Nazi Help on most predatory kind.

The debt of social democracy
Social democracy maintains the working masses the deepest fault that in Germany the wave of fascism and chauvinism emerge and built the Papen Regiment could be. The SPD Prime Minister of Hesse Leuschner grading 18500 Mark, a reserve fund of 20,000 marks and a 22-room apartment has, together with the Hesse SPD leader and the center of the Hessian Nazi Grand Duke gives a pension, the daily zugeschanzten this except the 32 Locks 2000 marks throws down the throat. In Hesse state parliament voted SPD and NSDAP against the winter aid, to reduce the rents for the toiling Farmers and for the emergency regulations.

Our freedom policy

In Boxheimer murder document the Nazis have the meanest low Trampe averaging the interests of the working people announces and exposes its character as a killer party. Under the cheers of the mass rally then reads Comrade Thalmann as a counterpart to Boxheimer Constitution to Article II of the Soviet Union, in which is has:

Land include the whole nation. - Forests and large estates and the Properties of the propertied classes are declared as national property. - All transport pass into the hands of the people. - The debts of the Tsar will not be accepted. - All Tribute obligations are canceled. - The banks go on in people owned. - The Bourgeoisie is disarmed and provide the workers in alliance with the working peasants their own Red Army.

The sudden collapse of the capitalist mode of production, the order in Germany by 16 percent, the Americas 31 Percent declined, provides Comrade Thalmann the unprecedented rise in the history of the socialist Production in the USSR against the order 127, 147, 198 and in 1931 increased by 279 points since 1926th In Germany, 30 to 50 percent reduction in wages, in the USSR alone in the last eleven months in the Supreme Economic Commissariat led companies a wage increase of 16 percent.

Defense of Soviet power is defense of your own life!

The Lausanne Conference serves the imperialist powers as kriegverschärfender Factor against the USSR. By the working class, the Soviet Union defended, defends her own life and she defends peace.

Loud applause broke out, as quoted Comrade Thalmann from the speech of Voroshilov, which stresses, that the Red Army is an instrument of peace, but that, if need be, also understands strike. Comrade Thalmann said:

If the imperialist guns the first shells against the Russian workers and Send farmers, then the Red Army is not with cotton bales or paper balls shooting, but give an answer that the war criminals of hearing and sight!

But the important thing is what the German working class already has to do, namely: The war -and- conquer transport! Struggles for wage increase, unleash against support robbery, the monitor war production and transports, organize its prevention in order to the examples of 1920 to prevent the imperialist war crimes against USSR. For Papen government temporarily, Comrade Thalmann: Its composition is already a program.

The program of the barons, big landowners and Trust Men

Their Notverordnungs- and dictatorship measures and the lifting of the SA- "ban" took the Papen Regiment all means to prepare the open fascist dictatorship. Comrade Thalmann then turned Recalling the united front appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the workers, the women and the youth.
Our united front Offer

We renew today with holy seriousness our united front range of the SPD and the ADGB, Christian to the workers and their lower organizations. With all the strength, with the support of all those in need, it is important to do everything fight back to the bloody terror of the Nazis and fascist oppression. In wage struggle, the struggle of the unemployed, the mass self-protection, the working Farmers, the ruthless class struggle to the increase and development of political

Mass strikes can fascism be beaten on effective way. We track no twist, but only the application of our Bolshevik strategy. SPD Stamper has the distraction of the SPD in Hamburg betrayal of a united front babbled with Communist and Social Democratic leaders. But we say: Between the class content of the SPD politics and ours are huge principle Differences. With Severing, Zörgiebel and Hilferding can never be a united front come about. are the barricades of 33 in between us and the SPD leaders Berlin Blutmai 1929 shot workers and also we do not want doctors but his gravedigger of capitalism. But we are united with the Social Democratic and SPD workers, women and youth the Iron Front the same hunger, the same Klassennot, together we must Set against the Nazi terror, against wage and support degradation to defend. Therefore the Mass struggle in operation, on the dole and in foreclosure! The united front closed, her SPD and ADGB workers! The fascist blood Regiment Bulgaria, Poland and Italy must be prevented in Germany. We can do it, if we in the Antifascist Action us the Boxheimer fraud with bravery opposite throw.

A word to the misguided SA men

Recalling the Lausanne Conference, at which the German bourgeoisie as a Bettelmusikant occurs and on the probably only a six-month moratorium will jump out appeals Comrade Thalmann to the unknown SA-soldiers:

We do not like Leo Schlageter, a wanderer be nowhere but in the revolutionary army of liberation against the classic and German trust capitalists fight!

Comrade Thälmann called for collection of revolutionary resistance and assault.

The proposed ban against the KPD

If the tolerated by the NSDAP Pape government plans banning the KPD, as was said, that our party of antifascists connected to the vast masses, at the top of Struggle against capitalism and fascism is not to ban. The Bolsheviks it has sent since 1905 to Siberia abroad into exile. They chased them and tortured. With the victorious October 1917 under the leadership of Lenin was then but destroyed tsarism and built a socialist country. If the bourgeoisie today draws on the NSDAP strongly than tolerating party, so has the SPD still in class terms retain their Verräterrolle and remains the social Mainstay of the bourgeoisie, the main enemy of unified antifascist Mass movement, the main obstacle to the proletarian united front. Especially the SPD
Demagogues and Brandleristen, these agents Weis and dangerous saboteurs of closed proletarian united front, it is vigorously rebutting. The Sham opposition of the center it is to unmask. The ideological approach of the SPD and NSDAP in the issue of working Serves obligation to militarization of youth and in the Question of "job creation" shows the working people, the extent of the danger.

The mighty proletarian power

Leipart from ADGB once said that no Government in Germany 24 hours without could keep the will of the trade unions, we say Communists: We have to General strike against the dictatorship of the Junkers, Barone and Trust gentleman ready! Your SPD and

ADGB workers when you stand united and resolute in the fight, then Papen is as fast run, as he is never run!

If the Antifascist Action in the fight against war, famine and fascism puts millions of needy and oppressed in motion when the proletariat and the toiling peasants are its enormous power conscious, then the time is not far off when one from Germany, the land of the tribute and servitude, under Government of workers and peasants is a land of liberty and socialism.

Minutes long applause. The masses rise under thundering red front-Call and tune the International on.

The Red flag,
06/14/1932
The government's establishment of the fascist dictatorship

The overthrown on June 1, 1932 Brüning government of our party decisions marked as the government for the implementation of the fascist dictatorship. Two years Bruning policy have the accuracy this characterization of the ousted Brüning government proved. The policy of the bourgeoisie of May 1930 to the establishment of Pape Government on 1 June 1932, the content, the conditions for the transfer of creating bourgeoisie establishing the open fascist dictatorship, as now with the establishment of Pape government was initiated. The conditions for the establishment the fascist dictatorship have been created under permanent toleration of Brüning Policy by the Social Democrats and the main responsibility of the SPD in the decisive German countries.

The current period of Pape Government confirms the assessment of the development, such as it was commissioned by the 11th Plenum of the ECCI: bourgeois "democracy" develops logical to fascism; both are manifestations of the dictatorship of Finance capital. The reputation of the SPD leaders after the "second republic", the call for Restoration of the "Weimar system" is nothing but a miserable fraud. Brüning was overthrown because the bourgeoisie was no longer sufficient for the pace of fascism Securing of capitalist dictatorship. It is primarily the following major moments in the acceleration of Faschisierungstempos are important:

Due to the worsening of the economic crisis, the bourgeoisie must be a new, never precedent attack on the standard of living of the proletariat and all the working classes pass. The prepared by Bruning policy of eliminating the social security, Herabschraubung unemployment benefit on an indescribable minimum, "Loosening" of the tariff system, are all openly fascist measures for their accelerated implementation of the Brüning government was insufficient. The bourgeoisie will require enhanced fascist terror against the proletariat and especially aggravated accelerated action against the proletarian Class organizations, against the antifascist organizations against the Communist Youth League, and especially against the Communist Party Germany.

The inclusion of the fascist mass organizations of the NSDAP in the capitalist State organization is a task that can solve the bourgeoisie only by means of a pronounced fascist government.

The Brüning government also succumbed to the onslaught of the East Elbe big landowners, the - having regard to the fascist mass organizations and their terror - getting bolder Claims on the public tax dollars collected and using the Papen government want to come quickly to restore their rights and privileges.
While the methods of government of the bourgeoisie under the Brüning government it were created, all attacks on the standard of living of the proletariat and the entire working people in direct agreement with the reformist and Christian trade union leaders who were directly represented in the government in part, stir, the bourgeoisie considers the time now come for to open in fighting stance move against the unions in general and against the Social Security. The Identification of the current support status with its pathetic sentences for Unemployed, welfare recipients, etc. as a "welfare state", as in the happened governmental declaration of Papen Cabinet, shows the fascist character of the Papen government in the undisguised takeover of Nazi language official in the Government language Hindenburg Republic.

The composition of the fascist Papen Cabinet mainly of junkers, barons, Barons etc. is not accidental. In the appointment of ministers by Hindenburg, the family and political closely with the 1918 revolutionary Volkssturm sacked princely families are connected, the more stringent demands terminate the old, prevailing in the Hohenzollern monarchy noble caste which gets ready, in the one or the other form of "hereditary rulers rights" over the people again take. The whole period from 1918, when the princely blow sent packing was, until today, is a single process of re-establishment of the old princely families in their rights and privileges. From Into acquisition aristocratic officers in border protection and voluntary formations of Social Noske on the million compensation to formerly ruling princes and their schmarotzerischen Annex, about Eberts consent the return of the "crown prince" at the time of Stresemann government to inclusion the Hohenzollern and other royal personages in the leadership corps of the Nazi leads a way to today's outrageous claims and the occurrence of so-called "Ancestral rulers". About Schleicher Hindenburg Hitler they try, either by the plan of the Reichsverweserschaft Hohenzollerngechlechts, whether through open Restoration efforts to restore the monarchy in Prussia and the Reich, what they lacked to restore their ancient rights and privileges, dazuzuholen. The Prince Pack and all connected with it interest layer of Nazi leaders, court officials, careerists and speculators of all kinds want to "Cur" people again "contrary lead glorious times" and the masses for the luxury of Hohenzollern additional expense burden. Behind the princes urging bankrupt Ostelbier that the Time can not be expected, where they at the expense of using an inflation "Rehabilitate" plundered people can.

Thanks to the policy of the Social Democratic leaders, who - at the service of financial capital - from Fear of the proletarian revolution to the old officer corps to put down served the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat under Spartacus, hoping the prince, under which the German people in 1914 for the war aims of the German financial capital was whipped into the World War, today a new "Third Reich" and the exploitation to build oppression.

The dusty uniforms and figures of Empire in alliance with the Swastika terrorists show the bloody serious of the monarchist Restoration tendencies. The proletariat, the entire working people must, a serious risk of further deep Enslavement of the German people by a powerless and luxury lascivious Fürstensippschaft, which is based on the murder organizations of Nazism, see. Here the proletariat in any moment may be confused by the tactics of the SPD leaders leave, the the narrow context between the monarchist disguise restoration efforts and the fascist dictatorship of finance capital
Search by making the "monarchist danger" to the main question and the real Fight against the fascist dictatorship of finance capital measures sabotage.

The monarchist restoration efforts came quite openly in the speech that the Minister of the Interior v. Gayl has held in the last Reich Council meeting where he spoke, that the monarchy the "best form of government" was in his view, and he made this his Opinion need to make no secret, expressed. In some of the Bavarian People's Party, which is known to the Centre Party-affiliated exceptionally, are in Defence Hohenzollern restoration efforts almost openness voices become the talk of the restoration of the Bavarian-Wittelbach's monarchy. We need to be clear about what the implementation of the policy of finance capital with means the methods of Monarchist class state.

Three-class franchise, unbridled absolutism widerlichstes Hofschranzentum, disgusting Byzantinism, most unrestrained dictatorship of finance capital, brutal Lower Trampe averaging the simplest workers' rights, these are some of the characteristics of an era in which

the bourgeois capitalist class state governed monarchist. The recovery a state in which the usual under the monarchy terrorist methods is governed, this is the undoubted aim of the circuits that make up acting minister the Hindenburg Policy recruit. For this purpose it is initially irrelevant whether the a former crown prince, the hero of Charleville, the other Rupprecht v. Bayern or the third some "neutral" princeliness at the top of the German want to see the kingdom.

Add to here as expressed separatist tendencies are reflected serious Opposites resist in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must address the root causes of these Tendencies (it is already of the "Main Line" is mentioned) see perfectly clear. The Aspiration to loosen the relationship of the individual German states based on the old opposites that in as early as the Bismarckian Prussian guided imperial politics Hohenzollern Empire revealed occurred. French imperialism uses these Contrasts deliberately made to Germany's dependence under the Versailles System to increase. The so-called "southern German Fronde" of countries that mainly under center influence, based on the contrast between the interests of the southern German Industry and agriculture on the one hand, and the big landowners east of the Elbe and the West German heavy industry on the other. The preference of Ostelbier by "Osthilfe" and other measures of the Government, the favor of the West German call big business in the forgiveness of subsidies from public tax money the sharpest contradiction out of the southern German capitalist economic circles. As Countermeasure threaten the standing behind the current national government and Junker Barone with the establishment of Reich commissioners against the recalcitrant countries. in addition comes the old denominational conflict between Protestants and Catholics, who also only a reflection of economic interests is. The "South German Fronde" is nothing but an expression of heightened contrasts and contradictions in the camp of Bourgeoisie. It remains the Social Democrats reserved, economical from this fight power-political interests in the camp of the bourgeoisie a "antifascist action" to construct southern Germany against the Papen Cabinet, as the "forward" in doing an article on June 21.

What forms of "struggle between rich and countries also may assume his Result of the further strengthening of the fascist powers in the kingdom and in the countries, to defend the overall interests of the German financial capital.

From these relationships, it makes up the essence of the character of Pape government.

The Pape government is a government for the immediate establishment of the fascist
Dictatorship.
The bourgeoisie has asked the government to make immediate task the fascist
to establish dictatorship in Germany. At the national conference of top officials of our
Party was already in the program of Pape government as "outrageous
intensified hunger and violence rate "and it was said that the government Pape her
Program performs,

"Directly supported the fascist terrorist organizations' use of the Bunter
reformist influence on crucial m working classes ".

The next targets that will perform the Pape government for now, so there are in
following main points:
1. dismantling of social security , the latest political achievements
Working class, elimination of unemployment benefits and the transformation of
Unemployment in a begging institution. Carry out a general

Labor conscription to reduce the standard of living of the entire toiling
Population.
2. Preparation and implementation of the prohibition of the revolutionary workers' organizations.
3. Open integration of fascist terror organizations SA and SS in the
capitalist state apparatus to secure the monstrous offensive against the
working people with the help of the deployed fascist terror. Intensified price for
militarization, especially of the youth (Compulsory labor service, fascist
"Sport" organizations, etc.).
The contents of the emergency regulations previously adopted shows the fascist character of the
Pape government. Lifting the Uniform ban for nationalist organizations,
Helmet etc., legalizing the Nazi murder organizations SA and SS and the
Show introduction of clear exemptions against the Communist Party
the will of the government to tolerate Pape, promoting and organizing the fascist
Terror against the organizations and bodies of the German working class. The degradation
pensions and subsidies, introduction of new mass taxes while
Relief of the rich shows Pape government Sachwalterin a small upper class
from millionaires, big earners and speculators the the fascist
Mass organizations to secure their monstrous attacks on the standard of living
of the total working population employed. The new uniforms of the SA and SS
only feasible because the financial capital intervened with new huge sums to the SA and
SS-organizations of the NSDAP in support of capitalist exploitation and the
strengthen Versailles bondage of the German people and to design.
The Nazis are fully responsible for the policies of the government Pape.
The Pape Government relies on a pact to the Hitler Goering with the General
Schleicher to carry out the fascist Notverordnungspolitik against the toiling
German people have signed. No demagogic maneuver, the Nazi leader
free himself from the responsibility for the repression policy of the Cabinet of
Bankers, the Nazi Junkers and generals. If in the current government no
an official member of the Nazi party is responsible, the fact remains that the current
Government men perform all the tasks in which indeed the art of government
NSDAP leaders themselves exhausted. The Nazi press has the Pape Cabinet welcomes Hitler
openly declared that he had no intention in the throne, the emergency regulations
aside, that he was ready to pay the tribute the people oppressive debt, he
his followers put off at conferences, in which the Nazi government creditors powers
would bring to "give". The operations financed by finance capital NSDAP policy
Thus a policy of defending the Versailles slavery and the double exploitation of the German people by the German and foreign financial capital. The Nazi leaders are the direct support of the government, which on the Relentless conference in Lausanne, together with the respect to the German people Creditor powers kuhhandelt compared to the price of German participation in the war the only workers' state, the socialist Soviet Union. The NSDAP is the support of a Government unveiled its efforts to bring about a Franco-German War alliance against the Soviet Union and against the enemy inside the country, ie the revolutionary proletariat and its leader, the Communist Party, reveals. The Social Democrats, who carried through the continued toleration of Brüning government and the Hindenburg election has created the conditions for the establishment of the Dictatorship regime of Junkers, generals and captains of industry, in addition to the Nazis, the immediate support of this government, the indirect support of Pape Cabinet. Thereby, that the SPD and ADGB Guide decisive layers of the working class too affecting assets, they discourage the struggle and the working class through continuing and intensified agitation against the Communist Party, against the revolutionary United front and weaken against the Soviet Union, the Social Democracy acts still as social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Our party, the Communist Party of Germany, is the sharpest struggle against all bourgeois capitalist parties of the SPD to the National Socialists. Our Party represents the interests of all the exploited and working classes, she sits down composed of victim readiest champions of the proletariat. We are the only party of Freedom struggle of the German people against Versailles, classic and capital slavery. We feel in our struggle for freedom connected to the freedom fighters who in the world under the banner of the proletarian revolution and socialism fight in particular with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union to build the socialism. We are not surprised that the government of the German fascists dares the Communists to put outside the law with the "justification", the Communist Party of Germany was "not a German party". But we make the masses on out that the Communists should be placed outside the law in a Moment when the government representatives of the German bourgeoisie in Lausanne with the Creditor powers on the backs of the German people kuhhandeln, in a moment the German fascists Südtirol, Danzig, etc. to political haggling transactions with the foreign fascism abuse. The deeper capitalist mismanagement drives the toiling masses into misery, the resolute and courageous are the Communists to the masses the freedom graphic Socialism, the fight on the line of our program to national and social Liberation of the German people ahead carry. 

The Red flag,
24. 6. 1932
How do we create the red united front?

Thalmann response to 21 questions of SPD-workers

We communists want to do with this debate no policy operations. The burning issues that sharper culminations of class antagonisms, the risk of immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship have become today's debate merged. Our Social Democratic comrades should not be afraid that say what they think they need to say where the shoe pinches, must also say that any complaints they have about our party. Only in this way we create Clarity in the struggle against the common enemy of all workers against fascism and Capitalism.

1 question:

As the communists assess the character of the Papen government?

The aggravation of the capitalist crisis, the additional difficulties that off the Treaty of Versailles result, but especially the growing activity of the proletariat Struggle against the bourgeoisie, made the application of stricter repression and Faschisierungsmaßnahmen part of the bourgeoisie to maintaining of their Dictatorship rule necessary. The current Papen Cabinet is without of the SPD Excellent influenced policy from 1918 to 1932, in particular without the Prussians policy and since December 1930 when more stringent methods against the part of the Brüning government the proletariat conducted Faschisierungsmaßnahmen unthinkable. The character of the Papen government is of course characterized by a number of other Characteristics, as the character of the Brüning government, but we emphasize that Nothing has changed on the class content of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the past Period, the so-called "democracy", even in the years after the revolution of 1918, ruled ruthlessly finance capital. Brüning with his flood of emergency regulations was tolerated by the Social Democrats,
while the Papen government tried the ratio of, interdependencies
major props to amend the SPD and the NSDAP and endeavor is that
National Socialist mass movement, the blood of terror SA in the first place to support
to make his cabinet politics.
The fascism that began particularly strong since Brüning, intended by the Papen Cabinet
be extremely accelerated. With the fascist grow the
Class contradictions and growing threat of war against the Soviet Union. With the
Constitution of the Papen Cabinet, especially from representatives of the Trust capital,
Generals and the Junkers, the plunder and exploitation of increases
working masses to an extreme threat to their life existence. The
Papen's emergency decrees, the brutal blow against the unemployed, pensioners and
War wounded, also the salt tax, employment tax, etc., have unambiguously
Class character of this government revealed.
The Papen government is by no means a cabinet of "Nazi barons" as the SPD says.
Thus the Social Democratic Party wants to make it appear as if parts of the
are financial capital off from the government and ruling system. Especially the
Heavy industry and the chemical capital have in addition to the most powerful positions
Feudal lords in the Papen cabinet a strong weight. to overlook this fact and
deliberately conceal, as does the SPD, is a distraction to the workers of a

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the most important traits of this fascist cabinet and from an important
Front section, where the battle must be used.
The so-called "southern German Fronde", that "opposition" attitude of Bavaria, Württemberg,
Bathing, etc. arises not antifascist and freedom-fighting designs,
as the SPD claims. Rather, it is only a precipitate significant differences in
Camp of the bourgeoisie and reflects certain economic and political special interests
particularly agriculture, small and medium industry resist. The Papen government that
the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship has set the objectives, calls the
Antifascist Action on the plan for mass mobilization against fascist
Offensive of the bourgeoisie.

2. Question:

Why is the ban on the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League
instantly acute?

After the Franco-German war of 1870-71, the German bourgeoisie intensified in
the most aggressive form of their imperialist and anexionistischen course. A large raid at
the German working masses, the protectionist policy and a chain of reactionary measures
were carried out. Therefore, the terrorist period of the Socialist Law was carried out with the
Prohibition of the old Social Democracy in 1878. The Reich Association Law of 1908
was a reactionary polizeidiktatorischer attack against the working youth. At the time
1914-1918 were Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring in
thrown the dungeon, the Spartacus League was persecuted because he Karls and Rosas
Implementing the war crimes and the monarchist dictatorship fought relentlessly.
The ban on the KPD end of 1923 came to the end, the aspiring revolutionary
Working class who had overthrown the Chancellor Cuno, to on another display of power
prevent.
In short, stood Any prohibition of the bourgeoisie against proletarian organizations
and is related to attacks against the interests of the proletariat. The
RFB ban served the support of fascism. The freethinkers prohibition serves the reactionary medieval Finsterlingen.

"Burg peace" Oster served the wage robbery, the Notverordnungs- and other anti-people attacks!

As the Japanese example teaches are prohibitions of the Communist Party at the present Stadium especially for reasons of imperialist war policy pronounced. The Japanese war robbers began only then their march into Manchuria and to the Soviet border, when they had already banned the Communist Party of Japan. Methods of provocation and defamation play a major role in these prohibitions. In 1878, tried the old to bring social democracy in conjunction with the Kaiser-bombers Nobeling and Hodel.

In Europe we experienced recently the bombings Matsushka from Vasilyev and Stern, of Gorgulow etc. Always yelled citizens hounds that we are dealing with Communists! Even Bismarck said that one could only do the socialists when they "Despair acts bring". The "Hamburger Nachrichten", an especially German National Party related party organ, writes today already with all frankness: "Every shot dead a Communist means lives of many hundreds of citizens ... innocent Communists do not exist. - So continue with this murder scum ".

Today the fascist press roars after the ban on the grounds that the KPD was "No German party" while in our ranks in the common struggle with the KP France, Poland and the USSR the most determined fighters for the liberation Germany are from Versailles yoke.

Clearly, this Papen Cabinet, preparing new emergency decrees, finally, the last will destroy remnants of the social and pay policy, which actively through Lausanne in the anti-Soviet war front has joined, will by banning the KPD and the KJVD vacate a dangerous opponent from the field. The fascist attack against the KPD but a blow to the proletarian class and must therefore by all workers be blocked!

3. Question:

Does the KPD united front honest? Like the KPD defends freedom the working class against fascism? - How did the KPD thinking political line and the organization of Antifascist Action?

Is the Anti-fascist Action a Communist party store? - Can SPD-workers, Reichsbanner- and union members who at the Antifascist Action participate, members of the SPD Me? - Why put the Communists in antifascist fight so forcefully the demand for the abolition of the RFB-ban? - Looks Comrade Thalmann in the endeavor of the SPD-workers, a united front to form, the first step towards breaking the SPD or he sees only the unreserved Unit will of the workers to break the influence of fascism?

We come to the first part of the question: Whether we honestly the Antifascist united front mean? Daily murdering the brown plague our comrades, beats our best fighters down is making provocative attacks on our party houses; in prisons languishing thousands of our comrades, the fascist the defensive struggle against the Criminality led.

The Hitlerite officers and Prince Pack has stated that it is the communist movement, the many millions of revolutionary men and women, eradicate, hang, behead and wheels wants. And in view of this fact, in the face of imminent danger, that of Germany is a country of the gallows and the stake, we should Communists
antifascist, proletarian front not honestly think?
But the question of honesty is a question of the struggle, the mass mobilization. We
ask you therefore, her SPD comrades: Disarmed about the reaction alone
Working class? No, the ADGB- and SPD leaders disarm by strike bans, newspaper
and bans on demonstrations, by cleavage, by association and truce pacts
with the bourgeoisie and by toleration policy the proletariat!
We Communists do not processions to Hindenburg, no processions for Papen
Government to glue some small patch on details of emergency decrees. No,
we ask the question of the struggle, against the whole system, against the
Capitalism. And here lies the crux of the sincerity of our united front. is never
the reaction was chased away from her place when not determined
saw combat power of the workers. Do you believe that the Papen regime continue to govern and we continue
would suppress when the closed, single, anti-fascist struggle
would feel working class?
We Communists organize on all fronts, in the factories, to the unemployment offices, in
the workers' organizations, the front of the class struggle and the resistance
proletarian offensive for improving the living and working conditions of
Proletariat, of the freedom of strikes, the street, the demonstrations for freedom
Press, the entire proletarian literature and broadcasting. Against the bloodthirsty
Monsters of fascism that with his bloody paws, with brass knuckles and Revolver

 crush the last meager remains of social security and workers' rights
and wants to dismember, we Communists call on the

Antifascist Action.

Why does the Social Democracy conditions to us when they allegedly against Hitler and
Wants Papen fight? - Because she wants to destroy the united front. We Communists
not even conditions of the working class with the exception of one: the bold
sacrificing readiness and the will to using all proletarian ordnance
Mass struggle against fascism and to cause wage robbery. The Antifascist Action is
the working masses on certain day tasks and beyond on higher
Struggle basis concentrate.
Operating mass movements, combat and strike action against wage theft and
Fascism to higher tasks, the application of the political mass strike
and the general strike against the system of domination of the bourgeoisie - these are some of the
Main factors of Antifascist Action!
Uniform mass struggle for the maintenance and improvement of all collective agreements, against the
Attacks of fascism. Uniform mass struggle for the preservation and improvement
the supports of the unemployed, Crises and welfare recipients or pensioners,
the victims of war and labor. Uniform mass struggle against the fascist
Labor conscription, against all forms of forced labor, against the militarization of
working youth! Uniform mass struggle for press, assembly and
Demonstration of freedom for the proletariat! Joint meetings, demonstrations
and active combat operations, creating a red mass self-defense to ward
fascist provocations and Raids! tireless class struggle of the
antifascist front proletarians to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and to
Establishment of the rule of the working class! These are some essential
Battle demands of Antifascist Action. These are the demands on their
Platform, the unified mass front of sozialdemokratischen-, and Reichsbanner-
whether the anti-Fascist Action is a communist party store?

We say: No! It is a bipartisan gathering point for all the reckless
Struggle against fascism willowed workers. It is not an organization but a
Mass movement. She is the current flow into the all the fighting forces
really the struggle, the mass attack against the present government, which direct the
Operates establishment of the fascist dictatorship, want to perform.
The leadership of the special unit committees to in the factories, in the streets,
Stamping stations etc. are formed must, of course, in the hands of
kampfgewillten workers themselves are. We Communists would like nothing better we could
Leadership in the unit committees to really kampfgewillten workers, regardless of their
Organizational affiliation, handed himself to so the Antifascist Action also to
to make a real anti-fascist united front. The Antifascist Action is
comparable to a large, broad proletarian current in from all sides
Channels uniform actions of the workers open out against fascism.
Our Antifascist action as wide proletarian melting pot
fight resolute workers to about unleashing actions of struggle against wage

and support robbery, against Notverordnungspolitik and the mass terror of the Nazis
bring forth the proletarian struggle on a higher basis for development!
We put the question of the struggle for freedom of the working class at all. We provide
When asked how they must be provided by a Marxist party, though some
our comrades here often make mistakes. We put the question of the fight against
Fascism as a struggle against the bloody scourge of the powers that be
have set a goal to smash the workers' movement, we fight from the standpoint
our class, with which we are connected to the death!
Of course, the line of our attack directed sharply against the capitalist state.
We must clearly recognize that the social democracy, even if today a
Slip opposition mimes, at no moment their actual coalition thoughts and
Pact with the fascist bourgeoisie will give up. Already Karl Marx has in the
Treatment of the lessons of the Paris Commune in the strongest as an object of
Working class the issue of destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus in
Foreground asked.
Now to the question whether social democratic and Reichsbanner workers at the
Antifascist Action countries have to emerge from their party?
We have in Hamburg already a Antifascist struggle congress of 1700 delegates
had, on the 190 SPD and Reichsbanner delegates were represented. On the
Wupperstal Works Congress were present 50 Social Democratic workers.
All these comrades came to the Antifascist Action with the awareness that the SPD
Workers must shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers communist fight.
It is natural for us Communists that Socialist and Reichsbanner-
Workers may participate in the Anti-Fascist Action, without being out of their party
exit need. If you pour in only in millions, in a united front
would, we would welcome it with joy, even if on certain issues
Assessment of the SPD is in your minds still ambiguity in our opinion.
The burning issue that today burns all workers together on the nails is: How
, the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany be prevented? As can be prevented further wage and support degradation, more emergency decrees, increased Oppression, Enslavement, busting of the Labor movement and the workers' organizations are carried out?

We ask not from party to party, but in class terms, the broad masses your membership. Your SPD comrades are our class brothers, as well as the Communist and Party workers.

We also not the principle that the workers be organized under all circumstances shall we say, the wider and organized the front against the Hitlerglassmeiß that Pape Regiment and against those lackeys of fascism, the obedient to the tune of dancing Notverordnen and perform any hunger decree, the more trembles Bourgeoisie.

Now to the question of the RFB-ban

War for the working class of the RFB a weapon in the fight against fascism? this will nobody can deny! The RFB collected the returning from the war front Field gray than red class soldiers back to war mongering in the struggle against Fascism. They threw themselves with bold force of chauvinistic nationalist wave in Germany opposed. Herr Severing, the banning of RFB because of the Versailles Treaty has spoken, has the ban Nazism a large Disservice!

If the helmet-ban was lifted by Severing when the Nazis march may, the RFB but still illegal ago - without believing about that hundreds of thousands Red Front Soldiers no longer knew today what they had to do - yet, these Facts as the SPD leaders us for years in the struggle against fascism in fall back!

Therefore, we appeal to you, Social Democratic comrades, particularly in view the immensely grown fascist danger of us together for legality RFB to fight.

I come to the last question, which is mentioned in point 3, the issue of breaking the SPD: I ask the question not organizationally or party lines; but I ask the question the revolutionary class standpoint! If the SPD leaders, the proletarian United Front and the uniform Antifascist Action not want sense, any Step you SPD proles down with us in the fight against fascism is a blow to the SPD policy.

The warning cry of the SPD to their lower local organizations in any way with the Communists establish the common fighting front, but on the other hand, the practical Opening of this Decision by many measures our SPD-mates is a,

Another factor strengthening the revolutionary front and the weakening of the positions of the SPD.

We let our relentless principled struggle against social democracy no ambiguity. We want neither parliamentary nor petty bourgeois illusions breed. Then we would namely illusions as yet through with millions of people SPD policy, see Hindenburg's election, are present, further grow and deepen.

Then we would tolerate that by a false conception of the unit Working class, above all, by the possibility of new social democratic Hoax, the bourgeoisie more trumps to abuse of the working masses in
We Communists do not want "unity at any cost", because then the character is veiled struggle and contributes to confusion! It would mean the class content our policies deny the sake of "unity with the SPD" and to strike, Unemployed struggles on tenant actions and the revolutionary mass self-protection without. Such einheitsduselige atmosphere would not only not a key to his unit, but an obstacle in the development of the struggle. But in order again all our social democratic class comrades our absolute will to to stress unity from below, we want to bring that struggle appeal in memory, the I published on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on 29 November 1931st It's therein:

"We Communists tell you SPD-workers: The cause of the joint struggle of you all is Thing; it is not limited to the narrow confines of party affiliation. We Communists make it at the proposal to form the red united front not a condition, that ye from the outset our communist views on the fundamental questions of the proletarian makes class struggle as its own. We tell you: The harder you with all embattled workers together is, the more closed the working class and under its leadership the working people fight, the quicker it will succeed, the entrepreneurs and the fascists on his knees to to force."

4. question

If a in the struggle against the Papen government and against fascism Alliance of the KPD with the SPD possible? - How the CP is to

List connection or to an election bloc with the SPD in the General election? - Does the July 31 decision?

On the issue of July 31 to Nazis, SPD, the center and the German Nationalists are unanimous. indeed not in the blocks, but in its phraseology: "The July 31 brings the Decision. "The" Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung "(SPÖ) writes July 31 even as a "Fateful hour in Germany and the fateful hour of Europe." - Even at the last Presidential and the Prussians elections the Social Democrats lied to Once again: "Fascism is defeated." We Communists have no time said today that the issue of fascism was a question of the ballot paper. The Bolsheviks in 1917 apart carved the constituent, as in the interests of proletarian class, in the interests of the struggle for socialism, the bourgeois "Democratic" parliament of hunting. The Papen-Hitler are depending on their decide extra-parliamentary balance of power in the interests of capitalism and not embarrassed at not sufficiently revolutionary determination to fight the working class, themselves apart to chase the newly elected Reichstag again. In this our principle extraparliamentary setting July 31 we stress but also that of the degree of rebellion and as a barometer of the will to fight for us is extremely important if many millions of workers and laboring peasants July 31, enter the voice Communists. A list associated with the SPD we reject. We do not haggle for a single Mandate and never take a principled dilutive our line through such a Horse-trading before. It concerns with this issue by only yes 20000 votes and therefore, whether the SPD or the KPD, the mandate belongs. We say that it is much more important and is necessary, out in the antifascist united front to fight the
to lead the fascist dictatorship powers, than such a purely parliamentary Schacher business to discuss.

Can we form an alliance with the SPD received in the struggle against the Papen government? It would be to check in advance whether the SPD ever fights against the Papen Cabinet!

The SPD Oberpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein forbids our communist "Hamburger Volkszeitung" because it "has sharply criticized" Mr. Papen. When we in Prussian parliament as communists lifting the "forward" -Verbotes demanded voted the SPD by abstaining on the other hand, because this application allegedly is unconstitutional! And what a mockery: Herr Severing bans on the orders of "Hitler Baron von Gayl "his own party newspaper, the" forward ". He explained that he could to Ministers of the Papen Cabinet "not deny patriotic motives" the. He also leads willingly Pape emergency decrees by and exacerbated by new Emergency decrees the Papen dispositions. In the Hamburg parliament has the SPD lifted my immunity with the voices of the German Nationals! The SPD leaders declare today as before, be true to Hindenburg to the same Hindenburg, of the Papen Cabinet used the SA legalized and the last emergency decrees against the

Unemployment, war wounded, widows, orphans and against SMEs has signed. Every SPD comrade will give us right when we say that a Alliance between KPD and SPD on these facts and also of principle is impossible reasons. The SAP, this appendage of the SPD, makes a particular effort to Due to a lower middle-class non-Marxist question in this area, the workers to confuse.

5. Question:

not consider the KPD at the objective of establishing the proletarian united front also tip negotiations with the SPD and ADGB- lead attached?

- How it is to set the "abuse" of the SPD leadership?

I want to begin with the latter question: While the SPD demands of us the attitude of criticism its policy! We are over the 14 years that are behind us, silent! We should silent about the fact that the ADGB the 4 million unionized counterparts not set in motion against the Papen government! We should mention, if SPD Leaders forbid communist newspapers if the SPD Chief Constable revolutionary be shot workers. We are with the SPD leadership so the present system of Bourgeois rule defend! We should thus help them practically, as "doctors" of the to act decaying capitalism! It calls for the SPD. Only agents Class enemy and the counter-revolution can such claims, which are so beautiful in the Words: "renunciation of mutual abuse" clothes make. Mr. SPD artist explained at the time: "The Iron Front is the proletarian united front." - We Communists, we reject with the SPD leaders every community, including the Künstlersche demagoguery denounce, explain again and again that we Social Democrats with the kampfgewillten and Reichsbanner comrades and with the lower kampfgewillten organizations anytime willing to fight against fascism.

During the war the Social Democracy developed for social-chauvinism and for social imperialism. The proud banner of the International was in the trenches
 noted that the SPD policy has evolved into a social-fascist. Of the Marxism has been violated by the SPD and trampled in the dust. The Hoax with the election of Hindenburg, are struck by the fascism should, must be recognized by our comrades SPD in its entire extent. And all these things we are not supposed to be the only German party of Marxism may criticize? We Communists do not require the SPD setting the Fight against us, that would be a fundamental denial of opposites between KPD and SPD. But if social democratic leaders, as after the last general election, call our million Communist voters as lumpenproletariat, then deprecate we the very energetic! It takes from very strange if these same Social Democracy of us setting the criticism of the policies of the SPD leaders calls! It takes just one step from if we are to remain silent, that the SPD-police is used against fighting revolutionary workers that the same police strikebreakers accompanied to the factories that the same police losprüfegt on us and our workers, if revolutionary songs are sung while the Nazis with guns in the walking around hand in the streets, and as such in Berlin, provocatively against can occur working class! We prove yourselves SPD-workers not on duty when we left open the possibility that the SPD would ever apply revolutionary means of Marxism. but between us and Zörgiebel are the 33 coffins of the Berlin Blutmai 1929 shot workers. Between us and Noske surges of the sea about him and his Soldiers shed blood of ten thousand workers assassinated revolutionary Freedom fighters. For all these reasons, and also from the previous points in the identified fundamental differences between the KPD and the SPD we reject Tip off negotiations with the SPD. With the SPD leaders that promote fascism, you can not "fight against fascism" negotiate.

6. Question:

Does the united front offer the KPD to all organizations willing are to fight against wage-robbery and fascism, a change in policy the Communists? - How do we create a united front of workers and Employees in the fight against wage, support, salary, pension reduction?

means the united front offer the KPD to all kampfgewillten labor organizations not a change of the KPD policy. The influential loose SAP small groups, the Wurmfortsatz the SPD wants, battered by their allegations in this respect her Look back a little brush and create confusion among the workers. The United front policy is part of the most important part of the strategy and tactics of Communists, the creation of unitary class front against the enemies of Workers. Important intraparty fights the KPD had the creation of a clear, real proletarian united front from below to the object violent Conflicts. The Ruth Fischer and Maslow that Brandler and Thalheimer were thrown from the KPD overboard because they by their practice and theory in either sectarian seclusion or unprincipled opportunism of the Mass remote. Our Communist Party would not be worth, communist or to be called Marxist, if they do not understand it, by their tactics and strategy the bridges for the preparation of a common fighting front with the SPD and ADGB-to build proles.
The real united front of workers in the fight against wage, salary, pension and
Support robbery we create only through the initiative of the masses from below, by
unified self Schutzstaffeln of farms and roads, by unleashing
Wage struggle, through collective negotiation and bargaining commissions, by fighting and
Strike committees, etc., in which Communist, Socialist and non-party workers
are represented.

7. Question:

What does the KPD SPD slogan of "second Republic" and the
"Restoration of the Weimar system"?

I ask the question: How was the Social Democrats since the present Republic, the
Workers unemployment, hunger and misery brought? Was it not the Republic of
Social Democracy? This Republic of the SPD has led to the dictatorship of Papen, in the
immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship by the bourgeoisie
maximum tolerance of the SPD is put on the agenda.
What the above SPD slogans mean? The recognition of the utter bankruptcy of
Politics of Social Democracy. The working class will again go through this with what
was saddled her 14 years at the expense. The battle cry of the SPD: "Back to
Second Republic"is an admission of the SPD-bankruptcy, as it has not yet crass
took place. The Weimar system will again become the happy promise? That
System only by its constitution, and other Republikschutz- muzzling laws
the Papen Cabinet laid the rails? Is there in the Weimar Constitution even one
single sentence, which requires about the overthrow of capitalism? No one will argue that
can. What should remain after the will of the SPD leaders, is the dictatorship of
Finance capital!

But we will always in our fight against the "Weimar restoration" -
Notify fraud on the Russian Soviet Constitution, in the following under Article II features
becomes:

Declaration of the rights of the working and exploited people!

Article II a "view to achieving the socialization of the land is private
Grundbesitz repealed and the total land holdings as a property of the entire nation
declared and the workers without any separation on the basis of a balancing
Use of land handed over.
b) All forests, mineral wealth and waters of national importance in general, and the
are all livestock and equipment, model estates and agricultural enterprises as
National ownership explains.
c) As a first step to a complete transition of factories, plants, mines, railways and other
Production and means of transport in the hands of the workers 'and peasants' republic, the
Soviet law confirms Concerning workers' control ... for the purpose of securing the power of the working people
against the exploiters.
d) Seen as a first strike against the international banking and financial capital
III. Congress of Soviets, the Soviet law on the cancellation (annulment) of the
Government of the Tsar, the landlords and the bourgeoisie and borrowings
Debt.
e) It is confirmed in the possession of the workers 'and peasants' state of the transition of all banks ...
f) In the interest of ensuring the complete exercise of power by the working masses
and to eliminate any possibility of restoring the power of the exploiting rare
is the arming of the working people, the creation of a socialist Red Army of workers and
Peasants and the complete disarming of the propertied classes arranged. "

Compare this section of the Bolshevik Constitution of Weimar Constitution, in the financial capital has its dictatorial rights enshrined. The SPD slogan of "second Republic" and the "restoration of the Weimar system" is also a clumsy electoral maneuver to deceive the masses, similar to the Nazi swindle of the "Third Reich". We will this deception of the working masses not tolerate, but expose him and tear.

8. Question:

Does the communist assertion that in Prussia the SPD the Fascism auxiliary position rendered? - Why the KPD fought the policy of so-called "lesser evil"?

We register only a few facts to answer the first part of this question: The Social Democratic Interior Minister of Prussia, Herr Severing, who had the power to to ban marches of Nazis in Prussia, gives them free street. SPD Grzesinski allowed the Nazi students on 28 June in Berlin a chauvinist "Anti-Versailles-Rally ", while he forbade Communist demonstrations. Secretary Weismann, the representative of the Social Democratic-zentrümlichen Prussia government declared in Reichsrat after the speech of Gayl: "You know that you have enjoyed in this circle widespread sympathy and further enjoy." He wished him then still a "blessing and successful operation". Mr. Severing knew to do when it adopted the emergency decree Papen nothing more than anti-state to the "Elements "(ie the communists) to point, against which he is a reckless intervention demanded. called in its relevant decree of the government and police chief he, nor special attention to be directed "to the bustle of foreign elements".

If the SPD policy of the "lesser evil" would not have been, would be the existence of Papen government inconceivable in today's stage. Without Prussia policy and obedient toleration of Brüning Cabinet would be a cabinet with today Powers not come about. Today the Social Democracy sent to already, the Papen government smaller than a "Evil "to describe over direct Hitler government. Severing declared as in Herford at a regional conference of the SPD: "I warn against the evils to behold allergrößtes in men of the cabinet." These views will make mood for tolerating even the Papen Cabinet as a "lesser evil" compared to a pure Nazi Cabinet. We also know that with a prohibition of our party the Prussian police Socialists will be the first to occupy our dwelling. - Are not all support services for the Fascism and evidence that the policy of the "lesser evil" to the greatest harm to the working class effect?

9. Question:

Have the Communists in the struggle against Versailles and the Young Plan made concessions to Nazism? Can internationalists draw up a national and social freedom program, as the
First, a word to Nazism. There is no "national socialism". There are only one international socialism. The SPD, which talks a lot about socialism is, always with their own bourgeoisie in a unified national front. See the MacDonaldsche concentration Cabinet, see Paul Boncour as Minister of War in France and as recent exponents of the II. International. Who has the Schanddokumente of Versailles signed? It was Hermann Müller and Vandervelde, the known Belgian King socialist.

Our national liberation struggle is with the social struggle and the program of revolutionary Ausweges from the crisis, with the doctrine of the violent overthrow of Capitalism intimately. Long before there ever a in Germany gave National Socialist Movement, we already proclaimed as communists our Declaration of war against Versailles. In 1919, the views of the Comintern shook the Masses to struggle against the toll system.

We stand on the national question, as Marx and Engels us among others in "Communist Manifesto "have taught:

"The common stand independently of all nationality interests of the entire proletariat our priority. "

The Soviet government as the representative of one country without Tribute is our due Ally in the struggle against reparations madness. In Germany there is only one Force that can rip both the Young Plan, and the Versailles Treaty, namely the Proletariat. So is also the German proletariat after the victorious power, the rip tribute contracts in a thousand shreds.

10. Question:

What is the KPD for so-called ADGB- "rescue program" and to ADGB slogan of "remodeling of the economy"? Walking the slogans of ADGB not much further than the job creation requirements of the KPD? - What do the Communists from the jobs program ADGB?

The so-called ADGB- "rescue program" with his call for "rebuilding the Economy ", with its" reconstruction of the current haphazard economic-planned into a Social economy " by "Economic policy" by "Nationalization of the Key industries and banks "by creating a" state antitrust and Monopoly Office "and by the" Hand-in-Hand-Go "with the" democratization of Economy ", at the" appointed representatives of employees "to be involved - this Program is again initially a refined choice hit the SPD for the Reichstag elections on 31 July:

The rescue program has the primary purpose of the daily, immediate Day problems of the struggle for improved wages, increased subsidies and pensions, distracting. Not a word loses the ADGB questions about what immediate
of his time at the Kiel Congress in 1927 in "organized capitalism" already
the "basic replacement of the capitalist principle of free competition by
socialist principle scheduled production "saw. The few months ago particularly
strongly raised from the ranks of the SPD leadership call for "state capitalism" and
after "bank control" turned out in practice to be the vile willingness to factory
and Bank kings to throw substantial subsidies in the neck. For example, gave the
tolerated by the SPD Brüning government alone the banks a total of more than 700
Million marks and the Brüning Cabinet had scandalously long before his fall those
Subsidizing Vestag Group established with a total of 100 million marks.
In ADGB - "bailout" is not a word from the concrete struggle. The program should
only once reopen a selector valve. Naphtali once said of the Briining
Emergency decree, she was "a piece of socialism." So it should be a piece of socialism,
when you stole workers and employees 30 marks per month! Of the
so-called "restructuring of the economy" is of course within the framework of the capitalist system
done - otherwise someone might get the idea of overthrowing the capitalist
Business call to.

Tarnow's bailout is a bailout of the bourgeoisie!

Real economic planning is only under socialism possible, because capitalism means
Anarchy. The communist labor procurement receivables include concrete
Proposals for employment opportunities and for the financing of receivables.
While the ADGB works program was a choice Schlager and after his
Passing through various instances when the Ministry of Labour finally in
Sinking disappeared, ask the communist labor procurement requirements
concrete demands, which fall clearly a burden of the haves and a relief
the arms included. In the communist labor procurement requirements
Wegebauten, the construction of canals, dams, the construction of workers' houses and
Workers' housing demands. Funding for this job creation is through a
Millionaire tax, by the seizure of high capacity, through the cancellation of

Pensions and large inns of the imperial generals, officers, princes, dukes and
Monarch done.

11. Question:

Are industrial action during the crisis possible? - What fight and
Unit Directors proposes the KPD before? - Was the strike tactics of the KPD and RGO
so far right?

I ask you: Were there crises before the war or not? Goods strikes before the war
allowed or not? Why are they no longer allowed why the attempts
Social Democracy today to ban strikes? Before the war, the SPD was not
Coalition Party, despite being such an already started to develop.
The SPD is afraid to tighten by strikes capitalist crisis. so worried
to capitalism and not to the living conditions of workers. Also in 1919 suggested
they strikers down with an iron violence because among strikes "suffering economy" the.
The SPD presents their deceitful slogans period excessively.
For us Communists only class interests prevail. Whether economic or crisis if capitalism is weak or strong, he must always get his share by battle and strike of the workers' bone added value for the increase in workers wages extort our part.

The strike today is not in any case and this first immediate question the material advantages. The strike has also for the political emancipation struggle of the Working class the most important. Lenin once said of the strike:

"The strikes teach the workers the unit showing strikes them that only unites a fight can lead to the capitalists who strikes teach the workers, about the struggle of the whole Working class against the whole class of factory owners and against the high-handed Police think governments. That is why the socialists call strikes, the war school', a School in which the workers learn to war against their enemies, for the liberation of the whole People and all working people out of the pressure of officials of the capital."

Comrade Thalmann proves then to hand detail strike statistics, as well the number of strikes numerically increases and as the number of successful strikes, although usually only in small businesses is constantly grasped or on welfare sites growing.

12. Question:

Was the establishment of the RGO necessary? - Does not mean the creation of a Cleavage of organized labor?

I want to first have recourse to Engels and Bebel, of the question of separation reactionary forces within the labor movement important and significant statements have done. Engels wrote on 15 June 1895 Becker:

"But should Messrs cause the cleavage itself by the the proletarian character suppress Party and by a knotty aesthetic sentimental philanthropy without power and juice want to replace, so we must take it as it comes it up."

August Bebel also wrote in his book "From My Life", the third volume, page 226:

"However, I am also of the opinion that, if at all possible, try this year in greater numbers meet. Not to a split to prevent, because this comes at End but if only things evolve."

Engels wrote to Bebel on 20 June 1873

"The movement of the proletariat necessitates various stages of development by, at each Level remains a part of the people depend and can not go on with. This alone explains why the Solidarity of the proletariat in reality everywhere in different party groupings to realized that feud to the death, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire under the worst persecutions."

It comes to us on the vital interests and combat conditions of the proletariat improve. The establishment of the RGO is not made from the standpoint of division, but On the contrary, from the standpoint of the unit! The Social Democratic and ADGB Guide Close the class-conscious elements of the trade unions, while the RGO just by their structure and by their character as a mass movement all class-conscious workers of various trade union Movement and also from the Ranks of unorganized into a unified battlefront forges. To clarify a
often occurring ambiguity we say our social democratic classmates: No free unionized workers need to withdraw from his association, when joining the RGO. On the contrary, we just make a point that he in free unionization remains to work in oppositional sense, to win his comrades for the common, uniform class front.

13. Question:

As the position of the Communists in different youth and Woman Question of the Social Democracy?

I think I can best respond to the fact that shows us the Soviet Union. Our slogan: Equal pay for equal work is carried out in the Soviet Union. The Women and young people get the same wages for the same work done. While the SAJ is still patronized by the SPD leadership, while the SAJ leadership forces the youth in the voluntary labor service, enjoys with us the youth most equality. In the Soviet Union, the young workers work 14-16 Years only four hours and from 16-18 years only six hours a day.

14. Question:

There are two workers' parties?

The character of a workers' party is not uniquely its social composition, from the number of detected in their workers, because otherwise could indeed the center, this party Klöckner, Louis Hagen, the party of the Prince of Lowenstein, the party of the Papen emerged, finally be a workers' party. The character of a workers' party is determined by its program, its policies, its class excessive thinking and consistently-revolutionary action. In the treatment of Question 3, we have a number of fundamental differences between us and the Social Democracy revealed. The KPD represents the only party in the sharpest demarcation of the SPD, in relentless hostility to any and Arbeitsgemeinschafts-

Coalition politics with the bourgeoisie, in the sharpest struggle against all capitulation fascism, the class interests of the proletariat! The Social Democrats against it participates in the capitalist state apparatus, explained the medical assistant of decaying capitalism and represents the interests of the capitalist "Fatherland" higher than the class interests of the proletariat and the interests of Toilers.

The Bolsheviks in 1903 just about the dividing line between them and the completed Mensheviks to the pure nature of the class struggle of the proletariat party to develop. Had the Left in the German pre-war social democracy to Mehring, Liebknecht, Luxembourg, Clara Zetkin, etc. and between them before 1914, the sharp line David, Noske, Volmar, Auer and so drawn, then it would possibly in 1918, similar to the Russian October Revolution of 1917, this revolutionary party to become leader of a victorious German revolution. While the Social Democrats developed the guardian of the capitalist system, we strive Communists the only Marxist and workers' party the overthrow of capitalism on the path of
15. Question:

Is there within the KPD democracy and a say of Members?

We say yes, not only, but even maintain that our party the only Party of the proletarian democracy. The operating and street groups are the basics of our organizational life. About the choice of lines says §6 of the Statute of the KPD:

"Choice for both the lower and the upper party organs in plenary meetings of party members or to delegate conferences and congresses."

We are a party of democratic centralism. The question of discipline and closest centralization is by the living conditions of a revolutionary party. Of course much harder than in a petty-bourgeois party. In legality as well as in the Illegality, the latter especially, the party must before spies, provocateurs and be police agents on guard. All members and cadres of the party, as well as all new to us coming classmates are for party work and to become responsible used political functions.

16. Question:

What is the relationship between leader and mass at the KPD and how assesses the relationship between leader and mass from the SPD and the ADGB?

"Our party leadership is characterized by its close relationship with the mass of the Proletariat. The mindset of the social democratic leaders and the mindset of Communist leaders - that alone is a lesson for the workers. The SPD leaders, in constant close contact with the class-alien and class-hostile corrupted layer of the Bourgeoisie, in Good paid state and

Supervisory functions take, of course, in most dimensions the practice and customs of their environment.

Do you think SPD comrade, I was already at Hindenburg?
No way!
But how many times will the SPD leaders to Papen and Hindenburg?
The SPD leaders and also the well-paid cooperative and union bosses, etc. have become a arbeiteraristokratische layer whose interests not of the Proletariat matches.

17. Question:

What about the dependence of the KPD by the Comintern, Moscow and the Soviet Union's policy?
We are proud to join the Communist International. Because she fights for the International of the workers and the oppressed, for the solidarity of all the oppressed of the whole world.

The German Social Democracy was once, when the II. International prewar yet standing good reputation, the best party this International. Just as at that time the most diverse are European parties accepted important experiences of the German party, now evaluated in our International experience of the Russian Bolsheviks. On World Congresses and ECCI conferences are treated the problems. This is not a Question the historical ceremony, but it is a practical learning because the Russian brothers have capitalism really overthrown, and in their land, the built socialism.

Not "dependence" binds the KPD to the Comintern, but the voluntary, of join revolutionary realization decision taken, the Communist International. The silly talk of "rolling Moscow ruble" is a bogeyman for philistine minds, as we saw it already in a similar form in the pre-war period, as one the Socialists accused, it is financed from abroad.

18. Question:

The conditions under which the solution of the political mass strike can be used as concrete militant slogan made?

An SPD delegate proposes to dispense with the more detailed treatment of this issue, because in answering the question no. 3, 10 and 11, the problem of mass political strikes and general strikes already striped has been. - The delegation shall decide accordingly.

19. Question:

How did the KPD thinks the fight against imperialist war and the Defense of the Soviet Union?

It is, in the baseline the fire of the sharpest struggle against the bourgeoisie in their own to judge the land. It is necessary to clarify the role of pacifism, The League of Nations and the war policies of their own bourgeoisie. The SPD has their opinion on the war by armored cruiser, military program, by agreement clearly made known to the defense budget, etc..

Comrade Marty 1919 with its Black Sea Fleet to all workers given shining example of revolutionary antiwar struggle. He has the gun barrels turned against its own counter-revolution, instead of being directed against the Red Army. We remember next to the Potemkin revolt, to the prevention of ammunition transports during the Russo-Polish War in 1920 and the more recent facts, which in Gdansk and Gdynia Polish and German working together through the strikes Ammunition shipments from Poland prevented the Japanese theater of war. All the are key for important actions of our anti-war policy.

In the factories, the best way in the struggle against the war policy is by you strike struggles and struggles for higher wages and against overwhelming Working conditions unleashed. Imperialist war brings the working masses Not, destruction, new sorrow, new worry. Who the fight against imperialist War, leads the defense of the Soviet Union, thus defending its own Class interests!
20. Question:

If the slogan of the proletarian dictatorship not unlike the Codetermination and democracy within s of the working class?

In the so-called bourgeois "democracy" dictated finance capital. The dictatorship of the Proletariat is that form of government in which the working class by virtue of its mass and the force of arms the rule of the bourgeois exploiters has plunged and any resistance of the former Exploiters suppressed. Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, whatever the light Herrschaftsforrnen, there is no real democracy! For a minority, the Financial capital, ruled over the majority, particularly on the most crucial part of the Majority of the population, over the proletariat. In a Soviet state, the ratio is reversed: there reigns the vast majority of Toilers in the minority of the remnants of the former ruling class. By Soviets are the only administrative and state apparatus, the actual Participation of the entire mass of the proletariat and the working classes at the realizes management of the proletarian state. The dictatorship of the proletariat is therefore not, as the SPD leaders assert a dictatorship over the proletariat. In the Guidelines and statutes of the Communist International also states in section II, para. 9:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most perfect realization of the management of all working people and Exploited, the subjugated by the class of capitalists, gagged, pushed, intimidated, fragmented, have been cheated by the only class that leading to a "such a role is prepared by the entire history of capitalism."

21. Question:

What does the second five-year plan? - What makes, the Russian Workers and farmers in their land fascism and slavery tribute prevented? - Is the Russian example in Germany feasible?

This question was a detailed discussion between Comrade Thalmann and the entire SPD delegation. Questions are asked about how it is related to the five-day week, if the scientists the proletariat are, questions of the structure of the Soviet economy are discussed etc. Then explains Comrade Thalmann:

The Russian workers and peasants have abolished the tribute slavery in their land. While we groan in Germany under Versailles, the Russian state has its councils victorious revolution canceled all debt contracts and the 30 billion Tsarist Foreign liabilities declared null and void. While the Bolsheviks through the first five-year plan in the USSR completing the completed construction of the foundation of socialism and the giant empire of the Soviets in the introducing period of socialism, the second five-year plan goes to the final Eradication of capitalist elements and the construction of a classless society. The last remnants of the parasitic class elements are eliminated. Comrade Molotov said at the 17th Party Conference of the Russian Bolsheviks:

"The historical role of the proletariat is not only that of the gravedigger civil society, but also in the fact that it is the builder of the new socialist
We are the antifascists indeed!

The political report of the leader of the Communist Party, Comrade Thalmann,
on the Antifascist unity congress
in Berlin on July 10, 1932

Comrades! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
Germany I bring your Congress the fraternal greetings revolutionary struggle.
Your current session has a large and important significance for the class struggle, for the
Freedom struggle of the German working class. From all parts of Germany the target of the
Looks the best anti-fascist fighters to Berlin today to this meeting that the
Antifascist Action of the German proletariat, the battling red united front
against fascism should give a powerful boost.
Comrades, about 6 weeks have elapsed since the call for the creation of
Antifascist Action by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany
was issued. Since the SA gangs Adolf Hitler by the decree of Papen
Government legalized again, more than 20 anti-fascist fighters who under the
Assassination of Nazi bandits lose their lives. We can
 Pronounce rightly, that this number would be even greater that the fascist murder Terror
would have assumed a more brutal and bloody character, if not the
first approaches the Antifascist Action would the Nazis complicates the craft.
In these weeks we have a powerful wave of anti-fascist struggle in mass
whole Germany. Thousands of formations of the Red Mass self-protection in all
Districts of Germany, the north and south, east and west, as here in Berlin
emerged. In many hundreds of business meetings was the issue of
taken Antifascist Action position. Thousands of stamping stations meetings
took place under the sign of the Antifascist Action. Union meetings,
Workers Sportsmen meetings meetings all layers the working people
decided to support the Anti-Fascist Action.
Yes, even among the poor peasant classes, the Antifascist Action reverberation
found. Thus we learn that, for example in South Oldenburg be mounted antifascist
have formed farmer seasons. So we march forward, not only on foot but also
on horseback.
Thousands of social democratic class comrades of Reichsbanner workers, of
free trade union officials who are on the bottom of the SPD, who under
the Antifascist Action practically the way to common battlefront with their
Communist class brothers found.
All this, comrades, together those simple but serious fact that I
in the beginning of my speech stelle:
I mean the fact that the character of the Antifascist Action of in Germany
us Communists together with a large part of the Social Democratic workers
practically the united front is realized!
This fact is. This fact is not to be denied. And that is the counterpart
to those statements by the Social Democratic party executive, which its members and
Organizations warns local negotiations with the Communists. This is the
Counterpart to those speeches social democratic leaders as the "forward" -Chefredakteurs
Stampfer on "conditions" for the united front. That is the difference, comrades:
Not "truce", but antifascist indeed!
There they rack their brains how the organizations of the United Front
can keep.
There they rack their brains, what is the Communists for "conditions" for
can provide thwarting the united front.
There they rack their brains, how to place the common real struggle of
Social Democratic and Communist workers against fascism a
Führerkuhhandel, can bring a "truce" into existence, by the mandates and
Minister chairs the SPD leaders could be saved.
And here with us, in the sign of the Antifascist Action, is practically the fighting
red united front forged!
The question of the united front against fascism, the closed mass struggle all
class-conscious workers, workers and young workers and the working people of the
other layers that are ready to march with the working class - that's the Life question for the German proletariat! That is the question that today each worker employed.

And to this question must be a clear, sharp and easy to say when the Lays claim to the proletariat a way in today's difficult situation in view the fascist mortal enemies show.

This congress is not a party matter, but a matter of the Berlin workers, a matter that concerns the entire German proletariat. The know the social democratic Comrades who are present here and who participated in the election of delegates, very well. And you, Social Democratic comrades, you have in the Antifascist Action queued, without thereby ceasing to be Socialists. We know very well that you not want to be suddenly, overnight, Communists. But we you believe that you are committed to what you want as well as we Communists, namely the beat fascism - which perform together with us!

And just as much as it is clear to us that you also in the ranks of the Antifascist Action, also in the red united front as Socialist Worker you will not suddenly turned into communists, so will you be clear that if we here for Matter of Antifascist action occur at the same time our duty as Communists meet!

Yes, comrades, for us applies the word of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from the Communist Manifesto that there never a difference between the interests of can give the working class and the interests of the Communists.

The party interest of the Communist Party is always in complete accordance with the class interests of the proletariat!

And therefore, if the class interests of the proletariat the fighting front against Fascism demands, we need communists us by no means only long to consider whether we stand up for this necessary class interests of the workers, or about "Conditions" on the other hand to make.

We simply act according to this class interest. And we know that we just at the same time act in the interests of our Party, the indelible and inviolable with the working class is connected.

We do not provide conditions for the proletarian united front except one: that the Social Democratic class comrades who want to join the united front with us, ready have to fight with us against fascism.

We do not think of a bad out of the question of the proletarian united front make Führerkühlhandel, a Schacher business between two parties, with mutual Conditions, clauses and paragraphs.

That's all scams to keep the masses from the struggle. And such scams
We will not participate.

We have no intention to give it up to fight a policy that so harmful, pernicious and disastrous for the working class, such as Briining and Hindenburg Policy ADGB- and SPD leaders.

Whoever asks of us who draws up a "condition" for the United Front, which calls for no more and no less than that the Communist Party should stop suddenly, a to be Communist Party. The calls, to put it even jokingly, that the Comrade Thalmann should be transformed overnight into Noske or Zörgiebel.

No thinking Social Democratic workers will expect us or even to wish. Because it would be the deepest doom for the German working class!
But what we want, what we mean by proletarian united front, I want to
Pronounce clear and unambiguous words. So clearly that no Stampfer, no
Artists can quibble no Breitscheid and catfish mind:
We want that the Communist and Social Democratic workers together against
fascism fight!
We want that all workers irrespective of their party affiliation together all
bring methods of mass struggle against the fascist attacks on the application!
We want to murder Nazi terror who unleashed by the Papen government
and legalized murder columns in her brown Notverordnungsjacken, the common
red mass self-defense of all class-conscious workers is provided.
We want to the dictatorship-emergency decrees of Papen and Schleicher, but also
the state governments, as Braun-Severing Prussian, the common ground of all battle
Workers irrespective of their party affiliation, without distinction, whether organized or
disorganized, whether Christian or freidenkerisch used is!
We want that against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, against the destruction
the freedom and rights of all the working class, against the oppression of the proletarian
Organizations, the press, meetings and demonstrations of the proletariat, against all
Prohibition measures the Papen government workers all directions and all
Organizations together and fraternal organize mass political strike!
These are our suggestions for the Fighting Red united front. This is our answer to
the "conditions" of Mr Stamper, our response to the "warning" of
Social Democratic Party Executive Committee before the united front.
The German working class may examine himself and decide which policy right: the
the "conditions" of the "warnings", ie the fight against the united front or
Policy proposals for the common mass struggle of the workers against the
fascist mortal enemies of the people!
It is clear what decision meet the masses. The fact that the Anti-Fascist
Action growing and spreading, that the banner of the anti-fascist struggle for freedom
is deployed increasingly turbulent of ever broader masses million in Germany - the
is the decision of the Fighting Red antifascist united front!
We say a word of August Bebel: Out of the words it depends, but on
the actions! The reality, life itself with its daily battles between the
proletarian class and their mortal enemies, brings the slogans of Antifascist
Action to bear!

Where has the Weimar Republic led?

What is the situation today in Germany? I do not want many sets shape through the
Million misery in town and country. The gray columns of unemployed in the
Stamp digits identify poverty and hardship. Always broader masses understand it, that the
capitalist profit system is the source of misery, which deals with the tightening

Crisis and increased by the Versailles servitude over the vast masses of the
Toilers Germany pours.
With the fall of Bruning, with the establishment of the Cabinet Papen-Schleicher-Gayl by
ruling class has taken this a meaningful phrase.
The seed has taken, since the prohibition of Red Front Fighters by the Federal
former Minister of the Interior Carl Severing, since the emergency decrees and Bruning
Groener was sown. Yes, you can still several years continue to decline and may
Pronounce: what is today in Germany, the cheeky frontal attack on the bourgeoisie
all rights and achievements of the proletariat, on the freedom of the working class and their organizations - that is the culmination of that policy, which since 1918 by all governments was operated in Germany.

With the defeat of Spartacus, the dismissal of the soldiers' councils, the Rearming and re-establishment of the monarchist officer rabble, with the Formation of counter-revolutionary Freikorps by Noske, Lüttwitz and Seeckt it began. At first it was called "Council of People's Representatives" or "purely socialist government" and The program was called "Socialism marches". But in reality it was disarming the proletariat and arming the Counterrevolution.

Then it was called "Weimar Coalition", "black-red front of the Republican". And the program said: "The enemy is left". But in reality it was the stabilization of capitalist class rule, Republic Protection Act, which not fascists, but hundreds of revolutionary workers on Thousands of years locked in jail and prison!

Then it was called "grand coalition" and the program called "International Relations" "Economic Democracy", "growing into socialism". In reality, however, there were armored cruisers, 33 deaths on 1 May 1929, it was prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League and immoderate plundering of the proletariat by nationalization, Young slavery, and ever new wage and support degradation!

Then it was "government of the lesser evil" and the program called "Protection against fascism". In reality, however, it rained ever new emergency regulations, bans on demonstrations, Violence measures, plundering on wages, subsidies, with control and usury Customs robbery Aufzüchtung of Hitlerism, disfranchisement of the workers, the workers and especially the working youth.

Then the Hindenburg choice and the program was called "Beat fascism"! And then chased Hindenburg his faithful servant Brüning away, sat Papen and Schleicher a, let the SA legalize and march, and we stood there, where we are today:
The bourgeoisie has the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship Germany started!

The people who told the masses of the working people, the Republic of 1918 was their State, the Army of the Lord of Schleicher is their people's army, the imperial Field Marshal was their candidate against fascism, the masses have long persuaded to rely on the shoulders of Hindenburg until it shoulders into the have transformed the bayonets fascist dictatorship.

And today, when the seed has sprouted, where the ruling class of their in the performance Dictatorship of the fraudulent "democratic" methods to the fascist Methods of rule goes, the same people who for a few weeks before coming Election of Hindenburg drummed, and give out the slogan for a "second republic" to fight.

Is that a solution against fascism?

Does the class content is a difference between the Republic of 1918 and 1919, the Weimar Republic, and the fascist dictatorship, and as of the Papen-Schleicher Hitler is raised?

Says who deceives the masses. Anyone who claims it wants all the teachings of historical experiences from 1918 to today deprived the masses and falsify!

The slogan of the so-called "second republic", ie return to the Weimar Republic 1918/19 is no solution against fascism, but a mass deception!
This means that once again wants to clamp for those 14jährigenLeidensweg the masses, which began in the Republic of Ebert and Haase and ended at Papen, Schleicher and Hitler!
We say:
Not the Weimar Republic, the Republic of November, has been defeated by fascism, but on the contrary: the class content of the Weimar Republic, the dictatorship of Bourgeoisie has in fascism, the regime of Papen and Hitler their fulfillment, their Completion, its crudest, most undisguised expression found!

Struggle against fascism is fighting capitalism

We say:
Who really wants to fight against fascism, which must not the masses the deceptive Banner of bourgeois democracy progressing wear, which must not lie to them that Democracy and fascism two opposing systems are, of which one one could beat by the other defends, but must clearly say:
Struggle against fascism - which is the fight against the capitalist system, the proletarian Class struggle!
Struggle against fascism can not be performed with the aim to replace the put open advocate of fascist dictatorship again its pioneer, the Place Papen again Brüning, the place Schleicher again Groener or similar Figures, but only with the aim to defeat the ruling class and the devastating Working class, the working people to the full power under hegemony of the proletariat win.
Whoever adheres to a policy based Brüning, Hindenburg again brought to power and in fact led to Papen and Hitler, who does not fight against fascism, but helps to fascism!
Who wants to beat fascism, must for a workers and peasants government and for a free socialist Germany fight!
Who wants to beat fascism final, must fight to ensure that the the place Reichswehr Gustav Noske and Mr Schleicher and the policeman of Men Severing, Zörgiebel and Grzesinski the organs of power of the victorious working class occur: a proletarian army and a workers' militia!
If the German workers in the heavy and extremely serious situation which currently exists, fight successfully in the face of immense fascist threat want, then they have to learn the lessons of the past.
The forget what has happened and what has led to the present situation, with phrases over the past disregard - that would be the biggest disaster!
Who workers this kind propose who tells them: "Let all the past forgotten be "- hitting their weapons for the day out of the hand!
Without clarity we can not defeat the enemy!
And we have to beat him, if we consider the existence of our class, the freedom of proletarian movement and the socialist future of the German proletariat to defend and secure.

What the Papen, Schleicher, Gayl and their helpers that Hitler, Goebbels and Strasser drive, and plan, which means that the German working class to the level of plundered depress Malay colonial slaves or Chinese coolies.
A ban on the Communist Party and all revolutionary class organizations
Proletariat - this is a declaration of war against all workers throughout Germany!
And we say the ruling class openly: We are certain that the vast masses of the
German proletariat this declaration of war, the prohibition in the plans of Papen government be located to answer, with the ever more resolute class war on all fronts in throughout Germany until the elimination of the Papen government! The fighting proletarian united front has the bristling with weapons in November 1918 Wilhelmine Germany transported to the rubbish heap of history. fig and miserably crawled then the monarchist officer pack and the feudal Junker rabble.
The Fighting Red united front of the proletariat has 1920 Kapp Lüttwitz Government of Junker and generals toppled in a few days.
The Fighting Red united front in 1923 with the weapon of the general strike Cuno dictatorship brought down.
If the Papen and Schleicher believe that they supported, and on their bayonets Machine guns and the Hitlerian terror gangs are untouchable, they are mistaken. When they imagine, with prohibitions and regulations dictatorship, with bloody terror and to crush the workers with brutal force, they are mistaken.
The vast masses of the German proletariat are a fact that no emergency decree Herr von Papen and no regiment command of the Lord of Schleicher from the world can provide.
This mass of millions and their desire for freedom and their will to fight and the embodiment of that Combat and freedom of will, the revolutionary party of the German proletariat, are still exist if the story about Papen and Schleicher already on the agenda is paced.
If today in Germany, the leaders of the Hitler party, thanks to the policies of the SPD leaders even in red Berlin could pronounce the cheeky and provocative threat that it was uncertain whether the revolutionary workers next year their May 1st parade yet may commit when the fascist mercenaries, this Hohenzollern Brut, which again makes wide in Germany, believes Germany marxist purely to do so
We answer them:
You're going on the granite million front of Antifascist Action teeth hard nut!
The boots of the marching workers battalions will sooner or later the brown Murder-plague is in Germany, and stomp the fascist assassination final wipe!
However, we are of the victory over the enemies of the people, over fascism not in the bosom fall. There is no greater and more shameless deception of the masses, as if they says: "The fascists are already abwirtschaften, let govern them already!"
Those slogan of "Ranlassens" as coined Severing his time, has sharply stigmatized and rejected. It is an outrage for any Antifascists, just as the word Severing in his Nienburger speech, where he the Papen government confirmed that it the "good patriots and of the good faith of Success of their work be inspired ". This is also a slap in the face of all antifascist Social Democratic workers. And in the last days wrote the same in Severing "Forward" of 9 July verbatim:

"I consider myself entitled the" Forward to certify "that he of the work of governments Empire and Prussia has promoted always best efforts. He has worked with in the work of the cabinets recognized German national men what had to recognize. "

We must openly say that with such slogans and such words a new
Tolerance policy for the Papen-Schleicher government is introduced, as in today Prussia is already operated by the local caretaker government practically. With antifascist struggle which has nothing to do!

What does the anti-fascist struggle?

The anti-fascist struggle requires that we in the factories and on the punch points all workers to fight against any oppression and robbery measure the bourgeoisie mobilize.

Anti-Fascist struggle - which means that we the red mass self-protection against the create brown Murder Terror!

This means that we all proletarian and working classes to fight for the Smashing the Hitler demagogy to the recovery of the Hitler fascism operate misguided and contaminated materials in the class front of the struggle for freedom! This means that we in the face of the new tribute Covenant of Lausanne nationalist expose demagogy of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys Hitler before the masses and demonstrate that only the revolutionary way out of the crisis through the victory of the proletariat at the same time the way to freedom from the imperialist Versailles slavery brings!

This means that we, the strikes and mass actions against wage and support robbery, against the destruction of the last vestiges of social security, against entrepreneurs arbitrariness, organize against forced labor and carry!

Anti-Fascist struggle - which means that we equip and drums throughout Germany for the political mass strike, even for the general strike to allow the fascist beat rulers and repel the fascist attacks!

Antifascist mass struggle - which means that we 31 July not than a day interpret where you with the ballot, with a piece of paper, the balance of power could change - because this is a simple and pure scams, on the day after all bitter experiences of past elections, no class-conscious workers more must fall! - But that we this July 31 at the service of mass mobilization ask for the extra-parliamentary mass struggle. We need 31 July to make millions commitment to the anti-fascist struggle for freedom. It is true, all Election Müden in bringing to the ballot box, all antiparliamentary moods overcome, so that the July 31st powerful stimulus for the Antifascist Action, a sweeping commitment to the cause of the revolutionary proletariat and the only antifascist force results!

Antifascist mass struggle - the means to apply all methods of struggle and all to create organs of struggle, a new red rise of the working class enforce!

Do this by calling the Anti Fascist Action!

The Antifascist Action - this is not a new organization alongside the old. Because we do not need new organizations. Anti Fascist Action - that is the living Reality of created from below, from the masses, fighting red United front against fascism!

Particular emphasis the Antifascist Action must make the task to mobilize masses of young proletariat, the young working men and girl, which of the attacks of the capitalist system, of the plans of compulsory labor service, the fascist enslavement and nationalist incitement most threatened.

Freedom Army of anti-fascist fighters against the fascist rulers

The rulers of today want armaments policy, militaristic contamination youth
and imperialist warmongering!
The masses want neither militarism nor war!
The rulers of today want the hungry Whip blackest capitalist
swing Scharfmacherei on the working population and the prevailing misery
multiply.
The masses no longer want poverty, hunger, poverty and misery endured without a fight!
The rulers of today want unprecedented response, brutal terror and oppression
of the working people, prohibitions, bans and always new prohibitions.
The masses do not want to disenfranchise longer, suppress, oppress and trample
leave.
So sharp the class fronts in Germany are divorced:
There the tribute army of the ruling class in their Notverordnungsjacken! There the
Entrepreneurs scourge! There the fascist fasces!
Here the army of liberation of all anti-fascist fighters for a new, free, socialist
Germany!
The Freedom and Future marching in our ranks - in the ranks of the Antifascist
Action that already a movement of hundreds of thousands of the best
Class fighter and tomorrow millions movement of all anti-fascists will be!
The anti-fascist fighters in Germany think in the treatment of problems of
Struggle against fascism on the events in Italy. The Italian example reminds
not only the world proletariat, but is above all the German working class in
the present situation that any hesitation and procrastination immeasurable misery would cause.
In Italy the workers being bullied. In the Lipari swamps thousands die of
best anti-fascist fighters. In the Italian cities stretch starving children
the traveler out her hands. The small farmers are in Italy from the control avalanche
more and more crushed and driven out of the soil. The reputation of Hitler, this mercenary the
Industry kings and Junker according to the "Third Reich" shows that the fascists
want to raise the tyranny and barbarism Mussolini in Germany.
In Italy the leading reformists from Schlage D'Aragonas have openly
known fascism. This is a serious warning for the Social Democratic and
free trade union workers in Germany.

The only country without fascism

We know a country where there is no fascism, where it would be unthinkable that the
fascist assassins on the streets of the working-class neighborhood their bloody trade
could exercise as in Germany: this is the Soviet Union!
There does not reign the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as in all capitalist countries, in the
Countries of democracy and fascism. There prevails the proletarian dictatorship, the
a dictatorship of the vast toiling masses million over a very small minority
the capitalists, the exploiters represents, and the real proletarian democracy.
This country where there is no unemployment, the proletarians of all countries shows that
great example of the revolutionary way out and the construction of socialism.
So we feel connected to our antifascist struggle intimately
international proletariat. The struggle against fascism in Germany, which is also
Struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union, which is also active solidarity with the
Fascism bloodily oppressed proletarian class brothers in Italy, Poland, on the
Balkans.

We send from this place all anti-fascist fighters and in prisons
Penitentiaries languish, the fraternal and revolutionary greetings.
We commemorate this day of all those nameless fighters on the battlefield of freedom were torn in the struggle against the bloody fascism of us. I put determined that the Congress from honoring the assassinated and fallen freedom fighters has raised the seats. I thank you!

We raise our particular storm banner against the imperialist war. Who a country like the Soviet Union will take by the throat, which attacks the vital interests of the Proletariat in Germany and all over the world and it is with the revolutionary get to do in the world workers!

Your conference today, when we all meet together our duty, a large gain importance for the coming battles. From here, a living stream must the unit will and fighting spirit in the land beyond, the hundreds of thousands along with it and makes anti-fascist freedom fighters.

Here is not only the choice of a provisional Reich Committee of Antifascist Action an organ to be created that the numerous existing throughout Germany Bodies of the proletarian united front to a large, shared Freedom Army summarizes and passes.

Here the prelude to the beginning Antifascist struggle week to be given. Here also intended by the adoption of a manifesto of Antifascist Action be pronounced, what are the goals for which we without the united front of workers Difference in their policies and organizational affiliation of the current want to forge fighting. Here finally is a struggle vow of Antifascist Action will be decided that in the future in any workers' meeting of the masses to solemnly decided and reiterated and summarized in a few sentences, the will and the objective of the millions of anti-fascist freedom fighters of all Germany must express.

Just as in the freedom struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants for a long time in all Assemblies of the Chinese working people the custom was that Sun Yat Testament Sen, the great national revolutionary leader, to solemnly read at the beginning, so it must be an honorable duty of the class-conscious workers in the future, in every meeting of Proletarians fight vow of Antifascist Action to talk together.

So we want, anytime we call us German workers and anti-fascists, into consciousness, which combat tasks in front of us and must be solved if we as our duty want to meet class-conscious workers and antifascist freedom fighters.

Comrades, I propose that your Congress, these two documents: The Manifesto of Antifascist Action and the Fight vow of Antifascist Action for Adoption.

Comrade Thalmann closes below the reading of Kampfgelöbnisses the Antifascist Action thunderous applause of the Congress.

*The Red flag,*

07/12/1932
The fascist Papen government, that dictatorship cabinet of generals, trust magnates and Junker, the set, the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship for goals has, resulting in highly aggressive manner by the preparation of the anti-Soviet war. With all seriousness we therefore banging Communists the toiling masses the immediate Risk of intervention war of the imperialists against the USSR, the world political Meaning of the already broken in the Far East World War into consciousness. The worsening daily crisis that towered growing capitalist production, Financial and trade difficulties, the decline in international trade by 50 percent let the imperialists take up the sword to the middle of the war the Gordian Node crisis smash and seek a way out of the crisis. Always more lose the pacifist Peace and League of phrases their action under the Masses, and becoming more sophisticated unfolds the Social Democrats their deceptions (eg "Antiwar" call the II. International) to conceal their active support work for Imperialists.

The Lausanne Conference, which, like so many of its predecessors, the unsuccessful attempt undertook to solve the reparations, has included the creation of a German-reveal French military bloc. The Rechenberg's plans on producing a Military alliance Paris-Berlin are just energetically supported by Papen Cabinet. The German rearmament demands in Geneva, which have already been put forward by Brüning be charged and now exacerbated by the Papen Cabinet, are in connection with the pitiable moratorium extension in Lausanne, with the re-submission to the Dictates of Versailles tribute powers, vivid evidence of the active will of War German bourgeoisie. For the purchase price of still more coherent classification under anti-Soviet war front, Germany has in Lausanne those meager extension of Tribute moratorium introduced concerns.

The recent actions of the fascist Papen government were a single chain overt and covert war preparations. The abolition of the SA ban, the political active intervention of monarchist officers and generals from the Hohenzollern era, the gain of the power-political influence of Reichswehrgeneralität and East Elbe Junkers, the strongest attraction of Baltic officers and fascist Free Corps officers and the attraction of terrorist SA and SS formations in the Service of the state: these are all extremely important measures in the War policy of the Cabinet of Trust Barone, Junker and generals.

The subsidy policy of the fascist Papen Cabinet, the million grants to the east of the Elbe Junker, the hundred million gift to the Rhine-Westphalian Heavy industry to the attention of the king and metal arms manufacturers Flick ask nothing but action is in support of the German imperialist war policy. should By Osthilfesubventionen and by the "settlement program" for the East after the clear explanation of the DAZ including "security guarantees" against the "enemy are created in the East ".

The compulsory labor service efforts of Papen Cabinet are clear measures of Bourgeoisie to the militarization of working youth. The "Bavarian People's Daily", the Organ of the Bavarian People's Party, has recently from the Ministry of Defense These plans divulged; It is in the Bavarian administrative leaf literally that you alone

"An army not only of a hundred thousand men, but from half a million to, disposal of State '


will particularly using the SA, emerge.
As the Japanese example shows, is one of the main factors of the war preparations of a
imperialist state the prohibition campaign against the proletarian fighting organizations,
primarily against the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League.
The impending ban on the KPD and the KJVD, the goal of breaking the combat units
the German working class, therefore, means nothing more than an attempt by the strongest
Erection of fascist terror in the interior is the way to unrestrained
to make war policy against the council state freely.
All these facts and especially the gigantic grown in Germany
War production for the Japanese war thieves and for munitions and poison gas stock
of the anti-Soviet war driving to the USSR mounted States introduce the
German proletariat the greatest historical tasks.
Just by the Papensche foreign policy and by the stronger attraction of Nazi
Formations occurred intensification of German-Polish tensions has also
Danger warlike entanglements with the Polish imperialism stronger in the
moved the field of possibilities. The Polish-German tensions over Danzig and
Memel prove apparent that the fiercest clashes between the
German and Polish imperialism to the use of military in the region near the
Way lie. The accumulation of the German-Polish conflict substances will ultimately
cause that the German and Polish bourgeoisie their own opposites on the
trying to bridge the basis of the common struggle against the Soviet Union.
The German workers, employees, officers and toiling peasants, especially the
toiling youth, the situation created by the Papen government tightening have the
recognize German war policy in all its magnitude. The 10 million slain
Workers and peasants of the last world war, the more than 20 million war-wounded, the
looming bloodiest human carnage ever need for all workers
cautions sign of the highest readiness of unremitting viscous mass struggle against
Be the German warmongers and Disasters politicians.
The defense of our socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union, is more than a
Loyalty and solidarity commitment to the liberated, for the building of socialism
battling Russian workers and peasants. The defense of the Soviet Union is the
Defending the most fundamental vital interests of the working class and all working people. The
USSR, this besieged by imperialist war robbers fortress, is the strongest
Backbone of the class struggle of the world proletariat, the iron haven of peace, the base
of world socialism.
The all over Germany powerfully unfolding Antifascist Action, the growing
merger social democratic, free trade union and Christian
Working masses with their communist brothers under the banner of the Anti-Fascist
Action must, with all boldness against the imperialist war, for
Defend our socialist fatherland, the USSR, march. In the
Antifascist Action, in the struggle against the wage pirates, robbers and support
Nazi terrorists in strikes and in every mass movement against oppression and
Slavery has the passionate desire of the fighting proletarian class flare,
with every blow against the fascist bourgeoisie in its own country a powerful
to lead strike against the war robbers.
Just by the unfolding in recent weeks and months of displacement
Heavy weight of the war front from the far east to Europe grows the immense
Responsibility of the German working class, with the erection of a living
Actual walls for defense counsels Russia their own destiny and that of the
World proletariat defends. The fronts extend not only to the East China Railway,
on the Polish-Romanian border, no, the war fronts pass through each operation,
through each stamp body, through each road train. Here it is, by the relentless
Unmasking the Social Democratic war helper, by the development of anti-fascist
Mass movement together the warring proletarian columns.
The workers of the armament factories and transport companies must take action, to
Preventing the production and transport of war materials. It is the
shining examples of revolutionary antiwar work from 1920 recalls. The
Danziger, London and Dunkirk port workers then have the ammunition and
Arms shipments for the Polish anti-Soviet war successfully prevented.
In the struggle for the active defense of the USSR with the help of self-selected
Monitoring Committees, with the unfolding of the strikes as the most effective weapon for the
Wage struggle and the defense of war crimes must the enormous importance of
mass political strikes to its increase for a general strike by workers
are detected, and applies it to sail to the application of this struggle weapons!
As the Red Army to protect their homeland in ardent love, then for the German
Proletariat to strike not only at the outbreak of war intervention with an iron fist,
but now do their already all to the bloody raid on the land of
socialist construction to prevent.

From: war or revolution. We or they.
Published by the German Communist Party,
July 1932
"We accuse the Nazis of the crime of fraud against the toiling German people to."  

Following the triumph Thalmann, the rally of 70,000 in Wuppertal, the Thalmann Created Meeting in Braunschweig on an equally massive mass confession of Braunschweiger proletariat the Antifascist Action. The powerful city hall was crowded, so that several thousand people before the town hall had to listen in the pouring rain transmitted by loudspeaker speech. Nazi Klagges had banned a demonstration of anti-fascists. Yet all Braunschweig was already of the Morning on completely dominated by the massive anti-fascist offensive. "Rot-Front" roaring shouts through the hall, as our party leader, Comrade Thalmann enters the large city hall.  
A forest of red flags surround the leader of the Anti-Fascist Action. Pioneers, working women from the Slums Brunswick, representatives of self Schutzstaffeln present Comrade Thalmann Bouquets. Again rises a mighty cheers again heard clapping, as the Operating delegations march. From ten places of the Brunswick area have SPD and Reichsbanner workers their delegations sent to the huge rally.  
In Braunschweig itself resplendent numerous flags with the insignia of the Antifascist Action and with the inscription: SPD-worker marching with Thalmann! - Of the Brunswick farms have Miag, the City fleet that Blechwarenfabrik Schmalbach, the Reichsahn repair shop, the operation Mergus that Peiner nut and bolt factory and other enterprises their delegations to greet Comrade Thalmann sent. Also a working delegation Hannoversche establishments attended, as did a strong small farmers delegation from Goslar's country.  
Comrade Thalmann highlighted at the beginning of his speech at the Canossa of priests government in Lausanne, attracted by the tolerance of the Nazis the Versailles thumbscrew again and the toiling Masses tribute loads are saddled. Especially here in the land Klagges it is necessary to denounce the guilt and responsibility of the Nazis. Comrade Thalmann commemorates the assassinated anti-fascists, the Nazis murdered in Schleswig and in Sludge sunken compatriot, Kampfbund comrades, the swastika in Hamm's belly slitting, the antifascist who deposited in Berlin with the whip and shot at the then has been. A passionate Empörungssturm went through the hall. The masses rise from their seats.  

We call the fascist murder bandits: thus far and no further! We call you Antifascists to: All power of our antifascist mass self-protection, our power use at the premises and at the stamping stations to prevent from Germany is a second Italy!  
In Neudeck Papen advised with Hindenburg banning the KPD. We explain again all ban screaming and ban Preparations: The foundations of our Party lie not only in the party houses or editors, but they are mainly in the Establishments and in the stamp Set of misery. In Russia have Siberian Exile, emigration, prison and prohibition have treachery of the Mensheviks and the Guns of tsarists not been able to prevent the victorious October 1917.  
While under the battle cry of Antifascist Action in Germany Social Democratic, Christian, free trade union and communist workers to unified defense and offensive against fascism come together, has the Reichsbanner Administration issued a proclamation, "all the Anbiederungsversuche Reject Communists ". They threatened in the same call its followers with Exclusion, working together on meetings, conferences and events of the Communists take the defense against Fascism.  

On the shining example of the antifascist mass action in Wuppertal, where the common struggle of Reichsbanner- and SPD, Kampfbund- and KPD comrades to march Goebbels murder gangs prevented, pointing explains Comrade Thalmann:
We do not say: Stay at home

"We Communists do not say how the SPD, stays at home. We say fight the Fascists! You have the right, your streets, your homes, your homes and families against the brown murder-plague to defend!
The mass strike of the Belgian proletariat is a signal for the entire European Workers. The Brunswick workers have with their courageous mass strike after the suppression of Communists and Reichsbanner comrades all German Workers given an example of how, against the will of the Social Democracy the masses starts to move against fascism.
We denounce the Social Democrats as accomplices of the dictatorship of Klagges government at. She has in Braunschweig as well as in the kingdom of scale to be no strike action, any use of the ordnance of the working class, the political mass strike and the General strike against fascism and against the government of the Trust men, and Junker called generals.
They sabotaged the referendum the KPD against the Nazi government in Braunschweig. Of the SPD leaders of Braunschweig, Grotewohl, told a few weeks ago on the District Congress of the SPD in Oker:

"The condition for smoothing the way the government Papen is unfortunately in the business of Brüning government. "

Here is the criminal responsibility of the SPD leaders for the present Papen dictatorship impaled by a Social Democrat himself.

make Thalmann further comments to a relentless settlement with the Nazi Klagges government.

We accuse the Nazis of all working people of the German Crime, fraud against the needy and oppressed.
They have promised the workers work. But the SA committed murder on murder and networked the streets with red blood workers. Klagges has the Brunswick Emergency Decree as faithfully carried out, as he performs the Papen Decrees. Employment tax, pension withdrawal, Support degradation patter in Braunschweig, the nucleus of the "Third Reich", in unheard measure down to the working people. In vile lies they have "Modification of the system" promised. And in practice they have to be loyal Guardians of the system shown. We also denounce fascism, a bloody war wanting to unleash against the Soviet Union. We therefore bear under the banners of Antifascist Action, our revolutionary offensive in every house, in every operation, in each apartment.

We propose in fascism the traitors on the social and national Liberation of Germany.
In bold offensive antifascist masses of workers, it is important to fascism, this bloody scourge of the rich, to break this tool.

The Red flag
07/16/1932
Our freedom army will destroy the present system!

The battle cry of our party leader of the proletariat of red Berlin

Minutes long, roaring cheers sets in, as Comrade Thalmann front of the microphone of the Neukölln stadium, in the mass rally of 80,000 antifascists appear. Minutes long sound thundering "Rot Front" - Shouts and cheers for the leader of the Anti-Fascist Action and the Central Committee of the KPD. - Then takes our party leader, Comrade Ernst Thalmann, the word:

Comrades!
Here are today the most courageous, the most daring, the most self-sacrificing fighters of red Antifascist Action deployed. Here in Berlin, that city of residence fascist Papen government, of which the connecting lines to the heavy industry capitalist West, which by the East Elbe Junkers and in the office Reichswehrgeneralität drove here in this city are brave, bold and undaunted the red workers' battalions. We know that this current struggle march also historical importance for the German working class!
More recently, the Chancellor has returned from his Canossa to Lausanne, to the working people of Germany imposing new burdens tribute. The hour in which The bourgeoisie wants to build directly in Germany, the fascist dictatorship in which the rain down bloody whip of fascism on millions of workers and toilers to this hour, the Communist Party and all anti-fascists against the most meaningful tasks.
Especially now, when in Germany through the Lausanne agreements the economic crisis more and more is absorbed, where the differences within the bourgeoisie getting bigger be, especially now that the German bourgeoisie tried the revolutionary movement knock down, where the SPD does everything the combat alliance of the Social Democratic Workers to shatter and Reichsbanner comrades with the Antifascist Action, right now try the German bourgeoisie strengthened all loads and with the greatest brutality on the shift working people and the difficulties that arise out of their system of rule give to overcome the bloody fascist dictatorship.
What we have, since July 20, seen in recent days, is a turning point in the policy of Prussia and Germany. The coup fascist coup in Prussia, should at the same time creating the possibility that those reactionaries who in November 1918 were chased back into the state and administrative positions be brought in to the bourgeois apparatus of power the sharper the blow against the revolutionary proletariat, against the Communist Party and against the to carry out the working class.
At this moment, where the Nazi murder columns throughout Germany from industrialists and bank hyenas were ordered, with guns, with steel rods and another murder weapons to threaten the working class to intimidate and partially depress, in this moment arises under the leadership of the Communist Party, the great Movement of the Antifascist Action, with their courageous struggle cadres, with their intrepid battalions to repel fascism.

Antifascist Action, the large class movement

The Antifascist Action is a large, powerful class movement against Fascism. Especially now that many workers who are in the social democratic camp, the Ernst does not understand the hour, we must point out the following:
Either we succeed the German bourgeoisie, the difficulties that the growing bring conditions of revolutionary crisis in Germany with him to resolve and
substantial portions of their dwindling profit from the bone, from the blood, from the Welding squeeze the working people, or the red workers battalions seen with all working people Bunde their tremendous power, its gigantic power to on the straight path of the revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of fascism and Victories to march to socialism.

These two major serious issues in front of us. There, the class of the bourgeoisie and their stooges, here the proletariat with him loyally standing leader, the embattled and courageous Communist Party.

If we take a position a few days before July 31 here in Berlin at the various Day problems and the fundamental problems of the proletarian class struggle, we say: Not only in demonstrations, not only in the commitment to communism and his Program comes the battle force, the will to fight, the combat readiness of the mass expressed, but first and foremost in daily courageous and tenacious fight against the bourgeoisie and all those who support the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The only revolutionary class, the proletariat must prevail over the rule of Bourgeoisie! It's our will! The weather-beaten red columns have powerful storm against the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Our class army must all enemies of Proletariat fight resolutely set to beat fascism.

The various capitalist governments in which social democracy was represented, they were all pioneered the present government Papen, trying with unheard reactionary and fascist methods against the proletariat and against the whole working people to advance.

This forgetting everything, this is not to mention trying to conceal this means that denying role of our Party in the present anti-fascist struggle or blurring.

Our struggle for freedom of the working class

We say that 14 years German capitalist republic can not be separated from the life, the experiences and the development of the German labor movement. We deny it, that 15 years soviet republic in the USSR that the victory of socialism also can not be separated from the mighty revolutionary struggle experiences the Bolshevik Party and particularly the Russian Bolsheviks.

Today, when the fascist dictatorship in Germany to be built today, where the prohibited einzigste antifascist force, the Communist Party of the bourgeoisie to be, today we say:

Our struggle we are waging for freedom of the working class, for life, for the Existence of each individual working people against the bloody fascism, this fight our Party, which is connected to the death with the proletariat, with all working people, we will never, ever give up!

If you say you want to ban our party, so we say: A Communist Party you can probably ban on the paper! For a freedom army of millions, a prohibit tremendous idea of revolutionary freedom and our program and eradicate, that will never and never succeed the bourgeoisie!

We ask the question:

A system that millions of unemployed can be no work, a system, which the urban middle class with the whip of the bailiff, with the daily targeted tax decrees of the tax authorities of providing a system which countless engineers, technicians and scientists no longer is able to employ a system are shut down en masse in the modern industries, a System that bows to Versailles, such a system is worth that it is overthrown. With
such a system will someday the millions of martial resolute
Proletarian battalions settle!
The working people are taking the last begging pennies, while the prince rabble,
the princes in Germany who are at the head of the NSDAP, millions and billions
thrown from the blood, from the tax money of the working people in the throat get;
they shall be reduced no penny!
A system that goes to the mercenary army of the rich and exploiters who
legalize SA and SS and to subsidize a system, however, the
Fight army of the poor, such as the Red Front Fighters' Union, that great antifascist
Organization, forbids this system is on the hard granite resistance of the workers
encounter!
The existence and viability of a fascist government depends not only on their
brutal acts of violence, which it operates against the millions of working people, from, but the
Existence of such a capitalist government power depends primarily on how long
millions embattled working people and especially the working class such
like state can!

"Raise our struggle flag against Versailles"

Today, where once again the masses, the reparations are imposed by Lausanne where
the representative of the German bourgeoisie have returned without the Versailles
System has been changed, where the war guilt lie, the issue of sanctions, the question of
Limits of Danzig, the Polish Corridor, Upper Silesia, the Saar, where the
Belgian Mark Agreement and all important questions remain unanswered, today we raise
the higher our struggle against Versailles flag. The interest to be paid for the loads
Young Bond, for the Dawes Bonds and the interest on those loans that during the
Dawes and Young time long and were taken in Germany in the short term, the
Total, which is to pay the working people of Germany annually tributes today,
is 2.2 to 2.3 billion marks. What does this mean for a country that oppressed a
Country is a country that suffers from the double Sklavenfron, under the exploitation of
German capitalism and of international capitalism, which knows every one in
our ranks and beyond a little song to sing!
Just as earlier the robber barons in the highways the poor peasants and merchants
in wait to get through robbery and theft their predators existence, like
were eliminated and destroyed these robber barons, just as the millions force is our
break revolutionary freedom army today's system, including Versailles and on the
Pyres of history burn.
If previously penetrated an enemy in the camp of old tribes, then was on fire
the mountains, where the signal, together united and resolute, courageous and bold against
vorzustürmen the enemy. We communists have now lit and our fire
for revolutionary unity, to gather and to act invokes: the Antifascist
Action. What can this Antifascist Action, it has a few days ago in Wuppertal
proved. There the brown salt tax soldiers wanted murdering and provocative in the
Working-class neighborhood penetrate. The antifascist mass action succeeded, such
unleash powerful resistance of all Wuppertal antifascists that the Goebbels
and Hitler's Garden failed to march through the Wuppertal.
The Antifascist Action hones the fighting power of the proletariat and manages the
United Front conditions to fights and strikes in the factories and to actions
Unemployed. For example, have in the main premises of the Minster and Wupper country
textile proles with the strike started, a 15- to 20-fold reduction in wages
ward.
Thus we see that a shaft carrying the other, to be from the waves flooding, storming forward currents sweep everything up, fluctuating in the right front bring in. And our antifascist mass flow is in bold struggle against Fascism and capitalism open the way for a free, socialist Germany.
The Social Democratic leaders accomplish by their capitulation policy before Fascism, by their processions to Hindenburg, by their comedies before State Court's dirtiest betrayal of the working class. - Prussia, the "bulwark of freedom ", as it was called, the SPD is, at the first attempt of the military and Fascists like a house of cards collapsed. The same people who spoke it, that they represent a barrier against fascism, have the Severing and Grzesinski cowardly capitulated, as an officer and twelve Reichswehr people into government buildings or Police headquarters came. - The SPD makes them martyrs and heroes. - Heroes want the existence? Beautiful heroes! - Bullies, that's the right word.

Comrade Thalmann then continues:

Just think, in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin in Moscow, published by the Government of proletarian dictatorship twelve counterrevolutionaries and demanded that "the retiring Soviet Government ". What do you think, what would happen?
But we also say that the person in the Soviet Union at all such holds successful coup as in Prussia for possible in a water-cure establishment, in a madhouse belongs.

In the Soviet Union there is no crisis

no Versailles system; the 30 billion tsarist debts were the proletarian dictatorship annulled. There is no unemployment, no fascism there
There are no weapons of counterrevolutionary Garden in Germany.
In Germany, the giant of the great technology to 50 to 60 percent are still, in the land socialism grow the largest power plants in the world under the creative hand of
Masses grow Dnjeprostroj, Magnitostroy and other giants from the ground.
Our proud flag of liberty is not tainted and defiled with the shame of Versailles, not tainted with corruption, with coalition, Tolerierungs- and Notverordnungsverbrechen, our proud flag lights ahead blood red antifascist freedom fighters. And our red flag with hammer and sickle is also on 31 July boldly into battle.
We are not saying that the votes are critical on July 31 as a fundamental issue for all German working class or the bourgeoisie. We do not say that on 31 July, anything Understanding will change system of government of the German bourgeoisie.
But we call on the Berlin workers, through their vote for the Communist Party an ardent commitment for our freedom program, a loyalty oath for store Antifascist Action and to show the bourgeoisie that the Berlin Proletariat with millions of anti-fascists in Germany is determined, the scourge of Fascism to break and beat the henchmen of fascism.
Today we commemorate our assassinated by fascism dead that on the battlefield of freedom have fallen for socialism. Our dead remind us all our strength, and if need be, our lives for our revolutionary idea, for freedom and for the beat socialism in the ski jump.
Forward for freedom!
Forward against the rich - for the poor!
Forward for a workers 'and peasants' government!
Forward for a free socialist Germany!
The Red flag,
07/29/1932
The result of July 31 and the next tasks of the KPD

On August 3, met in Berlin a conference of top officials of the Communist Party, with himself the election, the fascist coup in Prussia and with our next tasks employed. In a thorough presentation treated the leaders of the KPD, comrade Ernst Thalmann, the recent events in Germany.
What does the fascist coup of July 20? What historical tasks stand before the Communist Party? What are our next steps to the Antifascist Action on to develop a higher level? These were the issues that were before the conference. In the center of the next tasks of the Party presented Comrade Thalmann to these problems the Decision of the Central Committee to conduct a week of operation of the Anti-Fascist Action from 14 to August 21. The Unit joined some borough reports on the progress of the strike movement of Lower Rhine textile workers and about the recent terrorist attacks of brown murder gangs East Prussia. Below we bring an overview of the key issues that Comrade Thalmann in his paper treated:

The election results of 31 July confirms very clearly the correctness of the general line our party. The fascist dictatorship measures have not to our recovery been able to prevent, but promoted the revolutionary movement on the contrary. undoubtedly would in an all-round proper and active implementation of our decisions the been voting results much better and we could have at least one to two million More votes won.
Even on the eve of the election mocked the "forward" in communion with the entire SPD Press on the "a sect has sunk KPD". The Papen government speculated on a large Communist electoral defeat that their banning of the Communist Party should facilitate. We can contrast with full justification of a great victory of our party speak. Without the great weaknesses revealed at the front of the operating struggle, the punch points without our totally inadequate reaction on the occasion of the coup to collapse on July 20, and without us state of illusion, we can say that we the single winner of July 31 are.
The avoided in this campaign reckless hyperbole in our agitation and propaganda, especially in our press about the anticipated election (A fact which still showed in the presidential and Prussia contest!) Have, grain-raising and inspiring cast on our antifascist campaign workers and a sober, real assessment and conduct of the election work out.
What is the significance of our election victory of 31 July, the event of a international importance and significance is?
We succeeded in the highest ever votes since the founding of the Communist Party in To achieve the general elections. The SPD has lost around 600,000 votes, while We have about 680,000 votes over 1930 won. In 1928 we detected 11.8 percent, at the September 1930 election, we detected 13.1 percent and current at the Reichstag elections 14.3 percent of all votes cast. In the overall development stagnating Nazis, the center gains mainly middle-class votes.
is extraordinarily important that we managed the Nazi advance in the working class ward and partially recapture votes.
In consideration of the fact that the Nazis from the rubble of bourgeois Parties hundreds of thousands of votes received since the presidential election results due to the redeployment in the bourgeois camp and the fact that we significantly more Votes won, as the SPD has lost, the fact that we obtained in addition to the SPD voters at least 200,000 votes former Nazi voters, also former voters
We posted particularly strong success in the major industrial areas, mainly in the western districts. Most notable and growing revolutionary areas where we an increase in votes compared to 1930 in some cases up to 400 percent were able to record. We unite today - we can say with full justification - to us the same number of workers' votes, as the Social Democrats. The projection of the votes social democracy against our party comprising mainly nationals petty bourgeois layers. The transformation of the SPD into a party of the petty bourgeois layers makes further progress. The working masses begin to move away from the SPD avert and push to communism. Our party has even deeper into the masses penetrate and develop even more the revolutionary activity and the highest bring development. The following three aspects are of utmost importance for the assessment of our election victory of 31 July: 1. In this campaign all opposing parties, the SPD, the Nazis and were center in an apparent opposition to the notverordnenden Papen Cabinet. Despite this illusory opposition with all the parties is our party as the winner of the campaign emerged. was also that "theory" through the election smashed, representing some comrades, that the Communist Party when Social Democracy is in "opposition position" against a government, not can lead successful and alive offensive struggle against the SPD. 2. The second important aspect is clear from a comparison with the French Elections: While it failed our French sister party, the "Left" -drapierten destroy factions, Trotskyists, right renegades etc. or hit while these groups on the contrary, were able to capture a sizable number of votes are in Germany's SAP, the USPD and other factions were defeated; they did not even manage to capture even a single mandate. Through this facts the leading role of the Communist Party is recognized more clearly and in the working masses. 3. Our victory is of major international concern. Although chauvinistisch-nationalist wave, which is particularly fascism in Germany the soil is not abated, it is nevertheless brought to a standstill. Our 5.3 million antifascist voters is a strong jump against international fascism built and is the imperialist warmongers a strong embankment opposite been, a living human Wall, the protective imagines the Soviet Union. A another significant fact is clear from a comparison with the last Prussia-and Presidential election. We succeeded in the then incipient isolating the party from broad to overcome the working masses and penetrate deeper into the masses. The main reason of our success lies in the stormy development of Antifascist Action that caused the home side's Party, on the floor of the united front from below more than the framework of the party, the prepare for anti-fascist struggle and workers toiling middle classes to collect. Comrade Thalmann also treated the unsatisfactory results of Hamburg and Merseburg, before mainly the result of Berlin, that and a critical and decisive review of the entire Party work their methods necessitates. Compared to the low of the Prussian elections we could probably significantly are catching up, but in decisive working class districts as in Neukölln, Wedding, etc.
We have this strategic plan insufficiently respected and to appropriate measures against blank missing, so that the workers of Berlin to the the state offensive of Fascism in Berlin accustomed.

A united front tactic is not always properly applied, top offers to the SPD Leadership without sufficient preconditions had to continue the leading role of the Party blur and were calculated to among the workers remaining illusions about to strengthen the role of social democracy. The immediate cause, however - and this Lack refers to the whole empire - was insufficient willingness and special power of the party on July 20, the day of the fascist coup in Prussia. And failure by the party on July 20, especially in Berlin, the focus of the fascist coup in Prussia, the absence of strikes and demonstrations immediately after the coup have meant that we especially not Berlin are even more penetrated the masses of ADGB- and SPD supporters. All objective conditions for greater revolutionary hostilities were at this given day. But it lacked the bold, independent initiative of the borough and local Party units, the determination to bold and swift action by the immediate action the best forces in the factories. Had we the extra-parliamentary use of Antifascist action against the strikebreakers, the SPD, ADGB leaders succeeded, then the party would have on 31 July one to two million voters and more fighters To book for the revolutionary cause.

The other development is the party before most tasks. By July 20, the fascist coup in Prussia, is the turning point in the immediate erection exceeded the fascist dictatorship. The other policy of Papen government as the Government of fascist dictatorship is directed the successful in Prussia perform fascist coup in rich and secure. The government Papen Schleicher attempts be both the NSDAP as the center for co-responsibility assure. Whether a coalition comes about in one form or another whether a nonpartisan presidential government under utter elimination of the Reichstag and is provided equipped with an enabling law: The main thrust of fascist dictatorship always directed against the proletariat and its leader, the Communist Party. On the way to the destruction of the revolutionary Labor organizations will strengthen the fascist dictatorship the bourgeoisie. By bloody terror, as the current main method of capitalist dictatorship is, of mass revolutionary opposition Tribute bondage and notverordneten hunger, Struggle for freedom of the working class be broken.

At the finish of the destruction of the Communist Party, the Youth League, the RGO etc. there between NSDAP and center no differences. For the Nazis and the Papen Government is the proposed ban while a Schacher object within their Coalition negotiations. The prohibition question is all the more acute, as our party in the new Reichstag with a pivotal role and already by the Reichstag introduced motions against the Papen government, against Lausanne, SA-terrorism and Emergency decrees provide all parties awkward decisions. We may not, under no circumstances lulling the masses regarding the impending party ban tolerate. The more so as the similar as before the fascist coup in Prussia Bourgeoisie by official press statements and the proletarian public about their trying to mislead intentions. Never is how, in these days and weeks expected surprises, a sudden development and sudden events.
Our assessment of the role of Social Democracy also learns through the attraction of Nazis as a direct prop of capitalist dictatorship no change. On the contrary, precisely because it is the Hitler party failed to it by the Bourgeoisie assigned strategic task to break into the camp of the working class, enforce, is the role of social democracy as a social mainstay of capitalist dictatorship not diminished. July 20, the strikebreaking ancillary services the SPD and ADGB leader for the military siege, etc. have again proved. Certain concessions the bourgeoisie to increase and maintain the maneuverability of the SPD are as well in the future quite probable. The recovery of the majority of the working class, particularly the Social Democratic and organized in the trade unions workers who fight for their own class remains continue our main strategic task. We have succeeded, the Social Democrats push back and often already break down the barrier that the Social Democratic Leaders have built in the camp of the working class. But the crucial task of the requirement for the rout Fascism is, the mass influence of social democracy in the factories and on the even more to break stamping stations and to destroy the influence of ADGB leadership is have not yet succeeded. The Antifascist Action is still incomplete in the Establishments anchored! The mobilization of the Anti-Fascist Action at the premises and at the unemployment offices, in the unions, highlighting the leading role of the party in extra-parliamentary mass struggle is the crucial link. To strongly to concentrate all efforts on the Central Committee have our Party and the RGO conducting a fight week of Antifascist action the mobilization of enterprises decided in the time from 14 to 21 August. The Concretization of solutions: "Antifascist Action taken over the farms" - "Against Fascist economic program", ie: the now expiring rates, the new threatening socially reactionary entrepreneur advances as cause for starting operating to use fights and larger strikes, the work of fascism and the brown poison in the displacing establishments to organize the red mass self-protection in the workplace, the strengthen red organizations, in addition to the RGO into the trade unions a broad class-conscious developing opposition movement of all workers, workers and employees, for to fight the resumption of all excluded opposition activists and the millions to lead the unemployed in the struggle for the maintenance of their naked life existence. Everywhere it is necessary to provide concrete political tasks in the struggle against fascist attack.

is the borough and local guides of the party in the implementation of Fight Week with the task, on its own initiative, the strongest of the formation new forms and methods to develop our work. Bold self initiative from below and rapid response to sudden events do not. Only if we succeed, the gap between our growing ideological Mass effect and the still insufficient triggering of mass actions against close hunger, fascism and imperialist war preparations, we create the Conditions for major political class struggles against the fascist Dictatorship in Germany. The working youth must be our whole attention. The solution of Youth issues must become a party question. Especially in the fight against strikebreaking labor conscription, as the "voluntary" and threat of forced labor we need to find appropriate measures and means that any insulation between us and the young proletarians as prevent their delivery to fascism. The
Classification of workers girls, the women workers in the Anti-fascist Action must not be neglected, but must be strengthened tackled. If we succeeded, this time to further ideological collapse of to prevent fascist terror organizations in the camp of the working class, the further push back the influence of social democracy, would any indifference, any conceit, any complacency about our election victory to further advance the party stop. The fortified mass struggle against the terror of murder brown bands requires both the increased ideological offensive against the fascist Mass fraudsters. The election result shows us that despite our advance on the land and on the periphery of the industrial cities of fascism in the agricultural areas on the strongest mass base has. The election result also shows that the Nazis in cities of the closest to the proletariat standing layers to the masses lower staff, especially in Berlin and Hamburg, have further asserted their influence. The direction of our task is prefigured it. The increase in votes of Center reminds us, the recovery of the Christian workers for the Anti-fascist Action to give the most serious attention. Our struggle against the fascist dictatorship caused ultimately our strongest offensive against the toll policy of the German bourgeoisie, whose downside preparing anti-Soviet, warlike imperialist adventure. Our commitment to Defense of the socialist Soviet Union until beyond the scope of simple Declarations, if we our ideological offensive against the warmongers, for Soviet Union and its gigantic achievements of the first five-year plan connect the practical mass struggle of the German proletariat for its social and national Liberation. We go to a second wave of imperialist armed conflicts and revolutionary class battles against. unfold in Running between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces of the fascist dictatorship is the party before the historic tasks that not only national but also international have meaning. In all its sharpness, with all the clarity and with passionate enthusiasm must we provide the power problem before the working class, the workers and peasants government under propagate the point of view of the revolutionary perspective and stronger our fill propaganda and politics of the day with live content through the revolutionary practice. The Party must more than before the German working class to the gravity and the seriousness of the lead overall situation in mind and show you our way out of the crisis. Of the tenacious, indomitable will of the struggle against every wage and support reduction, against every fascist attack must be awakened more by us. Everywhere has the aroused mass revolutionary force and in strikes, unemployment offices and in fighting Mass strike are applied. The next and immediate stage in the development of the Anti-Fascist Action is the Preparation and implementation of Antifascist Fight Week from 14 to 21 August. Based on the extraordinary, through the election of 31 July starched moral and political strength of our party, the slogan for the revolutionary living reality must are: "Antifascist Action, into the farms."

*International Press Correspondence,*  
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The new stage of the KPD Bolshevisation

I. The parliamentary elections July 31, 1932

The KPD has won great success in the Reichstag elections of 31 July. She went the only victorious party from an election campaign shows that with the bourgeoisie the opposite goal had been conducted. The fascist rulers, the government Papen-Schleicher and their Nazi henchmen had dissolved the Reichstag, by using the campaign and an election web of reactionary parties their policies the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany to promote. Once through the fascist coup of July 20, a certain turning point in the way to the fascist dictatorship has been exceeded, it was necessary for the fascist Rulers fortiori, by the general election their positions of power in the masses consolidate, eliminate inhibitions and resistances. That failed. A campaign of unparalleled with a terror against the Communist Party was carried out, ended with a proud victory of the KPD. An election campaign, the rulers of the substantially desired and operate the Leader of the fascist mass movement, the Nazis, was staged, because these to a new increase in mass, especially from the proletarian camp, speculated ended in stagnation, partial manifestations of the decline in Nazi wave. An election campaign in which the social mainstay of bourgeois class rule, the "Moderate wing of fascism", the Social Democrats, most favorable among the objective conditions of since 1919 yet was present bill opposition agitated and the greatest efforts deployed to class-conscious revolutionary workers from the red class front to seduce the allegiance of reformism, ended with a new, serious defeat of the Social Democrats, with the transition of more than one half a million Social Democratic workers in the followers of communism. At the end of an election campaign, in which the "left" branches of social fascism, and SAP Brandleristen, all forms of their shameless hoax against the Communist had brought the party to develop, it turned out that this by the policy of the KPD Small groups were almost shattered. All factions of the bourgeoisie had boastfully defeat the Communists announced. Most particularly the Social Democrats speculated on a decline, a Isolation of the KPD by the masses. The Nazis gave the deceptive hope, penetrate the ranks of the Communist masses of workers in the KPD, this single bulwark against the collapse of fascism in the proletariat, a to beat breach. The Papen, Schleicher and Gayl calculated on a Electoral defeat of the KPD to the easier their planned interdiction and fascist attacks on the revolutionary class organizations of the German proletariat. The answer to all this speculation was the victory of the KPD from 31 July. The party scored with 5.367 million votes, which accounted for a list of the KPD (minus those
about 80,000 SAP and other voices of the workers in many cases also in the voters
Consciousness yet, that it would be of benefit) of the KPD, the strongest
Mass confession on the occasion of a general election, which in Germany or at all so far
has been achieved in any country for a revolutionary party of the proletariat. they
won about 700000-780000 votes over 1930, about a million votes
compared to the last major parliamentary elections of 24 April in Prussia, Bavaria,
Württemberg, etc. when the result converts to the kingdom. The party won
compared to 1930, from exceptions like Berlin, Hamburg, Chemnitz-Zwickau, Halle

Merseburg, Magdeburg, Thüringen, Süd hannover-Braunschweig, Stadt Frankfurt am Main.
apart, almost all the loss of social democracy to workers' votes and captured
Moreover, nearly half a million votes from workers and laborers back that
already temporarily forfeited the allegiance of Nazism in the spring were.
Considering all these positive factors and it measures in the plans of the bourgeoisie
the parliamentary elections, it is clear beyond doubt that the election victory of the KPD on 31 July
also outside parliament as part of the proletarian struggle against fascism,
against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, represents a serious success.

II. The conditions of our election victory

July 31 ended the story of the alleged isolation of the KPD as a result of their
revolutionary general line, the dirty agent of social democracy after the
Presidential and Prussia elections spread. The bourgeoisie has at last
conscious spring made the attempt by the rapid succession until the
Presidential elections, the Prussia-and other countries elections, the Communist Party in a
to maneuver difficult situation. Even within the ranks of our party, there were thunderstorms
Moods, the general by equating the Presidential with
Parliamentary elections to these maneuvers of the bourgeoisie not enough
Strength proved. The party has, against all depression moods and all trends
the on a weakening of the struggle against social democracy, to a change in
Party policy, bending their general line also ran, with the strongest energy to
recorded and performed martial.
This was necessary and right, as July 31 with his victorious advance of the party
proves. Some officials and party members who in the past the importance
the ideological offensive of the revolutionary practice not quite understand that tough the
Battle of the party to overcome all inhibitions and resistances against the concrete
underestimate applying the Leninist strategy and tactics, are now, according to the
Teachings of July 31, to better understand the importance of this inner struggle of the party that
full development of Bolshevik self-criticism and the relentless struggle against all
Deviations for the revolutionary advance, for the class struggle of the proletariat
have. These teachings, we must also consider if we of the election result
analyze Reichstag elections, the success of the party on the one hand, the existing shortcomings
Check and weaknesses on the other side and from the conclusions of the
attract further tasks of the Party. All this is necessary. But here we must all
those problems of our inner-party life and our inner party development
include from the last time in the circle of our observation that the development of the
revolutionary movement in Germany in the last year played a role and
to the rise of the party as for temporary setbacks are meaningful. With
In other words, we need the recent experience of our revolutionary work and
Politics not be separated from the great questions of our struggle for a higher level of
Bolshevisation the KPD look, but as a part of this struggle, the us
according to the decisions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee, on the threshold of a
to lead new stage of our Bolshevisation. This approach is of the utmost
Importance. The present situation after the parliamentary elections provides to the Communist Party
Germany's increased demands. Nothing would be more disastrous than "the
rest laurels of July 31. The success should not make you dizzy us. Will the
Party meet the requirements of the historical moment, it must in
accelerated pace the way to overcome the existing weaknesses and shortcomings
Continue on which we are marching a certain section forward until 31 July.

III. Our breakthrough in the application of the united front tactic

What makes it possible that the party its temporary stagnation in the past
Spring relatively quickly overcome in recent months, its advance
continue and also claim against the increased pressure of the terror of the bourgeoisie
could? Reduced to a simple formula, one can say that the most important source
our election victory of 31 July was the organization of the Anti-Fascist Action.
What does this mean? The Antifascist Action, its initiation and organization
by the party was a first consistent attempt to take shape for the application
the united front tactic from below, especially against the social democratic,
find free union workers and proletarian Reichsbanner members, and
apply.
We have also in the past, attempts to apply the united front tactic
made. But one would deny the facts, if we did not say that
this application of the united front tactic repeatedly inhibitions were opposed. Also
acted principally consisted of individual actions in our policy, not a
consistent, systematic and vivid application of the united front tactic as a
Main method in the struggle for the majority of the working class. In our decisions, there was
long clarity about the need for such a policy. On February plenary session of the
Central Committee we called the united front policy as the key link of
proletarian policy. In practice, however, we were a long time does not pass a position that
Resistance to the application of these correct principles to overcome.
With the introduction of the Anti-Fascist Action Party has in this field a
generous turn completed. One can say today: the decisions of the
The February Plenum, their enforcement in the party for some time has been neglected is,
now the decision on the necessity and importance of the united front tactic in the
last three months, since the beginning of the Anti-Fascist Action, throughout the party
been enforced. We must go further to say that this ideological and practical
Breakthrough in our own ranks the most important key to success on 31 July was.
Fully justified Comrade Stalin said at the XV. Congress of the CPSU on the
United Front:

"The tactic of the united front was just erected by Lenin therefore to the vast masses
the working class of the capitalist countries, from the prejudices of the Social Democratic
infected opportunism, to facilitate the transition to communism."

We have succeeded, the wall that for years thanks to the policy of the social-fascist leader
between the social democratic and free labor unions and workers and
the revolutionary proletariat was to pierce. We have succeeded, with wide
Masses of social democratic and free union workers the conviction
initiate and strengthen that of the Communist Party with their struggle for
Production of red united front is serious in the fight against fascism, that we, United Front not to apply certificates as a mere "tactics", but first Line as a real method to increase the fight against the bourgeoisie. This Consciousness wider social democratic working masses is a prerequisite for teach these working masses as a next step, an objective understanding that our struggle against the SPD not as leaders who "Support for fascism" is, but that we this fight as an indispensable part of the real Mass struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the capitalist system, against the operate fascism. But that is the way to a real conviction of Social Democratic workers of the role of the Communist Party as the only Class party of the proletariat, a prerequisite for the transition of these workers into the camp of communism. The masses of social democratic workers in the Reichstag elections camp of the KPD. have passed, with that degree of Self-understanding already reached. There are, as we have seen, over half a million. Undoubtedly there is, thanks to the right united front under the Antifascist Action, Furthermore today certainly more millions Social Democratic workers who are not yet ready to break with their party, but but already one step have moved closer to the warehouse of the revolutionary class Front, together with the Communists blocked fascist attacks or ward are willing and have already put a portion of their recent distrust of the KPD. This Process one switch in the warehouse of the Socialists and free trade union working masses is another success of the correct application of United Front tactics of the KPD.

IV. A success of our ideological offensive.

This great change for the systematic application of the united front tactic had in sharpest struggle against Right opportunist deviations and trends occur. Around the KPD of its revolutionary strategy and tactics push away on an opportunist Block policy with the SPD, the SPD and ADGB leaders put a their influence, deployed the "left" branches of social fascism, Brandleristen and SAPD all activity, and the counter-revolutionary agent of the international and German bourgeoisie, Leo Trotsky, his whole talk. Even in our own ranks there were several trends of yielding to these frauds the Social Democrats and their "left" Branches. Individual moods were present, the fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie to answer by a turn in our revolutionary policy, our strategic Orientation of the main shock in the working class against the Social Democracy correct. Opportunistic Error one adulteration of the revolutionary United front in the line of the united front from above appeared frequently. The party has recklessly fighting any attempt to smear our Class line against any attempt of the weakening of our principled struggle added social democracy, without in the least to the consistent to waive application of the united front tactics in the revolutionary sense. This brings us to the second most important source of our success. It is our essentially succeeded in the mass of Communists and revolutionary workers Germany zusammzenzureißen in line with our revolutionary strategy and tactics and to verify the accuracy of our general line. We have many succeeded in the fight against every liberal confrontation between democracy and fascism throughout the revolutionary working class understanding of the role of social democracy as "moderate wing of fascism", as "social mainstay of the bourgeoisie" to create. But this was necessary in view of the current situation, after the fascist
Coup in Prussia, in the face of the new foot Ritts the bourgeoisie for Social Democrats and their seemingly radical opposition propaganda, yet the right Apply strategy and tactics in the struggle for the conquest of the majority of the working class and be able to secure. 
perform this correct revolutionary politics was not readily 
Of course. Even in our ranks dipped temporarily tends to be "Strategic turn" on which to factually to a liquidation of our general line, a weakening of the struggle against social democracy was going. This setting assumed that the Communist Party respectively their main attack against those should address wings in the front of the bourgeoisie and its parties, to which the

Bourgeoisie oriented mainly. This was formerly the Social Democracy. Today, there are, in Signs of Papen-Schleicher regime, the Nazis. Such schematic setting looks but completely of our class policy from, of our main strategic task of the majority of the working class in the struggle for the winning conquest of political power. In this great task in the service of proletarian revolution is set our strategy and tactics. The question of our strategic orientation must not simply mechanically only on the particular strategy Bourgeoisie be made dependent, but must help our policy primarily within its own class, the proletariat, be decisive. To the proletarian masses in the struggle to lead to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which is now practiced in the forms and with the methods of a fascist dictatorship, we have the influence of the Social Democrats on key sectors of the proletariat with the saluted efforts on our part to break. Without the same time the policy of the SPD in the to isolate the working class, without the Social Democratic working masses from the influence of their detach leaders, in other words, the no simultaneous fiercest fighting Social democracy there can be no classification of the SPD-workers in the antifascist Battlefront and thus no successful mass struggle against the fascist Dictatorship and terror and fighting organization in Germany, Nazism, give. The tough and aggressive fight against Nazism, with the aim of its to berennen rows from the outside and to decompose from the inside, to which now the best ripen preconditions, requires also that we beat the SPD. The election result of 31 July reflects the fact that the party with success their Offensive for the further isolation of the SPD has continued in the working class. With the Enforcing the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics in the context of Antifascist Action, the party in the last few months the doctrines and decisions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee on the question of the strategic orientation for practical brought applications. This is to ensure the success of the ideological offensive, the end of 1931, the Central Committee for the real enforcement of decisions of the XI. Plenum of the ECCI in Germany initiated and. On February Plenum of the CC was promoted again most strongly. The importance of teaching and decisions of the XI. Plenum of the ECCI and the need to separate processing and Concretization of Germany is the mass of our party workers, especially given the identify difficult political issues of recent weeks is becoming stronger. Just in that it did not succeed the Hitler party, more penetrating into the working class, it appears that the role of the SPD is not diminished as a social mainstay. The ideological offensive, in whose service the Central Committee, especially its theoretical Organ which applies "International" as the main weapon, is an indispensable Prerequisite for success of our revolutionary practice of our mass work. These Assertion which we set up on February Plenum of the CC, and the whole party
emphatically defended against all moods and tendencies of ideological
Offensive and unfolding of Bolshevik self-criticism counteracted, is today
supported by the fact of the recent successes of the party to the full extent.
With the ideological offensive we tried the directives of meaningful letter
Comrade Stalin about variations in the theoretical front on the work of the KPD
apply. So we secured, also in line with the Stalin-letter against
Deceptions of the "left" branches of social fascism. The successes of the ideological
Offensive in clarifying our squad and beyond the revolutionary
Workers on the question of revolutionary strategy and tactics are the second most important
Source of our new rise, as in the electoral victory of the Communists of 31 July
documented.

V. Progress in the fight against Nazism.

The third issue that we must address if we are to examine, on the basis of what
Factors we could overcome our temporary stagnation, to the fight
against Hitlerism. It is of course to the two previous questions
well linked, as these among themselves. A particular weakness was seen in the three
Elections this spring. In certain sections of the proletariat, especially among parts of the
Unemployed, there were moods of a Hitler took power faster
Disaster, accelerated revolutionary escalation hoped. These moods
we were not able to smash with enough success. We have in previous
Occasions pointed out that our weakness in the fight against such
Moods with the general weakness of the party in the struggle against fascism and
especially against the fascist mass movement of the NSDAP, related.
On the one hand there were the consequences of the misguided slogan "Beat the Fascists wherever they
meet ", the more difficult our fight against the moods of individual terror
was and is harmful to the Entfallung the real antifascist located
Mass struggle affected. Secondly, it was the very long time in the party's existing
Underestimation of the Nazi movement in general, which according to us
Reichstag elections in September 1930 and even more in the spring of 1931 to a certain
Resting on temporary small successes in the fight against Hitler movement and
insufficient understanding of the role of fascist terror misled. Such
Underestimation of the Hitler movement was still under review by the German delegation on the
XI. Plenum expressed. Finally we had in December 1930 in the treatment of
Nature of the Brüning government certain errors and exaggerations in which
objectively false, the XI. Plenum of the ECCI refuted theory expressed that the
fascist dictatorship the inevitable, final form of bourgeois class rule
performing, after which it only could give the proletarian dictatorship, the so
as it were a springboard for proletarian revolution performing. With the fight
against such misconceptions we have for too long in the ranks of our party
hesitated. On this point, the evaluation of the XL Plenum of the ECCI was too weak.
Only in the context of the ideological offensive, and especially in recent months since
the presidential election we have after careful and thorough examination of the deliberations
and resolutions of the XI. Plenary a successful education campaign against these false
Theories and views in our ranks and beyond throughout proletariat
deployed. The importance of this struggle is today certainly revolutionary for each
Workers be understandable. Because today champions the entire moderate wing of
Bourgeoisie, including the entire democratic press and virtually the entire
Fighting the Hitler movement precisely through the development of revolutionary
United front from below, and thanks to our revolutionary strategy also first
were able to achieve serious success.
These successes have us any more than the success in the fight against
Social Democracy fell into his lap. They arise not any alone
cheap "objective" factors, such. as the fact of the greater exposure of the
Nazis as a direct support of the Papen government. Each of such a concession
a spontaneity would the fraud of the SPD leaders and the liberal bourgeoisie
facilitate, after which "heranlassen Hitler" had to prevent it from "abwirtschaftet".
We must speak with all sharpness instead that even after 31 July with his
unmistakable stagnation of Nazi wave quite another rise
of Hitlerism theoretically conceivable, though would be unlikely unless we him
not thwart our right policy. This finding we need throughout the
and fasten party throughout the revolutionary proletariat. And that is why it is very important,
if we find that the very first initial success in the fight against Hitler
Fascism, as he puts it in the election result of 31 July, the fruit of our right
Policy is that the wrong and harmful and moods in the revolutionary proletariat
the past mistakes in our party goes recklessly body.
Many class-conscious workers against until then the struggle of the Communist Party
have individual terror is not completely understood, will now by the
convincing facts of the necessity of our sharp occurrence in this issue.
Even some officials of our party against our sharp appearance false
Views on the issue of the fascist dictatorship (z. B. the exaggerated formulations
) Felt in December 1930 as exaggerated or superfluous, and the importance of
Decisions of the XI. Plenary on this issue is not fully understood, are present today,
how right the Comintern, the party and the Central Committee with this fighting had. The
Enforcing ideological offensive, the political and practical findings
Task of the February Plenum of the Central Committee on these issues of our struggle
against the Hitlerite party, the third most important source for our new advance and thus
for the electoral success of 31 July.

VI. Where cherishes the main weakness of our party?

The progress in the party in addressing those tasks on the line of their
Bolshevisation are other, serious weaknesses against whose possible
quick recovery multiply the effectiveness of the party, its advance powerful
increase and the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution to our will change in favor. If the party has understood the lessons of the past, then will be for after 31 July in its units, from the smallest cell to Central Committee, not succumb to the slightest movement of a self-sufficiency. Just given the success that we of a correct policy in various fields has brought mass work, we have the sharper the Bolshevik self-criticism to Creating improve working with all those problems where the party a Overcome their weaknesses and shortcomings have not yet succeeded. We have worked with the Organization of Antifascist Action a number of errors liquidated and achieved certain successes. The application of the united front tactic under the Antifascist Action has us on a large area, significant progress brought: to your area of mass struggle against the fascist terror. The Red Mass self-defense under the Anti-Fascist Action is already a Movement that welds together many hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and laid is based on the active sympathy of the vast masses. How was it possible that in such a short time, in the course of two months, such a massive mass movement grow could? We have often in the past, the problem of building rolled Buildings Defence or operating weirs and formulated appropriate solutions. Although these solutions even then properly and needs appropriate to the situation were, they had only very sporadic success, while we already over the first two months of Antifascist Action a serious breakthrough in this Question achieved. The explanation here is in addition to the favorable objective conditions that we are one of the propaganda of the red mass self-protection down on the pitch conducted real application of the united front tactic from below, while earlier this systematic application of the main methods of Leninist policy in our revolutionary mass work was neglected. Now it would be, given the current stringent putschistisch-terrorist actions the Hitler party, given the events in Koenigsberg, Silesia, Schleswig-Holstein Braunschweig, etc. undoubtedly wrong, the importance of mass struggle against the underestimating fascist terror for the future in the least. This shows the great heroism of the German proletariat, which can not be intimidated, but massive marches forward. This mass struggle against the fascist terror remains a crucial task of the revolutionary struggle, yes, we have in this field the Antifascist action our efforts still increase, the in Mass self-protection detected masses multiply yet, millions more through Include Antifascist Action in the front of this revolutionary mass struggle. We therefore must above all our ideological offensive against Hitler's party unfold. It is true, our struggle against the Lausanne Pact in line with our Freedom policy to increase to the well on the national question in our fight against Nazism increased continue. Again, there are first, still too slow Progress. But these obvious findings may keep us in no way, the large to overlook weaknesses which resulted from the application of the united front tactic as before result in another area of the ground work. And this area - the operational work - must be the focus of our entire revolutionary work. Especially in this Main field of our work, there are still a very serious lag. The United front tactic in operation as a method of combat mobilization is still, of some specific exceptions, completely amiss. In addition to this main Failing in the application of the united front tactic in the same issue of the "International"
in an article by Comrade Florin is treated, also affects the rest of the entire
Weakness of our operating working. In this area, we must, if we
want to implement, bring new concrete methods to apply, as we with the
Antifascist Action in the field of mass struggle against the fascist
Murder terror have already achieved.
The great weakness of our Party on July 20, on the occasion of the fascist coup in
Prussia, was that we with our strike Parole indeed a powerful and
revolutionary agitational propaganda effect to exposure of the Social democracy and to strengthen the authority of the KPD made, but no strikes in trigger noteworthy extent were able. Of course, was the slogan of mass political strikes and general strikes right, even if it is not to trigger the strike came.

There is therefore a number of objective reasons, such. As the fact of the refined approach the bourgeoisie. By its first shock apparently only against some social fascist Minister, Chief of Police and other state officials hunt, she tried before by

the masses just the revolutionary workers to obscure the fact that in Reality their coup the brutal fascist assault on freedom of
Working class, brought to the party and all the organizations of the proletariat. In the masses and partly also in the party was not everywhere the full understanding of the seriousness of the situation available. There are also a number of special, unique, out of the situation adult deficiencies in our strike mobilization on 20 July. Thus, the fact that our Party leaders often and in the most important first hours backing up the party the necessary technical and organizational measures were so preoccupied, that the full deployment of resources to combat mobilization of workers including suffering. This also affected the development of mass initiative.

But all this is not the main thing. The former, the specific objective Difficulty is no excuse for us as an ingenious tactics will Bourgeoisie repeatedly at each time another fascist attack as ever apply its attacks on the proletariat and the entire class struggle. In order to we must always be prepared. We must thwart. The second, the specific, entered into on July 20 appearance just deficiencies must be an occasion for us in the future elastic, with more rapid initiative and better prepare the blows of the class enemy to parry.

But for that we need to create an important condition: the greatest Improving our revolutionary factory work.

The weakness in this area that our in connection with the defects internal union opposition and RGO work and work under the

Unemployed and among the youth, the main cause of the absence of any significant successful represents strikes economic or political character in Germany, must immediately without each pushing to be liquidated. The February plenary session of the Central Committee put forward the slogan, in our operational work to perform a 180-degree turn. This is the point where the decisions of the February Plenum have been realized to date at the very least.

July 20 has hammered us the lesson that we immediately this task must realize.

July 31, has shown us that we can execute at overcoming existing inhibitions are to implement our right decisions into action and to achieve success.

Now it is time to act!

VII. The new stage of the Antifascist Action.
What must be done? The party must, increased by taking advantage of by the election victory Activity of all cadres and the growing authority of the KPD. in the masses that continue, what we started with the introduction of the Anti-Fascist Action about two months ago have: they must also the right decisions in the field of operational work, internal union and RGO work, the Erwerbslosen- and youth work in the implement line of combat and strike mobilization of the masses into action!
We have, while rejecting others, incorrect formulations, the February plenary session of the Central Committee called a plenum of revolutionary practice. We looked at the there found object, the gap between the decisions taken and their implementation to conclude. Nearly three months passed before the party seriously began to Overcome many inhibitions and resistances to realize that finding. The first results are there. Now we have a fortiori solve the whole circle of the tasks, we have provided us and their solution in its entirety is, in fact, a to achieve higher stage of Bolshevisation the KPD.
The continuation of the Antifascist Action after 31 July can not consist, the previous methods easy to maintain. We need the Antifascist Action on enhance all areas of revolutionary work and politics. We need a new higher implement stage of Antifascist Action into practice.
And this new, this second, this higher stage of Antifascist Action must in Mark the conquest of the enterprises are in order to ready for the political mass strike make to the economic and political struggles on the broadest mass basis in all forms to develop and to thrive.
That is why we have set ourselves the task, this second stage of the Antifascist Action perform the sign of the central slogan: "Take up the Antifascist Action in the Farms! "For the purposes of this solution has the Central Committee from already for weeks 14 August to 4 September Antifascist operating fight week slated to it all to concentrate forces of the party and the revolutionary masses of workers applies. But beyond that we need in our work, in the inner life of the party and in their daily practice, as on all fronts of mass struggle, those conversion perform, their essence is the emphasis of our work in the farms to embarrassed and there to anchor more and more. It is hardly necessary to point only to the fact that this change, in the large part of the operation and newspapers Workers correspondents must be emphasized, from the standpoint of the threat Party ban a burning necessity. One need not only cumbersome to prove how urgent this task in view of the new economic offensive Hunger of capital against wages and salaries of workers and employees is. The capitalist offensive of recent years began with the attack on the settlement differentiated wages, was continued with the wage robbery by emergency decrees and to now under destruction of the tariff system, introduction of business rates and fascist "Wage offices" increased enormously. Here grow the party, the RGO and the red associations daunting tasks.
Against the new hunger offensive we offer slogan tolerates no wages, salaries, Pension and support robbery! Against compulsory labor service against the rearing of Scabs Garden by the forced labor we put the struggle for better Mobilization of the youth, the party must help the youth league.
The entire situation and the immediate perspective of development require of us, the question of the seizure of farms for the revolutionary struggle, the issue of Strike mobilization of operational workers to advance quickly and decisively. Such Examples such as the Belgian miners' strike must act grain-raising. What we now
need, this is the real creation of a broad opposition movement alongside the RGO in the free and Christian trade unions, including social-democratic and free trade union worker and the strengthened organizing of the active Unemployed movement. Under the slogan of the exclusion of all Nazis from Unions and the resumption of all revolutionary workers excluded we must advance. The KPD united in their followers today as July 31 showed about one-third the proletariat. In einigen the main industrial districts, so in the Ruhr area, provides almost the majority of the working class politically in our warehouse. The objective Prerequisites to win the leadership of the workers in the factories, the Workers to bring in the fight and to fight this battle to the serious success, given. Everything depends on our policy, of our initiative, our Elan, of our correct methods from.

VIII. Before decisive battles.

Germany is since July 20, the period of the immediate struggle the fascist dictatorship. With their coup in Prussia is the Papen government.

Schleicher-Gayl, Having regard to the Hitler-fascism, the government of fascist has become dictatorship and the fascist coup in Prussia with the bayonets of the military dictatorship performed. Now accesses the Hitler Party, the fascist Terrorist organization of finance capital, immediately after coming to power. Still gape in stock the bourgeoisie itself mighty opposites on the question of the methods and the tempo, in the fascist dictatorship is to be erected and strengthened over Germany. There are still violent contrasts between different parts of an economic nature Bourgeoisie. The fighting strength and determination to fight the proletariat is by the Fascism in no way broken or paralyzed. On the contrary, it is, as July 31 showed growing. More violent always irreconcilable to transform the Class fronts. At the same time the crisis develops economically at a rapid pace. It is not too much said that if the current situation and the next development in Germany to go denotes that the catastrophe for the bourgeoisie, the financial bankruptcy approaching. Also in the disaster want the ruling class their system, its class rule, with bloody terror, with cruel violence, with all methods of fascist barbarism maintained. The German proletariat goes directly battles of an extent and a field counter as bitterly similar in the history of revolutionary Class struggle of the German workers were scarce. The impending ban on KPD and all revolutionary class organizations remains continuously directly on the Agenda. Every moment must be gewärtig the working class, a to parry Überrumpelungsversuch the bourgeoisie. The party must at the premises unleash an increasingly campaign against the ban threats. The 31st of July, as we Communists predicted, not a weakening of the brought fascist development. On the contrary, the alleged "anti-fascist" Center, the supposedly "anti-fascist" SPD, profess openly "ranlassen" the Nazis. The ballots of 31 July do not alter the fascist coup in Prussia, not alter the role of the Papen government. They are able, so far as it really for the only antifascist force KPD, yet, the determination to fight the masses to increase. But the ballots themselves are not the threatening power of Hitler prevent. This can only be the revolutionary mass struggle! The unprecedented escalation of the class struggle, the stormy pace at which the
Conditions of the revolutionary crisis in Germany ever faster, more comprehensively mature, I broke with the growing activity of the working class path. Based on this certainty, the party the revolutionary way out must always clear show out of the crisis, their programmatic slogan of a workers and peasants’ republic concrete and beyond the masses of the increase in all forms antifascist fight for freedom in practice lead to the revolutionary way out. On the Line of revolutionary politics, given the inevitable fierce battles of Class struggle is the successful overcoming of those main weaknesses of our mass revolutionary work in the factories the unions to the punch points and among youth a vital question for the party and the proletariat. This question solve, the threshold of a new stage of our Party fully Bolshevisation exceed, that is not only the fruit of July 31, our election victory, reap the is far more: the proletarian class army of powerful decisive battles transform!

The international,
Heft 7/8 1932

Conclusion on the XII. Plenum of the ECCI

Comrades, it is understood that worsening given the from the day itself resulting economic crisis and from the accelerated revolutionary upsurge political high tension in different countries in this plenary a special Discussion of the problem of economic struggles, through a series of tactical questions in the field of our union mass political work and a series of Questions of internal union practice behind the treatment of political problems resigned. Each delegate will agree with me when we realize that the discussion on 12th plenary all sections a new enrichment of the fight lessons and experiences submitted.
The Czech delegation, particularly Comrade Gottwald, us partly shiny practical examples of united front actions of special and new methods of Pre stepping union of the layers of non-party, Social Democratic and organized labor, improving our mass work shown.
It must be recognized here that we and our tactics on the issue of economic struggles mass political strikes, in connection with the preparations for the crucial Fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, that we experience, the individual in the Countries were made, not allowed to transmit schematically on other sections. Our Decisions we take here may in the individual capitalist and colonial be adopted countries not schematically but must on the given Situation be concretized.
We must take into account that the development stages of the revolutionary change movement at any time, by the increasing difficulty of Bourgeoisie and the further deepening of the crisis. It depends on us how the develops revolutionary repartee of our Party, and to what extent our parties manages to put the masses of the working class against the capitalist offensive in motion. The pace of the general revolutionary upsurge takes place in the various Countries very versatile under the changed conditions of the end of the capitalist Stabilization. Our tactics must be adapted and concretized in each case these conditions
It will be noted that the nature of the struggles in the current situation faster changed, as was the case in the past period. A number of new forms of struggle were evident in all countries. Especially in the field of economy struggles there are new international experiences. The method of passive resistance, the fact that economic struggles in connection with political strikes and political strikes themselves have increasingly become, the fact that the individual economic struggles follow solidarity and demonstration strikes in other companies that increasingly violent expectant clashes with the state apparatus in these struggles, further strikes, the associated with factory occupations - all these facts are of paramount international importance. For this, the new anti-war strikes come in individual countries, especially in Japan and China, which of all the Comintern sections extraordinary importance.

In Germany, we continued to record cases where the standing operating workers come in support of the unemployed in the strike. In industries of Poland and Belgium, where individual industry groups on strike, solidarity strike by decisions other industry groups with the strikers. We have mass political strikes, which in some countries already bear the elements of civil war in itself. The industrial action and mass political strikes exacerbate further the contradictions and differences in Camp of the bourgeoisie, they are increasing in ferocity and toughness, they deepen incipient crisis at Camp II. and the Amsterdam International and create new

Conditions for our mass influence among the millions of union organized labor.
While earlier mostly strikes in individual establishments, in most cases only in small and medium-sized enterprises, and only few large and policy in entire sectors of industry Mass strikes took place, we see that even entire industries, and more Industries are taken jointly by mass strikes and general strikes.

The art of our strike tactic must be to:
1. view the daily demands and political slogans to each objective and subjective conditions for higher development of revolutionary class struggle adapt,
2. the extended mass battlefront through intelligent linking of economic and establish political strikes,
3. To set the maximum maneuverability on the day and the increase in to strive for movement to a higher revolutionary level,
4. utilize all opportunities to the masses of to realize Inevitability and necessity of the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for to bring the dictatorship of the proletariat,
5. with great tenacity and conviction, the brave and bold application of proletarian united front from below with the correct methods of connect proletarian democracy for systematic separation of Social Democratic, unionized and unorganized workers the sphere of influence of the social-fascist and fascist leaders,
6. working out the leading role of the Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade unions in representing the class interests of the proletariat,
7. relentless and rapid unmasking and fighting the "left" hoax the social democratic-reformist trade union bureaucracy,
8. Strengthening the positions of the revolutionary trade union movement (as RGO, Opposition movement and Red associations), as well as the Communist parties and Communist youth organizations in the factories.
Of the various speakers of almost all sections and the comrades who in the revolutionaries in the trade unions work, were here more acute the stresses manifold "left" hoax of Amsterdam and the Social Democrats. The social demagoguery and the special "left" hoax of Amsterdam and Social Democratic leaders that are applied to their own followers, who for Communism move are ready to continue to the II. And Amsterdam International to tie, forcing us in our ranks a great danger of Right opportunism than the Main danger, the danger of falling from the correct Bolshevik line in time to identify and open up against them to battle. This should by no means the fire of Struggle against the "left" weaken -sektiererischen deviations. We must also see that by all the enemies of the working class, the social demagoguery to a greater degree is applied! Especially ingenious work, for example, the Nazis in Germany.

The brutal Lohnabbaunotverordnungen in Germany under the slogan "Job creation" proclaims to the predatory plans of Papen government easier enforce. The subsidization and rehabilitation measures for large industry and the big landowners are called "economic driving measures" as a means to "overcome the crisis "declared by the bourgeoisie. These facts and the above mentioned "left" prove deceptions of PPS in Poland that only the daily and prolonged exposure and the incessant, tenacious and daily mass struggle against every "left" and maneuvers against the social demagoguery of the SP and Amsterdam and all workers enemies promote class consciousness of the working class, strengthen our authority and the initiative to awaken and arouse self warfare more and more.

Now to the question: How do we get faster approach the vast masses of the workers? The fact of the diminution of the economic base of the labor aristocracy that fact the growth of the oppositions and beyond all the revolutionary upsurge given revolutionary factors offer us new budget Conditions for our work among the masses, for the fight at the internal union front, as especially in the factories and among the unemployed. In the Belgian general strike we experienced in the most visible form of the deepest indignation, particularly of unionized workers against the class betrayal of the reformist Bureaucracy. The release of our Belgian colleagues is of utmost importance that the Belgian general strike of the masses themselves, from the union Organized together with the unorganized, of a new revolutionary Active was passed and out of new workers squad that in the fire of the strike of the Masses are placed at the head of the struggle itself.

We have to reach it that first at our own comrades in the party still existing inner inhibitions in the implementation of internal union work be overcome. The principal inhibitions are basically:

First, an underestimation of the fighting capacity of organized labor ("With whom what to do").

Second, but also an overestimation of the maturity level of organized, often located expresses in words like: "The coming of themselves to us."

Third, many fear comrades nor the sharp clashes with the bureaucracy in the associations, because they do not feel them growing and politically strong enough.

It does not matter how we did it for a while in Germany, establish and elaborate bureaucratic semi-annual plans and papierne Storm Plans elaborate point systems; that alone we will not get much further. We need a immediate systematic mass revolutionary work.

The plenum has rightly just the internal union work is of great importance attached. but I must say that in this context, the problem of
Unorganized was barely touched in the whole discussion and come far too short is.

We have seen in the current Belgian general strike, as the unorganized by their revolutionary collaboration with the organized play a significant role. I wants to remember the very important debates that following the VI. World Congress in dealing with the German question before the Presidium of the ECCI stood. Comrade Stalin, who, at that time - and this applies to the full extent also for Today's situation - especially on the great revolutionary role and importance of Unorganized pointed. It was then quite rightly been the need Creation of new revolutionary trade union organizations for Germany stressed. in the Context thus began the struggle against the opportunist conceptions of Comrades against starting new revolutionary trade union organizations faces. We took then strongest course on obtaining the unorganized. Today the problem of the strongest attraction of unorganized remains a reduces important task in our revolutionary mass work and may in no case or be neglected.

In all countries, the urge of the masses to the unit due to the new situation grew stormy.

In the working class itself occur in the urge for unity great confusion and dangerous Illusions on that especially develop when the wishes and expectations many workers are not satisfied with the pace of the united front development. We have in this area great experience in Germany. It was due to the Nazi terror recorded strong unit moods, but also dangerous Views as the "unity over the heads of all the leaders of time!" Or those Concepts like "unity across all parties!" Or "creation of unity at any Price". The SAP, these "left" branch of social fascism and the Brandleristen and Trotskyists come with the slogan of "unification of the SPD and KPD" in order to directing unit will of the masses in the wrong political paths. In principle Rejection of such a demand by the Communist Party sometimes occur Upsets in the masses on which consciously and by the renegades of the SAP are sometimes nurtured by parts of the social fascists. These sentiments were also characterized nurtured that one temporarily in the party at individual points for joint demonstrations, rallies, etc. Preparations met that not the corresponded revolutionary character and being temporarily the basic character of the KP was against the Social Democratic Party blurred and weakened. So arise the diverse variations misconceptions about the United front policy. For example: "The leaders of both parties, the SP and the CP, carry the Blame for the failure of the united front. "Such tendencies penetrate very often in the Periphery of the party, and may in crucial situations of the party the largest harm. Through the vigilance of the German Central Committee which in the area were the Application of the united front policy of the top mistakes made vigorously criticized and eradicated, to prevent new difficulties in the implementation of mass revolutionary politics. We had in the elections everywhere great progress to recorded, where we have a correct and courageous application of the united front policy from below conducted among the masses. This has the authority of the party among the masses considerably strengthened.

We must ask the question: What is the main lever for the mobilization and activation of Masses for the implementation of the united front from below? The ultimate method of Application of the united front policy, the united front formation of the bottom, is the joint Combat mobilization of free trade unions, social democratic, Christian and unorganized workers to fight for the common demands of the working class.
We do not ask our leadership as a "condition". The more we question make the united front from below, the easier we will existing right eliminate errors in the displacement of the united front policy upwards, sometimes at a purely emotional view in sections of the party membership and in some Officials are made to believe, as could our positions in the strengthen masses. It was here in the discussion on the question of the application of the united front policy some unclear wording. Our leadership role in all strikes must - whether they like it often the Case was to erupt spontaneously if they were organized and initiated by us or whether the under mass pressure call reformists to strike - our leader role and must never be nowhere underestimated. Right Comrade Pjatnizki said: If we have the lead masses, then we should also emphasize that we Communists are the ones at your peak the struggle for wages and food drove. Not doing so: how can we in this changed situation the masses to higher lead class goals? One should in the actions and strikes among the masses the face, not blur the leading role of the party and hide. This is very true in the emphasizes theses on the second item on the agenda. We put the slogan of the united front and not the union. we talk to Example in Germany by association, then that illusion is of the "Association of SPD and KPD, "as it is called, for example, when the renegade in Germany, nourished. The Slogan of the association was of Comrade Lenin in the period of division of social democratic parties in the development of revolutionary left wings applied, and as you could of course by an association with the partly already exists speak communist parties.

Today we already have great mass Communist parties, the more mature and have grown, already in its independent role as the sole leader of the proletariat meet higher task. Especially in Germany, we have in the field of mass politics much to learn from the Czech party. We have here in the question of the methods and the tone at the Recovery of the social democratic and free union workers a turnaround perform, even though we already made some progress in this area lately have recorded. This is important and absolutely necessary. But that alone will not done. We must go forward a significant step. Stalin once said correctly that the masses of the correctness of the policy the party must convince. So we must do everything possible to and through our slogans to convince our policy the masses by means of their own experience that it Only a workers' party, a revolutionary party is that of the class interests Proletariat and all working people to defend and represent: the Communist Party! We have the leading role of our party just because of the proletarian masses for bring political and revolutionary consciousness, because we raise them and in the must educate fighting for big objectives - for the victory of socialism. We may false unity moods and Einheitsduseleien on the line of "unity at any Price "let the masses arise, as we also each syndicalist considers the For such, gain the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat without a revolutionary party can, must fight vehemently. International examples have shown that the Working class is tremendously sensitive, if the principle of a revolutionary party and it's leading role somehow blurred, neglected or postponed. We have seen for example in France, as the CGT maneuvers made on the issue of confused united front policy and thereby a time hundreds of thousands of workers were that our party and the CGTU a certain speed loss by the skillful
suffered tactics of the reformists. Let us recall what is already in the II. World Congress was told:

"Under certain historical circumstances it is very possible that the working class of very numerous reactionary layers penetrated. The task of communism does not exist in adapting to these backward sections of the working class, but to the entire Working class to raise to the level of the communist vanguard. The confusion of these two concepts - party and class - can lead to the greatest mistakes and confusion ".

What's real proletarian leadership, having the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 proved. Without the solid, implacable, always connected with the masses Avantgarde, without standing in the forefront Party of Bolsheviks would the proletariat the power can not usurp. Any, even the slightest weakening of Leading role of our parties in the masses must in today sharpened situation term disastrous effects.

Comrades, the Czech party shows us new and sometimes brilliant experience in Mass politics. What we can learn from the Czech party, are their skillful Methods in carrying out the mass work that we in the other parties, all particularly in the German party, must apply. But you can say that the Czech comrades sometimes can learn from us. I remember the great Lessons and experiences of the German party in the territory of the united front policy in the Past.

We did not today in a perspective of revolutionary development and those Facts and large main weaknesses recorded, as they already Comrade Pjatnizki with respect to the weakness and poor work of our operating cells on hand were demonstrated by examples.

If we draw a comparison between the Communist cadres operating Polish Party and those of the German party in its relation to the total number of membership In Germany there are only about 12 to 15 percent of total Party membership in the factories, while in Poland from parts of Membership under the industrial proletariat, our national party still approximately 35 to 40 percent of their Members in small, medium and large enterprises one. These facts compel us to also for the German party a much stronger rate of orientation of our mass work particularly on large farms for the production of plant workers for the revolutionary Tasks of our Party and the revolutionary trade union organizations to take.

If we review the decisions of the Comintern and Prolintern, so we have in the Carried out on the important areas of industrial, trade union and Unemployed labor still insufficient progress has been made. In addition to we on this important ground work, the question of work under the Young people and workers make much more. In Germany, for example, try we to approach by special new methods to the workers, for example, by the Workers' delegate system to these circles of the proletariat stronger in the revolutionary class front in bringing. must the work among young working masses are necessarily improved. If we also in these fields throughout our strengthen organizational positions, then the solution of the problem of the other is Deployment of larger mass strikes by connecting the party with the masses yet be easier. Like a red thread in the task by our Resolutions the task of unleashing of mass political strikes. inseparable Intertwining of political and economic struggles, the great importance of the mass strike as hubs of new class conflicts, as the main lever for Awakening, strengthening and raising of the revolutionary class consciousness and class power
the proletariat has repeatedly stressed just Lenin. We need the power of the class
Proletariat by triggering real partial struggles and mass political strikes
strengthen to the masses closer and faster to the decisive battles for dictatorship
Proletariat in bringing.
These are the problems, to their concrete solution all the sections on the basis of decisions
the XII. Plenary must work with all our energy.
In the trade union commission this plenary the following questions had a special
Importance. We must do everything to union members for the revolutionary
to win union opposition and a real and energetic struggle for all
perform selectable positions in the unions. The conquest selectable
functions and Executive positions promotes in turn the recovery of the
Union members within the individual unions.
The second question was the decision, the phrase that "the economic struggle,
current main form of class struggle is "to cancel the resolution. For this is
the importance of economic struggles for bringing the backward parts of
Workers pointed to the revolutionary mass struggle.
The third question concerned the main weaknesses of the work of our red Associations. It was
particularly the lack of leadership in the struggle for the daily interests of the working
noted the insufficient application of the united front policy, weaknesses and errors in
relating to the application of proletarian democracy in the associations.
The fourth question was the special reference to the importance of the Communist
Group work not only in the red and reformist organizations, but also within
the reactionary and fascist organizations.
Last question for our work among the unemployed. Our task is the
to revive jobless movement and activate henceforth revolutionary
founding unemployed organizations that expand existing and especially in

the existing reactionary and fascist partly unemployed organizations and -
groups our opposition work strengthened.
The from the different capitalist governments propagated
"Job creation plans", which are just scams and scams generally and the
Unemployed give little or no work, the sections have led
to provide immediate demands for the unemployed, for example, in matters of
monetary support, demands on the authorization of clothes, linen, shoes,
Milk and bread for the children etc. The fighting alliance between workers and mode
Unemployed should be encouraged.
is in our resolutions to the first two speeches on the awakening of
Fight initiative against the imperialist war more clearly informed. in the
Connection with the fight of the factory workers and unemployed we need to here
eighth false opportunistic views as partly in some sections
have shown.
We had inter alia in France in the RGO a tendency which resulted forward to
formulate: "the economic struggle is already a struggle against imperialist
War". A second trend that occurred particularly in France, has been to say:
"The anti-war struggle is a political struggle, and therefore only a matter of the party." The
are complementary variations, which is the most dangerous trade unionism.
Given the current escalation in the increasingly growing threat of war, is the
Compound of the economy struggles with the struggle against the imperialist war a
very important question and any slipping of the Bolshevik line to
Risk of class betrayal of the proletariat.
We speak of an incipient crisis in the Amsterdam International. That means,
that the radicalization process has reached a higher level in the constituencies. These fermentation that already in almost all constituencies of the Amsterdam International in the is recorded different countries, gives us at the same time the most favorable opportunity, the increasingly strong opposition between the members and the reformist deepen leaders, this radicalization process systematically evaluate for us the union members in the webs of revolutionary mass struggle implicate. We must at the head of each policy Union bureaucracy revolting masses, these best of the union members, questions and educate them to heroic squad of our Bolshevik combat army. The growing social democratic, free union and unorganized workers with the will for common daily demands of the great struggle for political will Mass strikes and a general strike, the struggle for socialism, for the destruction the capitalist system, the revolutionary ultimate goal for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is necessary to evaluate all these moods positive and combative urge the masses to develop to a higher revolutionary level. The current time is abundantly loaded with new explosive, an overabundance of occasions that bring a flare of revolutionary mass struggles with itself, exists. We must respond quickly, no situation dodge and our revolutionary struggle ability hone and develop strength and Bolshevik. We know that our struggles and new great sacrifices require. Jail, prison, hunger and strand are a part of our best comrades and the revolutionary working class before. We are also in victorious forward march, in which new revolutionary ascent not always can avoid that in some countries, to individual sectors of the front, certain Losses occur. But this should not inhibit our parties in other great struggle unfolding. Our great revolutionary perspective in the world, the End of capitalist stabilization and the new growing revolutionary upsurge will help us vorwärtszustürmen some failures across bold new Victories of the working class. The path of the proletariat to power is a thorny, prey full path. Armed with the Armour of Marxism-Leninism, in unconditional trust to the Comintern and to CPSU in iron confidence in our own strength and on the tremendous force of the Proletariat we need with a new revolutionary struggle spirit to work, to the front of us stationary objects go.

* Comrades, the importance of German development, the burning interest Germany is already reflected in the fact that the debate on these issues to greatest scope has assumed in the discussion at the 12th plenary. I want this That said do not repeat on the development in Germany, but primarily treat recent development of German conditions. First, some of the organizational growth of the Communist Party Germany in connection with some other parties. We have a in Germany huge organizational growth of our party, despite existing strong fluctuation recorded, we have also in the Czechoslovak Party a favorable Upward development while expanding its mass base. But we must here say that not always the numerical growth of the party is already a sign for their further penetration into the masses and their revolutionary consolidation in the proletariat.
We saw, for example, by the Prussian election result on 24 April that a beginning isolation of the party was to be stated by the masses. This gave us reason to draw certain practical consequences. We have in the three months from 24 April have until July 31, won about one million new votes and through specific methods in the application of the united front policy from below, through the campaign Antifascist Action, class-conscious elements of social democracy and active layers of the "Iron Front", the date when the Social Democratic and Reichsbanner workers still considered fighting antifascist formation was brought over to us. One can say: The Antifascist Action was a fast and great success.

But if we consider the achievements of the German party to face the successes for the Polish and Czech party have recorded in the strike struggles, so we must say that both, especially our Polish sister party, in compliance its tasks has a big lead over the German party. The successes of Polish party that here already by interesting examples of Comrade Lenski were given, were won by the biggest and most serious difficulties. The Success of our illegal Polish sister party have an incentive and a special paradigm primarily for the German party, but also for all the other parties, to learn from the Polish party in this field.

It is quite clear to us that the next development in Germany is not only a depression around the crisis, but also a rapid intensification of class antagonisms, will bring an immense intensification of the class struggle itself.

We need something new, see the dialectical process in this development, because the party always, and one might say hourly, is faced with new tasks. The development conditions of fascism are other than at the time of commencement of the period of capitalist stabilization. With the breakdown of Economics, with the tightening crisis in the country are also the foundations of the fascist dictatorship and thus the continued efforts and attempts for its installation difficult. Fascism is increasingly on by the counterattack of the class front of the proletariat.

Difficulties and resistance encounter. We note here, although we do not actually may underestimate the aggressiveness of fascism that the latter already strong bears signs of decomposition in itself. Fascism is not only a product of decaying capitalism, but also an expression of heightened class struggle of Bourgeoisie against the proletariat and in particular against the revolutionary mass movement led by the Communist Party. passing to light the use of all the camp of the bourgeoisie and their accomplices internal differences, strengthen the resilience of the proletariat and the laboring masses are of the utmost importance. Of course, we can not question the mechanical and automatically provide that fascism itself will disappear from the scene. He will not automatically by the disintegration of the economy in connection with the decline worsening the global economic crisis in its development and collapse, but here, the Communist Party is the crucial issue, the most decisive revolutionary factor from which in the main, the more development of fascism depends. It was here from various comrades and all particularly of Comrade Ercoli reference to the experiences from the first years of underlined development of Italian fascism, which differences when comparing today must be seen with the time when the character and will analyze the development of fascism properly. After he seized power in Italy had Fascism favorable to the onset of relative stabilization Required to consolidate his power, as they German fascism today, at
was not sufficiently emphasized: Our parties are indeed now become more mature, they are
grown and represent other factors, when it was at the time that period of development
Fascism at the beginning of capitalist stabilization was the case. This is not a
insignificant fact because the bourgeoisie be expected at any time and hour of KP
Has. The problems, which are, for example, in Germany now makes the revolutionary
Ability of the Communist Party, to mobilize the masses and to activate a
decisive role. From the strength and maturity of the party arises indeed the sharp
revolutionary task for the Communist Party, as here on the
12th plenary was formulated. This sharp task easier at the same time
German delegation understanding of the hardness of the criticism of the 12th plenary our
Work has undergone.
A Bolshevik criticism of the work of the German Communist Party is only
to greet. It helps us greatly to act educationally and gives us reason
eradicate jointly with the Comintern our weaknesses and shortcomings in the party. The
sharp but comradely criticism of the Russian delegation at the German
Party, was particularly related to July 20, practiced, we not only recognize
fully as correct and politically necessary to, but it also obliges us to it
to draw practical consequences for our further revolutionary work. If our
Russian friends make us special attention - for example, by the
Comrade Manuilsky - that fatalistic in individual members of our party moods
exist that the from the outset been the inevitability of victory
Add fascism and a part with the historical inevitability
War reconciled, so that finding corresponds to the facts and has a serious
Importance. If one in Germany so far the pace of growth of fascism
Faster was when the revolutionary advance, so this is not unconditional
Starting point for the further development in Germany.
I say that the development in Germany can change very quickly.
German fascism is already of the resisters and the attacks
revolutionary proletariat led by the Communist Party harassed and threatened.

Of course not to the same degree that his positions tomorrow or the day after
to fall down. We are dealing here with a clever, with a refined
Class opponents do. We are dealing with a bourgeoisie against their attacks
the toiling masses and aggressively against the proletariat, according to the changed situation,
offensive, fast and surprisingly performs. The interesting events in
Dissolution of the Reichstag, the terror judgments and new emergency regulations are examples
for which methods the Papen-Schleicher government tried their hunger and
Fascist attack plans against the working masses carry. The government
shrinks from brutal aggression not back and showing the ruthless will to a
impose higher development of the fascist dictatorship.
We have in Germany or with various surprises of the kind of July 20
expected. Although our party is maneuverable, they react still much too cumbersome
at all events. Just 20 July has in particular and our sharpest
Main weaknesses signaled. Such surprisingly quickly changing situations
show us the need, within the party, from top to bottom, such foundations,
to create such political conditions that the highest revolutionary development, the
rapid concretisation of the general line, the given situation accordingly, is possible.
The surprising blows of the class enemy, we must also quickly and decisively
answer, thereby forcing the bourgeoisie to retreat. For us, there is a
most important problem in the. on the XII meet plenary stated object, the
Bringing the masses of the various forms of revolutionary class struggle, in partial struggles to the political mass strike and general strike in various Areas.
The main thing with this right central task is the precondition for these struggles and actions not only in our party and in the revolutionary Organizations, but also among the vast masses create. If the fighting in Germany remain isolated from the large masses, if they are not a special carry deep and disturbing mass character, the basic foundations are the class rule not shaken to the extent and the other Development of the fascist dictatorship not so easy to rest and to retreat to be bringing. We must try to hand the sharp criticism that here in Germany at the Party has been trained to identify the causes that make our weaknesses and shortcomings and the failure of the party must be declared on 20 July.
Of course it would be wrong from the freezes of the party on July 20, a theory to make, as if the party had lost its specific gravity than fighting party.
I could cite examples from history where already some of our best parties in difficult situations a favorable moment missed. Of course, should the under no circumstances a law in the Comintern be. In a pointed such Situation as it is now available in Germany, the weaknesses and shortcomings of the coming Party serious, unsparing and more explicit. This fact has just July 20 confirmed. Do not you believe that the causes of our not sufficient reacting the banking collapse in July 1931 with the promulgation of the emergency decree in December and January are the same as the causes of those weaknesses to be certain extent also on July 20 showed particularly strong? It would be wrong not open here speak.
I want to what already Comrade Florin on behalf of the German delegation here Findings and teachings on July 20, said, add some. July 20, the insufficient readiness and quick wit of the party, is for us in the Indeed a serious warning. But it's not right what Comrade Remmele on this issue explained that "We have known the whole seriousness of the situation in the whole circumference". Our Comrades of the CPSU have emphasized and reiterated that the invitation of the Party for the implementation of the general strike was not only right, but necessary because this slogan the given situation corresponded. We have just not the consequences of this right line for the implementation thereof drawn into revolutionary practice. We failed, demonstrations, partial strikes, protest strikes and mass actions perform. But who accuses us of a "lack of perspective adjustment" who says we should "not recognize the seriousness of the situation in the entire periphery" who commits a crucial mistake. A number of the identified shortcomings and weaknesses here are also not be separated from the inner-party life in the past. Comrade Manuilsky spoke rightly of certain fatalistic and defeatist moods against the Fascism. What fatalistic moods, though they of course not the party dominate, with us are still places available? And what is expressed this Defeatism and fatalism?
There are those moods found that the revolutionary crisis only after full Display of power of fascism could happen in Germany. It was also not of about that part of the unemployed voted in Germany in the presidential election Hitler have, because they believed that thereby more quickly to the revolutionary crisis. There is in Social Democracy and on the periphery of our party moods expressed bring that fascism "abwirtschaften" must. These moods which, although within the party are not significant, but prevent to a certain extent, the triggering.
Comrade Pjatnizki has not unjustly on the importance of social composition 
the party pointed. The percentage of our operating working members is in the past 
Time declined. This is not sufficient connection of the party with the masses 
recorded at the premises. Particularly in large companies makes our organizational 
and to desire political sustainability much left. These facts are important causes 
for a particular political predominance of social democratic ideology among 
Masses of medium and large enterprises. Then there is the other big shortcoming that our 
Operating cells not that political-organizational center in the establishments, of the 
but all the important work should proceed. Especially in the current situation, where we quickly 
must respond, the operating cells must appear politically and 
bring leading role of the Communist Party under the operating workers expressed by the Central Committee to the 
lower party units. 
The third deficiency is that in particularly on the issue of self-initiative from top to bottom 
the various party units not sufficient decisiveness exists. Not 
However, not in every situation, there is a possibility central directives to the lower 
giving party units. One may in such situations is not always such as on July 20, 
to wait for directives from above. Good and necessary, it is of course always when 
are given. But a wait for central directives of the party can be extremely
We must see that the bourgeoisie in such situations does everything to certain to create entanglements and obstacles that our access to our organizations and block to the masses and to prevent the issue central directives. One must with this problem for each official, the question of personal responsibility ask to take in due course from below appropriate measures, even if be made some small errors in the implementation of this immediate reaction should. But if the revolutionary repartee of the masses by the leadership of the is strengthened and steeled party, such small errors are not be construed as as our major weaknesses that came to light on July 20. The German party will of course follow the decisions of the XII. plenary serious draw practical conclusions. But we want the XII. inform Parliament that we already two days after the completion of the parliamentary elections of 31 July on a national conference of Polsekreäre and major department head in the context of assessing the 20th century. July noted the significant deficiencies in our party work and appropriate practical have introduced measures to overcome our weaknesses and shortcomings, to a Repetition of the same to prevent similar situations. I want to go to the uncorrected shorthand quote my speech what there yet on the issue of July 20 was told:

"One can say that never such a situation as in the current period of Development was present, where we daily and hourly with new events in Germany must count. I ask this question why so incredibly sharp, because the lessons of 20 July profound consequences require in the inner orientation of our entire Party and in the Working class."

It is then in another place:

"Today's conference has in connection with the accelerated pace of fascist actions of the bourgeoisie to carry out its program, the role of leader recognized party. Yet if the bourgeoisie, its program of fascist dictatorship without enforce large substantial resistance and new revolutionary attacks of the proletariat as it has unfortunately shown in the situation of 20 and 21 July in Germany - I say unfortunately shown has - if we do not as a revolutionary party in this situation, from July 20, from the immediate reaction of the party new practical consequences within the party pull, then we will see in the further development sensational surprises ... So I think from this point of view, the operations of the 20th of July and not sufficient to react the party a great warning to us."

Elsewhere it says:

"So, I believe that the conditions for the political mass strike and beyond for the General strike were tremendously low in the proletariat on July 20, and as the role of our Party Leader of the proletariat would have been strengthened if it had succeeded in some places, in own initiative of our party comrades in the factories strikes and demonstrations on the bringing road tripping. We must ask the question in the treatment of this problem, that the times of 1918-19 are over. 1918/19 could leaflets trigger strikes but trigger strikes today with leaflets - the time is over."

And the last point is:

"At some strategic points our officials need to be mobilized, so we next the accumulations on the road and at the stamping stations demonstrations and operational
And strikes allow. We have no doubt as a party of prestige before the Comintern lost, because we have not fulfilled the role of leader in those days that was necessary."

What specific practical consequences we still pulled out July 20? Particularly sharp, we raised the question of Berlin. Not only because of the general Meaning of July 20, but because were going on these operations in Berlin. If we had succeeded in Berlin, where the holdings of the events of the morning only in the Least of all were informed cases, in the afternoon hours between 4 and 5 o'clock trigger large demonstrations in which the police could not have quietly look would have been mobilized in Germany to attack possibly the SA departments; characterized would undoubtedly antifascist mass action accrued, that July 20 the best positions for us could bring. One must for Berlin very special draw conclusions in order to reflect subsequent events one freezes and a failure of to prevent party.

A plus of 20 July, which was not enough illuminated, is this: The atmosphere within the Social Democratic workers that only big fights in the current situation are a solution, this sentiment has today by the capitulation converted by Severing and other Social Democratic leaders so that our slogan the general strike, we asked for July 20, of these workers as a right Solution is detected. These workers declare today that the Communists were right, when on July 20, the commonality of the struggle of freigewerkschaftlich-Social Democratic and the Communist workers and the use of the weapon of General strike proposed. The now onset of tremendous ferment in the camp of the SPD and the free trade unions is of great importance also because he even partly to the tips of the social democratic bodies, such as the Reichstag, enters, despite certain maneuvers of the SPD leadership, which we take into account have to.

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Furthermore Comrade Thalmann analyzes the class character of the government-priest Schleicher and the forces on which it is based.

The operations in the Reichstag, the occurrence of the Nazis and the Centre as the SPD as but apparent representative of popular interests not only show the contradictions in the camp of Bourgeoisie, but also the refined demagogy and Fascist Interaction, driven by the Gesamtfaschisierung, the revolutionary Upswing and the further advance of our party is to be inhibited. With the Hitler party in reserve the Papen-Schleicher government, with the assistance of the SPD and the Centre that use different methods, an angry fascist Attack on the working class and all working people through. The speed with which fascist dictatorship in Germany unfolds hanging especially on the degree, the strength of the defense by the proletariat depends on with which power development the proletariat in defense and counterattack against the fascist offensive to the immediate struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the Dictatorship of the proletariat is brought. Here, the political mass strike is the main weapon of our warfare. The situation forces us to the question of bringing the masses to the great decisive battles hinzuzulernen quickly.
The new emergency decree represents a tremendous assault on the working masses and on the proletariat is, it means a comprehensive test of the German bourgeoisie, by the Gegeneinanderausspielen of factory workers and unemployed wages outrageous reduce to destroy the social and the collective bargaining law, new to spend billions subsidies to the big capitalists under the guise of a "Economic recovery in favor of the general public" to reduce their difficulties and to deceive the toiling masses and the proletariat.

Comrade Thalmann discussed in detail the true meaning of the introduced by the new emergency decree "Tax certificates" and continues:

The main measures of Papen-emergency decree against the working class exist in following:
1. reduction of wages and salaries (the emergency decree is particularly explicit Authorization for the reduction of wages in public enterprises).
2. extension of working hours.
3. Elimination of social security.
4. price increases of the Living of the Working class by price-raising Quota imports of goods of mass consumption.
5. Reissue citizen control. (Papen had promised in the throne, this tax to completely eliminate it.)

The following measures are directed especially towards the medium-sized businesses and small and medium farmers.
1. itinerant trade, hiking camps, homework and house office, just the most vulnerable Part of the middle class, receive no tax vouchers.
2. The entire middle class, artisans, etc. receive a relatively lower proportion of the Tax vouchers than the capitalist enterprises, as their turnover is lower and they do not pay basic and transport control.
3. come Employment premiums (400 marks for each newly hired workers) Only the larger enterprises benefit.
4. The re-introduction of civil control of the municipalities.
The party and the RGO have responded to the emergency decree Papen immediately by Meetings, through organizational and workforce decisions for the fight and by the application of the strike weapon in response to the new emergency decree. We have

Slogans issued to Angle for the masses on the basis of the united front mobilizing common resistance and assault. The main slogans read:
Proletarian United Front action against hunger and Notverordnungspolitik! Lower With Papen government! This latter solution, we have propaganda associated with the Endzielloosung to fight for the workers 'and peasants' republic! Other solutions are:
Let no tariff reduction or reduction of wages in the factories to! Reduction of working hours only with full pay, etc. The solution of the common struggle of unemployed operation workers, the appeal to the unemployed, not to go into the farms under tariff-free conditions or reduced wages, are also important moments the mobilization in the near future. It must and will succeed in larger masses Factory workers in the fight against new notverordneten von Papen wage cuts to lead.
For the subsidies gifts amounting to 2.2 billion to the Agrarian Party and the Big industry that we are calling the use of this amount for wage increase
and unemployment relief. With these solutions even in Germany we are already approached the lower SPD and trade union organizations for the purpose of triggering joint struggle of all workers regardless of their political organization and direction, to across the mass struggle against the fascist Papen program to unleash.

About the emergency decrees also tried the German bourgeoisie also in the field of Foreign policy their political plans despite and because of the difficulties in the country aggressive than ever enforce. The upgrade requirements that the program of Papen enshrined Schleicher that of in a special memorandum for the meeting Offices of the so-called "Conference on Disarmament" are compiled on September 21, found in the world a diverse reverberations. Italy for example has halfway solidarity. England held back initially and then declared himself quite open hand, France has the most aggressive opposition to these new demands German imperialism signaled. The geopolitical importance of this from Papen Schleicher established Armor demands exacerbated by the new groupings and regrouping of forces in the current new situation, at the end of capitalist stabilization.

Comrade Pieck has already yesterday the main demands of this upgrade program pointed out and set forth the basis on which it clarifies the defense claims to once again to try to undermine the Versailles system. attempts we have already seen at the time of the Brüning government, where the German bourgeoisie tried in vain by the customs union agreement with Austria the French hegemony weaken in Europe.

Undoubtedly the new armaments advance of the Papen cabinet in a more difficult imperialist aggression of the German bourgeoisie and a tightening of the Opposition to France. In addition, the Papen government wishes to re Whipping up chauvinist passions of their domestic hunger and Repression and their Notverordnungspolitik distract etc. For us Communists still of particular importance, the section in Armor memorandum of in with the question of the formation of a fascist militia Germany employs. It is in this memorandum at one point as follows:

"As for the military system, the German Government must also be the right of all accept other States even there under the generally applicable rules so to make, as the needs and economic and social characteristics of the country equivalent. It comes here once to organizational changes, such as gradation of active Service of Long servants and freedom in the structure of the Wehrmacht to, secondly on the short-term training of a particular conscript militia for the purpose of maintaining the internal order and of border and coastal protection."

Quite frankly is so pronounced that the SA and SS formations and the to be Stahlhelm squad officially incorporated into the army for the suppression of revolutionary movement. Of course, these formations should also use find as imperialist war troops. For the German bourgeoisie therefore has the Inclusion of the SS and SA foreign policy, military and internal political significance. It is no coincidence that the monstrous offensive Papen-Schleicher government is carried out in connection with this domestic and foreign policy Upgrade program. The German bourgeoisie tried by a clever policy Utilization of the various differences in the imperialist powers play their own turn policy in order to obtain certain concessions and armor around the same time in Country itself enforce their brutal measures against the working class easier to
can. The bourgeoisie developed chauvinistic moods, she does very radical against Versailles and wants these measures detract from the brutal attack in the Line of wage cuts, the elimination of social security, the destruction of Collective bargaining law and other measures. 
The growth of chauvinistic wave in Germany is closely connected with the further development of the crisis in the country itself. A new Pauperisierungsprozeß the petty bourgeoisie and peasant classes going on. The petty bourgeoisie and the poor farmers see their own existence by the current system of government, from Capitalism threatened, some of them also live in the fear that the proletarian Revolution destroy them, it would deprive them of their property. All these facts provide in the petty-bourgeois strata of the working masses those moods that the Growth of the Nazi movement are so conducive. We can not say the chauvinist wave is already in the blowdown. We must see also the following: the demagogy of the Nazis exploited the stärkstens Discrediting of Marxism by leading SPD people. Leading people of the SPD, Vandervelde and Hermann Müller signed the Treaty of Versailles. Thereby try the German fascists are the responsibility of "Marxism" for Versailles bondage to prove. Undoubtedly, the mass of millions is the Petty bourgeoisie convinced by this argument. The fascist mass movement that partly due to the fear of the petty bourgeoisie before the proletarian revolution great masses affected the same, is the antithesis of revolutionary ascent, which takes place under the leadership of the Communist Party. one can further say that the German bourgeoisie, the fascist mass movement also this used to exert foreign policy pressure on the creditor powers.

Comrade Thalmann describes further the phenomena of the decomposition process in the warehouse Nazis and continues:

In summary we can say:
As much as the XI. Plenum with law against the misconceptions about the development Fascism turned (theory of the offensive, as if fascism in Germany the way already blocked the view, as if fascism only a decomposition product of Capitalism), because these views a dangerous underestimation of the Development possibilities of fascism meant so much must this XII. plenum each Underestimation of decomposition elements present fascism among having conditions, reject and fight. The main present festzustellenden decomposition phenomena are:

Differences within the fascist camp: unlike Nazi helmet; Leader opposites within the NSDAP: North German Union, Hitler, Strasser, Goebbels; internal social contradictions: gap between crew and officers, aggravated by the Inclusion of the SA and SS in the capitalist state apparatus; open Decomposition phenomena: mutinies with ever more clearly prominent political designs; Protest against negotiations Hitler center, against Papen program etc .; Practice the Labor Service disappointed; Opposition to military drill; Resistance against Anti Soviet course; increased difficulties by increasing direct responsibility of the fascist organizations For the capitalist Government measures; This decline in confidence to Hitler, etc. in some parts of Organization; Effect of the revelations, etc.
Here, we must consider what Comrade Ercoli from the experience of
Development of Italian fascism has treated We are trying now the undermining core foundations of the fascist dictatorship in the mass movement. We must try to tear the vast masses of the fascist ideology.

Comrade Ercoli said:

"We believe that the right method ... the method of legwork in the ranks of Fascists. There is evidently a very delicate tactical and organizational Problem ... From a political standpoint, we believe that the question of transferring the Into Class struggle in the front of the enemy, our angriest most open adversary ... by be solved using this method a can."

The ideological mass struggle must at increasing our valiant antifascist Mass struggle to one of the most important weapons in the fight against fascism. We have recorded in this area already serious approaches. In our struggle against Versailles, we have our position on the question of national Suppression, with the international exploitation under the conditions of the Versailles System is interlinked, developed in our freedom program. We tried gain access to the various layers, especially the National Socialist Front, to draw them into the attack front of the proletariat. Such facts as Lausanne, the emergency decrees, the open support of Nazi movement by the capitalists, to our revolutionary Struggle mobilization among the lower middle classes and poor peasants, by all these facts are class antagonisms substantially accelerated. The seriousness and the escalation of the current situation force us, not only from the always win Social Democratic bearing strength for the anti-fascist front and tear, but also the stray activist forces from the Nazi camp for to win us. Our ideological struggle against the Nazi million party but may not actually be carried out, without our even the sharpest fortified lead the fight against the murderers of the SA and SS departments. One can for Germany say that unfolded never a fascist dictatorship with such a large, standing next to the SPD mass movement as the represents National Socialist Party, and that even fascist at the same time at no Development so far was such a strong Communist Party in the proletariat, as it is now in Germany is indeed the case.

Both the XI. Plenary then rejected perceptions of a particular "Theory of the offensive" as if fascism in Germany, the path already blocked, and the later emerging opinions that fascism already triumphed and the fascist Dictatorship have fully deployed, must from XII. Plenum be sharply rejected. Both the overestimation as well as underestimation of fascism leads to the dangerous consequences.

Some even about our struggle against Versailles. I guess you can say that our Fight against the Treaty of Versailles, against the Treaty of Lausanne good lately has made progress. In the work among the employees has been some progress recorded. The onset of the decomposition process in the Nazi camp, the progressive Radicalization process, the growing distrust of the masses against the policies of National Socialist Party give us new opportunities in this area our enhance mass work. In the country gives us the growing impoverishment of the Kleinbauernturns and farm laborers new starting points to the due Forced and control measures of the capitalist state and the new Notverordnungsbestimmungen here to strengthen our work. Our program declaration for national and social liberation, which we then
have issued our Declaration, adopted on February Plenum of the CC
was, were important weapons in the fight against Versailles and its supporters for us.
The new manifesto, which has come out these days, is a clear response to the
Programme Papen government, shows the path of common extra-parliamentary
Mass struggle and our other line in the fight against the Versailles system. We provide
the imperialist armament program the Papen-Schleicher government propaganda
our slogans against the arming of the proletariat.
We need to speak a language understood in our struggle against Versailles, the
understand the toiling middle class, we need to have real mass struggles
perform to these layers in the retinue of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard
to bring in the fight against Versailles.
We must daily to the problems encountered in connection with the purposes of Versailles
our freedom program among the broadest masses react. - Compared to the
imperialist rearmament demands of the German bourgeoisie, we must both
These as well as the pacifist disarmament demands open our revolutionary face
show. We must point out that in disarming the German bourgeoisie
by the proletariat in 1918, when ruthless implementation of the dictatorship of
The proletariat, which would have relied on the armed workers, neither
Emergency decrees nor Papen would have been a tribute shame.
Some comrades we must eliminate even certain inner inhibitions certain
"Fears", as we would for our freedom program parts from the
Nazi demands borrowed. We need the whole party with much stronger
meet the knowledge that we in Germany, the first and only fighter against
Versailles were, and are, long before there was a Nazi Party Ever. We must strictly
see that we our struggle against wage theft and emergency decrees in the right
Relationship bring to our freedom struggle against the shackles of Versailles.
We must succeed, the hatred of the petty bourgeois masses against the tribute powers in first
Line on their own government and its own bourgeoisie and their accomplices to
transmit and amplify the masses to make clear the real relationships. It
applies, the broadest masses of the close relationship between the police work of the own
Bourgeoisie in their implementation of Ausplünderungspolitik and reprisals
Tribute powers show.
The German party must pay more attention to the borderland German, also the
toiling Germans abroad. We must not let the Nazis,
but must stress that it the only in liquidating the Versailles shackles by
upcoming German Soviet Republic the full right to self-determination and for connection
will have on the large German state councils. Similarly, we need stronger
the recovery of the oppressed foreign minorities in Germany, for example, the
Polish workers, endeavor.

Our common struggle with the French sister party against the Versailles system
must still more to come among the masses to express and become popular.
The German delegation makes the tenth anniversary of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923
following proposal: In January 1933, Germany and France on the occasion of
Anniversary of the occupation to the course of an entire campaign large mass meetings
organize, where former French soldiers and German workers from the
formerly occupied territories through our common revolutionary proletarian
speak freedom struggle against Versailles; in January 1933, a joint manifesto to the
to adopt German, French, English and Belgian proletariat, in which the oath
is stored for fraternal, common struggle against the Versailles diktat disgrace
Comrades, I will now address the question of how the process of the fascist
tips of the Social Democrats and their policies in development for fascist
dictatorship has shown in Germany. Although the bourgeoisie the Social Democratic leaders
brings out from the main state and administrative bodies, the SPD is in this
Faschisierungsprozeß drawn again - the Faschisierungsprozeß in tips
SPD assumes a higher form. The German Social Democracy has tried and
a certain extent, it has succeeded, with "left theories", with demagogic
Fraud is the working class in the further process of fascist clamp.
(Toleration of Brüning government, Hindenburg choice, etc.) The main tests of
Social Democratic leadership are to support fascism, him in his
belittle danger and the masses of the decisive battles against
Entrepreneurship and deter against the fascist dictatorship at all. What were
the various stages of the opinion of the SPD? For a time, the
Social Democracy, as the development has not yet had such a field, trying to
Fascism trivializing ever. Until recently, the Social Democrats the
Fascism described as a movement of the petty bourgeoisie, without the financial
to emphasize dependence on large-scale industry and to point without the fact that the
Fascism a movement mainly of violence and terror in the hands of
is big business.
The solid toleration politics of social democracy for the Cabinet of Brüning
was and is an active aid to fascism. Under the bill slogan of the fight against
fascism was using the theory of the "lesser evil" for years the Brüning
tolerated Government and thereby paved the Papen Cabinet and the fascism of the way.
Parallel with the Socialist talk ran on a "coup threat" of the Nazis, and
at a time where a coup threat could be no question in this movement.
It favors two "theories" of the Social Democrats. The a "theory" of
"Abwirtschaftenlassens" of the Nazis. The second "theory" that the first
connected, says an emerging Schleicher-Hitler government, let alone a
Papen government was nevertheless still better than a "pure" Hitler government. This is
the toleration of such a Cabinet prepared. We see how in theory and
Practice the Social Democrats supported the actions of fascism. Quite recently
tried the bourgeoisie through the promotion of the so-called "third front" of
Strasser should extend over Stegerwald to Leipart to provide certain approaches to
particularly on the trade union front of millions of workers on the policy of the fascist
to captivate dictatorship. The designation of the Papen government as a "government of Hitler
Barone "was carried out by the Social Democrats in the express intention of the
to disguise a function of this government of big industry and covering. one
silence about this fact, because the social democratic and free trade unions
wants to prevent organized masses from the real struggle against the capitalist offensive.
The SPD and ADGB leaders attempt by a fight in the factories against the
Papen Cabinet to prevent.
Each stage in the support of fascism by the Social Democracy is a
certain "social" demagogy and accompanied with appropriate demagogy phrases. They talked in the past by the so-called "free people's state", from "State capitalism" as a transition to a "development towards socialism". In this manner they tried the SPD in theory and practice to tie the vast masses in order to ensure support of fascism. Recently, the SPD tries with certain "left" no fraud, with the slogans of "reorganization of the economy", the "Socialist Action", etc. to advance, there is even falsely by "socialist Construction"/-mind under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Lately we saw different approach and understanding of experiments with the fascist social fascist economic theorists. It is generally known that even a partial agreement on the issue of compulsory labor service and in the achieved "job creation plans" between National Socialists and Social Democrats has been. The significance for us is that this Faschisierungsprozeß at a higher level in Bearing the SPD will have profound transformations new result. It has been of various comrades correctly pointed out that the radicalization and partly also splitting process of SP in Germany, unlike for example in Italy, Poland, etc. develop becomes. Already working the tips of the SPD and the ADGB with the fascist dictatorship together. In many places the SPD people were from the state Administrative positions ejected. SPD leaders like Noske and Zörgiebel remain in their state functions, even under the rule of fascist dictatorship. Both accomplished members and in the lower and middle functionaries cadres due this policy of their social-fascist leaders a profound new process of Radicalization. All this gives us the greatest opportunity within the SPD and the Union movement to deepen our revolutionary mass work successfully and to fasten. The social-fascism and fascism appear particularly in the current Development in Germany most dramatic as "twin brothers", as Comrade Stalin has again stressed quite aptly, without involving the absolute agreement is meant. In The resolution is determined by law, that social fascism and fascism may deem. One has the special fraud methods, special tactical to any measures of the two wings of fascism concrete. At this stage of progressive fascism is any weakening of our principled struggle against Social Democracy as a social mainstay of the bourgeoisie a serious mistake, very especially because in the neglect of this struggle new dangerous Illusions in the masses could arise, as was the Social Democratic Party a antifascist force. The apparent opposition of the SPD, the fact that they are not within the government is, the embellishment of the SPD policies with a certain "left" Demagogy hampered million workers the understanding of this class treacherous Policies of their own leaders and committed ourselves seriously, all these facts much more unmask and class terms to explain and clarify.

Our party has taken along the line and with the help of the Comintern and the decisions taken Decisions to fight against all tendencies of the weakening of the principle struggle carried out against social democracy with great success in recent times and against
Formulations contain an absolutely incorrect formulation, "that the bourgeoisie temporarily to the involvement of the social democracy as social mainstay waived ".
Here we see a completely inadmissible assessment of the role of the SPD in the current situation. The tactical conclusions from the wrong
Assessment of the role of the SPD were drawn in the article mentioned, are basically on the line of the Central Committee of our Party rightly rejected and for Berlin
corrected suggestions the Berlin district administration of the Social Democratic Party, which on hinzielen organizing joint demonstrations. in the article it states, inter alia as follows:

"Now is no longer the" democratic "direction the predominant, but now it is the fascist wing, be directed against the main thrust of the revolutionary mass struggle have to be.
That we occasionally come in the same line with this thrust, in which the Socialist opposition bill moves, is in the nature of things (!).
A whole series of measures that we in recent times, both in the field of Parliamentarism (?) Have applied as in the extra-parliamentary struggle, clearly, the changing tactics that we started on.
Above all, here is the requirement of the district administration Berlin-Brandenburg at the Iron Front to conduct a joint demonstration against fascism. "

Here we see the continuation of the incorrect assessment of the role of the SPD. The
Extensive offer the Berlin district administration on the "Iron Front" we have sharply criticized, because in him an overestimation of the maturity level of the Social Democratic workers, a
Underestimation of our own force in the working class to organize the broadest
United front actions from below and a concession to existing sentimental
Unit moods was expressed. It is clear that we have a product of such
Disfigurements our line contained, not in the party and let go out in public could, if we had wanted to cause no great confusion.
I want to say a few words about the different factions that we in Germany in have the form of the SAP, the Brandleristen and Trotskyists. This "left" of the branches
Social fascism have open in the recent stage in socially fascist face shown. The momentous letter of Comrade Stalin to the editors of the magazine "Proletarian Revolution" was for all parties, and especially for us in Germany a great help in the fight against Right opportunism and "left" sectarianism against hidden remains of Luxemburgism and Trotskyism, which examples show that unfortunately time the significance of the letter is not everywhere and in full was conceived. In assessing the Luxemburgism and also on the issue of Trotskyism as counterrevolutionary ideology there was great confusion in our own Series. On the issue of correct assessment of centrism helped the historically significant letter of Comrade Stalin, the existing ambiguities in the German party and to correct the errors in the "Red Flag" made quickly and eliminate.
With the strong growth of fascism in Germany lose petty bourgeois from the Rich of renegade factions and easily nerves and develop the konterrevolutionärsten theories. These factions, which although very organizationally are weak, can in certain situations in different parts of the working class temporarily cause confusion and have already done it. was recently several times by these people, the question of the "alliance of the KPD and SPD" and the issue of "Common lists" in the general election provided. Trotsky wants a seriously common merger of the Communists with the murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa, further with Mr. Zörgiebel and with those police chief who for the Papen regime can suppress the proletariat in office. Trotsky tried several times with his
"You must disclose a complete willingness, in fact, against fascism a block
to close with the Social Democrats ... One must block against the Social Democracy
impose fascists."

This policy would mean that we from our right Bolshevik policy
pass a policy, as in 1923, the most dramatic in politics
brandleristischen Center showed in the German party, on the issue of false
State theory, the faulty united front policy and bloc politics with the "left"
Social Democracy.
The Fateful these "left"-sozialdemokratischen policy we have and the German
revolutionary working class in the October defeat in 1923 most strikingly
felt.
Trotsky continues to represent in its from the deepest hatred borne against the Comintern
Writings the thesis that the "Victorious fascism at some time as a victim of the objective
will fall contradictions and own shortcomings ".
This fatalistic thesis that fascism had already won over the working class,
this dangerous defeatist, Trotskyist "theory" is still ranked the
Exposure to Trotsky that in the constitution of a Hitler regime in Germany
March of the Red Army of the Soviet Union would be made to Germany, ie
declaration of war the Soviet Union to Germany. This "radical" proposal is a
Provocation that objectively the criminal acts of Gorgulow, Vasilyev, Star
among other things, in no way inferior. Trotsky, against at the top of the counter-revolutionary Voitrupps
the USSR is, dares the Comintern a "panicky capitulation before fascism"
reproach.
We see a similar line to even with the renegades, the former Trotskyists
Urbahns that her with the "banner of communism" in some places in Germany
literary debris issue. They also want to confusion among the revolutionary
produce workers. In the "Banner of Communism" is even demanded:

"The Communists can and must put an end to the workers. It is now called: the government of
Weimar Coalition, which is possible with the help of the Communists."

So not only the social-fascists, but also with the center-industrialist
Klöckner, Louis Hagen, the Centre Party of Men Papen, Bracht, the Prince of
and Lowenstein, should include an "alliance" the KPD. How far these renegades already
have fallen, this shows their counterrevolutionary attitude.
The Party of Seydewitz and Rosenfeld represents together with the Brandleristen in
Germany also the slogan of an "alliance between the SPD and KPD". The last
Reichstag elections, the Communist Party 89 seats, the SAPisten to Seydewitz but not a
earned a single seat, already proving the insignificance of these
Factions.
Nevertheless, it would be remiss to abandon the fight against the renegade or
mitigate. One must see that they, as a "left" branches of social fascism with their

to the most backward conceptions of many sections of the proletariat matched theory at
certain situations can still cause confusion and political disaster.
The policy of social democracy, their support for the fascist measures opens in
their ranks already on most resistance.
The most hated by the German proletariat people are particularly since a few months,
SA and SS troops murder columns of fascism. Wherever we are dealing with a
dealing massive attack of terrorist groups, where we succeeded with the real
revolutionary mass defense while eliminating the tendencies of individual terror the
to bring mass antifascist front from all parts of the working class in movement,
everywhere we have in the whole working class of that area our
Authority tremendously strengthened and conducted broad united front actions. We do not have
only success in the elections, but we also have in many cases economic
trigger partial strikes, demonstration strikes and political mass strike succeeded.
Through the campaign, the Antifascist Action we have in the formation of
Mass self-defense formations many social democratic, free union and
Christian workers detected so that these formations even a real defense and
constitute assault weapon of the proletariat under the leadership of the Anti-Fascist Action. Always
more policy issues are already discussed in these formations. It is taking place a
Approaching the revolutionary struggle ideology. We can say with full right here
we recorded real progress. Let us take a few examples on the
Composition of the self-defense formations. I reach out Hamburg: In a group
There are 125 non-party workers, 10 Social Democrats and Communists 65. In a
second group: 15 independents, 20 Social Democrats and Communists 30. In a third
Self-defense formation are 56 independents, 24 Socialists and 30
Communists, in another we have 158 independents, 6 Socialists and 95
Communists.
We see that it succeeded in the district of Dusseldorf in Cologne and the Ruhr, more
bring in the Christian workers in these mass self-defense formations. For example, in
District Rose Hill in Remscheid we have a formation that consists of 75 members,
among which are 40 Catholic workers and 20 members of civil
Shooting club are. The crucial problem for the party now is the
deep hatred, struggle initiative, the real attack moods of aktionsgewillten
directing the proletariat on the hated class enemy, to the attacks of the Papen government
the capitalists at all, so that we succeed among the unemployed and especially
at the premises of real mass struggle actions trigger against the new and
refined wage reduction measures. There example where serious anti-fascist attacks were,
We have made great protests and mass actions of a political nature
contributed, and later some even in different parts of the industrial working class
have triggered movements. In these parts we saw approaches new forms of struggle,
similar character as in Poland, at a higher level: A formation of Kampfbund
against fascism is moving into an operation with a red flag; an address is
maintained, the staff is informed and encouraged the strike operation against the
trigger Notverordnungspolitik. In Wuppertal, we succeeded in a few months ago,
on one day nine establishments with at least 300 men each employee in a
leading anti-fascist protest strike. The strike was completely by all nine farms
and closed performed. These examples, we want to extend and expand.
The working class begins to realize in the past that the policy of the SPD in
the intensification of the crisis and so is no way out of the crisis. The
Social Democratic workers heard already much more on the day and
Endzielloesungen Communist Party. Thereby, the positions of our party
considerably strengthened within the working class.
intraparty facts. In the complicated situation in the fight against the bourgeoisie, against the National Socialist movement and also against social democracy is our Party has matured under the leadership of the Comintern, both internally and externally strong grown. Our party has hundreds of thousands of proletarian fighters and a proven functionary cadres of having even the time of illegality partly has undergone. We have in addition to the party big antifascist mass organizations, which are not only strengthened politically but especially lately organizationally have grown. The fact that our ideological offensive big possibilities exist, the existing stock in the SS and SA, and especially in the realm banner Decomposition phenomena by special discussion evenings and through the dissemination speed of equipment, etc., opened for our success in the anti-fascist Mass fight new perspectives. The fighting alliance against fascism and other Mass organizations have already had great success in recent times. The election victory, which we won on July 31, is a breakthrough of the mass force of Communist Party of Germany and has a large extra-parliamentary significance, which can only underestimate the in and out of no understanding of the conditions of revolutionary advance in Germany, for the ascending line of the revolutionary has development. Anyone who underestimates the growing role of leader of the KPD or will decrease, who in the current situation under the severe conditions of this leadership role mitigate attempts, which can also have no understanding of what it means yet, 5.3 million votes in a basically correct election campaign, against all conquering class enemies. These successes, we can increase only if we seriously and with revolutionary elan understand new methods of revolutionary mass work Find and new struggle forms the attacks of the fascist dictatorship bold and courageous oppose mass attacks of the proletariat. It is true that the Voting results are only a conditional reflection of the development. Much more important is the overall state of revolutionary work, the overall situation of the party among the masses. We have already said at the Imperial Conference of Polsekretäre on August 3 that we Social Democrats have beaten in the elections, now we have also visited the premises and unions back insulate their mass influence and they also beat there. Despite the desperate maneuvers of the enemy, in spite of the unprecedented pressure of Class enemy on our front, despite all provocations and attempts, the revolutionary decimate vanguard of the German proletariat and demoralize, we are in the fire of grown class struggles.

I would like to point out some relationships between intra-party issues Issues of internal development of the parties with the overall situation. It is complete inevitable that the turning points of the political and historical development always give rise to specific phenomena within the party kind again, variations on the insufficient understanding of the new conditions under which we work our who do, are based. The greatest danger that we need to see as today, it is the Underestimation of the revolutionary possibilities that capitulation before the class enemy, the despair in the face of the immense tasks that history presents us. But also the other danger, the sham revolutionary rhetorical exaggeration that sectarian Separateness from the masses, it is vehemently to combat and eliminate. There have been our friends from the delegation of the CPSU on the Disagreement with Comrade Neumann spoke. It seems to me still necessary, some of these examples to illuminate with new facts and to show,
the XI. Plenum. Have we in the German party in the field of implementation of the
Decisions of the XL plenary not certain variations and ambiguities in the question of
had recorded development of fascism? Naturally! These fluctuations are
even further back. Such facts as such in the question of underestimating the
Nazi movement. Comrade Neumann said of the huge success of
Nazis on September 14, 1930 in the Reichstag elections, which is "Hitler's best
Day "and the culmination of this movement. This led to the wrong assessment of this
Million mass movement and a temporary neglect of our work
among these masses. Neumann fell from one extreme to the other. In December 1930 so
about three months after the general election, he stiffened firmly on the position that
"The fascist dictatorship is already there" - how could we convince the masses and
mobilize to fight the various forms of further progress towards
fascist dictatorship? Here were the top major disagreements ... At that time
we could only speak of the Brüning government as the government of the implementation of
fascist dictatorship, while today the bourgeoisie with the Papen government as
Government of fascist dictatorship in the further development of the fascist dictatorship
sought offensively and no fixed party even bonds, the most aggressive fascist
Measures against the working masses enforce. If we further attempts
in the not so rigid application of the proletarian united front policy formulations
find such as "we pass the Social Democratic workers the brotherly hand", so was
the multiple and with ironic comments as "hunting behind the
Social Democratic workers referred to "as Comrade Neumann did.

*Heckling: where?*

Even in the presence of comrades of the CPSU you spoke up against the wording of
of the brochure about the speech at the Sports Palace several times!

*Heckling Neumann: I have spoken of the SAP leaders from tailism
Seydewitz and Rosenfeld.*

These slandered by you and other comrades point in this speech is as correct and
been politically flawlessly everywhere found against your misconception.
What has been said there is an obvious remark and absolutely correct, but what
you falsely there as a "hunting" Marked nest, both behind the "left" SPD leaders
as behind the Social Democratic workers, corroborated the view of the German
Delegation that you do not agree with our right mass tactics.
We had questions that have already been criticized here, reached in the application
United front policy. The question is whether we formulate: "RUF" or "Red
United front " , " proletarian united front ", etc. - that depends on the specific situation in the
different countries from. But if we had such views in Germany, the
were represented by Neumann, that the slogan of "Red united front" changed in the
Slogan "Red Workers' Front" in order supposedly the character of the hegemony of
bring proletariat sharply expressed, so that means nothing more than the urge
to aggravate the masses for unity and important layers of the unit
excluded. The slogan of "Red United Front" is one of the main weapons to
Social Democratic and unorganized workers and beyond the toiling
In the field of internal union work were such false slogans present, supported Neumann, like, "destruction of ADGB" The invitation to temporary contribution lock in the factories was wrong. Comrade Neumann and other comrades at that time were of the opinion that Red unions or must be founded Red associations without already certain conditions of a real to have mass basis for it.

Heckling Neumann: Never!

I know for certain, and I expected that everything I say about your political errors, is referred by you as a lie. In the autumn of the letter of RGI for internal union work appeared, you said it "contains nothing new", whereby the Meaning of the letter was reduced. We had a whole while the wrong solution in the fight against the Nazis:
"Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" In the XI. Plenary and in German Delegation has not yet recognized this slogan as a serious mistake. Comrade Neumann was of the opinion that one should not call it a mistake this slogan, but as a no longer useful, no longer able appropriate solution. What meant this slogan: "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them" You impeded us everywhere our appearance among the anti-capitalist supporters of the Nazis, and beyond We were inhibited in real ideological mass struggle against Nazis. With the growth of fascism, we could not have a hour later refrain, without weakening the militant mass struggle in the least, at this to approach millions motion to much more flexible and more aggressive, the proletarian Elements and anti-capitalist set pendant tear from this front. In the development of the ideological offensive in the ranks of our. party to Clarification and correction of mistakes in the implementation of the decisions of the XI. Plenum made us often difficulties. On the issue of assessing the Weaknesses and shortcomings, a real self-criticism in the party to eradicate these Fundamental weaknesses, it has no match given between Comrade Neumann and us. There were in this field fierce disagreements. Comrade Neumann did not even showed the deep understanding that theory and practice one unit are that we have to try, in the escalation of the situation and the edge of the principled struggle against all complete our class enemies, especially in the basic questions to have clarity in order in practice the identified heightened revolutionary tasks to fulfill.

We have five to six months after the meeting of the XI. Plenary in controlling and Review of the decisions taken there in the implementation of our revolutionary determined work that we do not entirely agree on various issues with the Problem, as in the XI. Plenum was provided. When we our unclear Views on specific issues began to correct when we started, a new enforce ideological breakthrough in the party, we saw again resistors this area, particularly in Comrade Neumann, who was not convinced and not understanding showed the need for clarification about the basic questions of the XI. Plenum.

After the appearance of the so extremely important letter of Comrade Stalin to the Editors of the magazine "Proletarian Revolution" published the "Red Flag" this Letter with an introduction under the control and after review by the comrades
Central Committee had to be corrected, as already indicated Comrade Ulbricht has pointed.
The one place was:

"In this development, our party has the right brandleristischen opportunism and, links'-
Draped swamp ideology of Trotskyism beaten."

So Trotskyism not appear here, contrary to the clear words of Stalin as
counterrevolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie, but as a "swamp ideology". The SAP that
"Left" branch of social fascism is, in a very similar manner as follows wrong
estimated:

"Once tried a however small party of centrism, an organization that between the
revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the social fascism relates an unprincipled position
the Social Democratic workers at the junction to prevent the camp of the Communist Party."

Comrade Neumann thus has the Stalin letter in the most essential issues in his great
Meaning completely misjudged and a great levity in theoretical issues of the day
placed.
When Comrade Neumann we saw further a dangerous glossing, a partial
Hiding behind objective difficulties, so trends that just from XII. plenum
were firmly rejected. The weaknesses of the party work were in him
essentially on objective factors attributed (as opposed to the resolution of
The February Plenum of the Central Committee). - On February Plenum I said the following about it:

"I've already ... pointed out that it is inadmissible, objective difficulties as
to use as an excuse for passivity, for lack of fights etc. It was on this issue, which
is extremely gratifying, in the discussion full compliance. We have sent the question
the additional difficulties of the crisis, unemployment, etc., with respect to the management of strikes
already shown that although they make a part of the leadership strikes complicated, but that
On the other hand again facilitate this objective factors, the leadership of mass struggles. 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 questions
is also necessary in the treatment of the international significance of the German Revolution.
In the great difficulties which might arise for the German revolution on the basis of the Versailles
System result, the German proletariat not only on the front of the German bourgeoisie
encounters, but also to the larger front of the victorious powers in the world, also grow
at the same time the revolutionary factors in Germany under this Versailles system."

Comrade Neumann turned also against subsequent criticism in the "International"
an appeal of the Central Committee, where the wrong slogan of "Triple Alliance of the working people" under
its control was passed. He was against a self-criticism of the party leadership
the wrong assessment of fascism, the XI that. had corrected plenary. He turned
against a legitimate and strictly necessary criticism of literary works
individual comrades (eg Langner) and left his family exemplary philistinism his friends
compared to detect. In all these respects we had sharp differences with the
Comrade Neumann.
To the unity of command sake many political points of difference were in the
past not open discharged. If beautiful in tactical ask
differences of opinion, so that is understandable and can often occur. But
if the dispute bear such a character that characterized the
Implementation of the general line is weakened, that the mass revolutionary politics not
the Bolshevik character, does not get the revolutionary maturity, if we continue
with our methods of application of the united front tactic both in the trade unions,
in the factories, as well as in unemployment lag behind the cheap
objective conditions, you had to, as described in the article in the "International" from December has been done in 1931, against the will of Comrade Neumann and others make comrades in this area a serious ideological advance and breakthrough. The facts and achievements have proved us right; because the few months of Campaign of Antifascist Action have already shown that we, with much greater courage greater intensity to approach those tasks, the masses break away from the Socialist ideology and to draw them into the revolutionary class front. Such elasticity, as we need to apply in the united front policy today brings, a higher maturity of the party and a reinforcement of our maneuverability with it. There are in addition to Comrade Neumann in our party individual comrades who not only their misconceptions spread now and then in the membership, but also disorganizing measures to reduce the activity of guiding conduct. In this difficult sharpened situation where even the bourgeoisie and their accomplices everywhere trying to discredit the authority of the party leadership, belittle, in this Situation to take disorganizing measures, means an attack on the unity to undertake and unity of the whole party. If this activity nor to group moderate work will be expanded, then I think, comrades, must be seen that we are dealing here not only with an opening of revolutionary discipline, but with a disregard for the statutes and organizational principles, with an injury the basic principles of the party. If Comrade Neumann as a member of the Central Committee continued to engages such shameful actions against the unity of the party and if he continues, it will soon mean for him to secure political death. I want the inform Parliament that the already in a meeting of the Political Secretariat of the ECCI August 21, 1932 a decision was taken in the matter of Comrade Neumann, the disorganizing and other factional activities against the party leadership has undertaken. It was unanimously decided therein:

"... Comrade Heinz Neumann from the Polbüro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, whose candidate he is to remove and to warn him that the Party and the AI in any further attempt at a factional be access activity to other organizational measures. "

We welcome this decision of the Political Secretariat against Comrade Neumann and warn both his friends face similar steps. Comrades who disturb the work of the Party and the Youth League and sabotage that continues try to discredit the leadership of the party, in which we will not flinch and we must not shy away from organizational Measures. It is not about the question of the struggle of individual comrades to each other and to a Dispute between individual comrades, as is sometimes falsely and demagogic is, but here there are political issues in the mass politics and in the Improvement of our entire Party work. Here it is not about minor issues, it These are more to the fundamental questions of the decisions of the CC, particularly in the provide critical situation on the guide such tasks and conditions that those in no way constitutes any relaxation of revolutionary discipline and the Bolshevik must not allow principles of organization. Even from this viewpoint we undertakes felt for more active implementation of the line of the Comintern and the decisions taken Decisions to draw the appropriate conclusions of our Central Committee and such initiate measures that we enhanced guarantee the implementation of decisions give the Comintern with all the strength of the party. I want to mention that there were some experiments here, the absolute right Findings of our February Plenum of the Central Committee on the question of state capitalism to discredit. The resolution for the first item on the agenda of the XII. Plenum confirmed
that the assessment of the question of state capitalism, as in February plenary the KPD has given 1932 was perfectly correct.

Comrades Kuusinen and Tschemodanow have already pointed out that in the is policy of our youth organization some difficulties, that there was resistance to as determined by the ECCI the CYI and our ZK line politics. We are dealing with here certain reflections to do all of the already under discussion. The Comintern is together with the CYI and the German party leadership believes that in lately Young Communist League of Germany in the field of implementation of the General line several discrepancies and ambiguities can be reported. We must further recognize that precisely at the present time any further alienation of Youth leadership to the party because of their particularly dangerous sharply must be fought. This alienation was not around the youth line and only certainly not recorded in the lower layers of KJVD. To the faster we hope to bring the ratio of youth to the party again on such a basis that we together can beat the class enemy on the various fronts.

We will probably also can not help to improve the work of the to achieve the Communist Youth League, some organizational measures initiate that the guarantee for the implementation of the Comintern and party decisions give. By the sharp question of CYI and the party with respect to the Youth Association, in conjunction with some decisions which we take here is the full Realignment of the Youth League in the overall policy of the party in the shortest possible time allows.

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Finally, we have in the German party recognize the following: July 20, the Weaknesses and shortcomings of the party sharply pointed than in previous events of the case was. That is why we must try at the higher requirements that the current objective situation presents to our party, to be much more alert, much more accountable, more active on the issue the real implementation of the decisions and tactical measures to our main strategic goal of the conquest of the majority of the working class in the struggle for the political power to come closer. Comrade, what conclusions we draw in the field of public policy and also in the field of intra-party activities? Most importantly, from the German party a real powerful combat party to do. The locally known, by the bourgeoisie with their rat tail of Parliamentary elections nourished tendency of mere agitation and propaganda must overcome will. An inward conversion process must be in the responsible Party workers perform. Each member has to his immensely responsible job be fully aware. The party leadership must be configured to real collective organs, Action Skill obtained undergo a qualitative improvement and reinforcement. We will try to improve the Group lines of mass organizations also to the total power of all proletarian organizations for the necessary time to the to concentrate strategic foci. We will do everything so that the lines of the party better direct connection with the masses. This was primarily a change in working methods is necessary. The system boring and long-winded instructions we want to eliminate, to a Concentration of our membership to a few crucial main points to to accomplish.
We have already started and will continue this process, the upper apparatus of shrink Party and expand the lower functionary apparatus and strengthen. Comrades of the German delegation have during their visit of the Moscow operation "Dynamo" seen how was issued due to a speech of Comrade Kaganovich Reorganization of the party apparatus by strengthening the lower cadres shiny Progress and an improvement in the results brought. From extremely important significance to strengthen the self-initiative is our lower Lines and lower organizations. We are them the size of their immediate Responsibility drove in the coming battles in mind. Just 20 July has in our party the great lack of self-initiative laid bare. As we daily must expect surprises with sudden onset of major attacks our Opponents, etc., rapid, immediate action of the squad is a vital necessity our revolutionary politics. Comrade Stalin said in 1929 at the Presidium of the ECCI:

"Time does not wait - and we can not allow that the events surprise us."

We want to do everything to make of our squad an aggressive, offensive always ready, manoeuvrable combat party is that the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats a makes repetition of July 20 impossible. We will put in our next actions give high priority to the revolutionary self-initiative of our illegal, conspiratorial working operating cells wake up. These cells should be in constant touch with the party and the masses. The inner Life of the party cells must be significantly improved, must evolve and must to grow; no improvement of life in the lower party units we are strong not eliminate fluctuation. Our focus on large enterprises, we do not want as at present sporadically, perform by temporarily inserting a shock brigade, but through the use of the best companions for a longer period, one tenacious, persistent, persevering work for the strengthening and development of mass influence our cells is performed. In-depth analysis of the deliberations and decisions of the XII. Plenary we will try to raise the level of our Party membership so that it is able to be able to make their actions more quickly and decisively. The more we at a ensure correct general line for its implementation in the masses, the ideological promote offensive and Bolshevik self-criticism there is, the more are also those Weaknesses and shortcomings of 20 July and the existing gap between the decisions taken Decisions and their implementation disappear. Finally, we will immediately politically sharp, but absolutely Matey Way help the German youth organization and some operational measures promote the process of assistance to the youth wing of a mass movement Jung proletariat, to form a powerful instrument against fascism in Liquidation of the mass influence of the SAJ, to a reservoir of young revolutionary Activists and socialist fighter to make. Finally, I want to point out that the fast approaching party prohibition requires that to link utilization of legal opportunities closely with illegal work, to create conditions in the lower party units ensure that when new Prohibition measures are pronounced, the party is witted to their to fulfill class assignments. The fact that the "Red Flag" and other newspapers four Weeks, the "Antifascist Action" and other tabloids and magazines on 6 Months etc. forbidden, and the whole intensified degree of fascist force us to take all measures of security and execution of illegal work.
Now some to question the higher stage of our fight against the measures fascist dictatorship and the tasks in the struggle for the revolutionary way out out of the crisis and the struggle for the workers' and peasants policy against our party to stand. I have already said that we with the introduction of the Anti-Fascist Action, the first approaches and massenmobilisierenden forms of struggle have found that the higher levels Development of the fighting capacity of the proletariat and party show. The second stage is into importing the anti-fascist action in the factories. The new aspect of political development in Germany, the measures of Bourgeoisie and the fascist parties force us, more so a broader deployment to achieve the mass initiative for bringing the masses to great political Mass struggles, their mass mobilization against Lohnabbau- and hunger policy and against the arms policy of Papen government. The shining example of our antifascist mass defensive struggle in Altona has the most vibrant in the whole of Germany found echo among all anti-fascists and the bourgeoisie has put in fear. In the Indeed, was the prevention of fascist march, the hour-long fierce Fire fight in the workers' districts a shining signal of antifascist Mass struggle. The Social Democratic Party has now introduced a so-called "Socialist Action" and thus want to cheat again the masses. The Hitler-party talks to a common Demagogy of "struggle against reaction". The bourgeoisie tried using the seemingly oppositional position both the Nazis and the Social Democrats, with greater use of Nazis for terrorist acts of violence and simultaneous use of the SPD as a social mainstay against strikes, etc., a strengthening and deployment of the fascist dictatorship to achieve against the proletariat. The Nazi journal "Prussian newspaper" writes on the issue of understanding with the ADGB-Management, inter alia:

"One should read particularly the program of the unions ... It is a pure authoritarian Socialism the common way to be found. Something is a gap in between unions and of the Jewish-Muscovite (!) guide of the redder Front. The Union officials who are not yet verbonzt and a lifetime of service to have workforce behind it, know that it once from the RGO on Jewish command can be hung just on the lampost. It has always has a contrast between world economy, world revolutionary and Bolshevik set radical literary layers and passed the union officials. In a state where irresponsible by Incitement to murder of Jewish ruled red press belongs together is been dispersed, in a Moment when one third of the German people under the leadership of the Comintern in red Moscow threatens to go, the leaders in the labor movement finally realize their Required: the German community of workers from the wrath of Moscow and from destruction by to protect the reaction. This silent united front of the Socialist (!) Forms now. It will be a great understanding begin. We now address the misunderstandings. "(Prussian Zeitung", 03.09.32)

So we see both how serious this Nazi newspaper faster Approximation of Nazis judged to ADGB leader, and how the Fascism on the other hand afraid of the revolutionary movement in Germany. We must as a Communist Party really and indeed of the organization Mass actions on the operation and on the dole the fight against the class enemies the various fronts lead. We need to understand the revolutionary power of the masses and to raise their confidence in victory and always to rally broader masses around our Party.
We provide the hunger and war program of the German bourgeoisie, the mendacious
Promises of the Nazis and the new fraud is the
social fascist leader our program of revolutionary way out of the crisis
opposed as a program of daily struggle in inseparable connection with the
Struggle for immediate demands with the ultimate goal of our revolutionary
proletarian struggle.
We have in these days in the fight against weapons program, in the fight against
Hunger and Notverordnungsprogramm of German imperialism a manifesto
issued, in which the Broad major part slogans, but in
Connection are included with the Endziellösungen, in order on this basis in the present
Period, the question of the social and national liberation struggle of the working people
roll up.
Our new manifest includes our principled opinion on the emergency decree and
Rearmament program of the bourgeoisie. It is the responsibility of the SPD and the
ADGB for the reduction of wages fixed, proposes all SPD, free trade unions and christian
organized workers a broad united front action before, propagated the fight alliance of
Operating working with the unemployed and mainly contains again the revolutionary
Battle cry for social and national liberation of Germany from the Versailles yoke.
Almost all speakers stressed the extraordinary are the conditions under which
the Communist Party has to solve its own problems.
We are fighting under the conditions of economic crisis, all in Germany
particularly sharp adopted forms, against a bourgeoisie of extraordinary
Maneuverability and great experiences, against the double exploitation by
German and international finance capital. We have the Papen program and the
shown Schleicher's reararmament program, as German imperialism tried
to improve its positions. As he tries in the interplay of imperialism to
strengthen immoderate plundering the masses, through further development of
fascist dictatorship, as he tries his through increased imperialist rearmament
to improve position.
Lenin has already spoken on the II. World Congress of that imperialist
Predatory Treaty of Versailles and the slave system, which means Versailles, with the
Strengthening of the socialist Soviet Union and the growth of the contradictions in the
capitalist countries is heading for inevitable collapse.
Today, at the end of capitalist stabilization in the transition to a cycle of
new wars and revolutions, we are already seeing, in fact, as the Versailles system
by the escalation of the internal and external contradictions of imperialism, by the
growing revolutionary upsurge, by the tremendous advances of socialist
Construction in the Soviet Union is increasingly fragile. Keystone of the whole Versailles
System is Germany. This country now shows new facts of tightening already
existing contradictions. We are not fatalists, so we know how big the
is responsibility of the prior history of the German proletariat and
Communist Party is.
If we try, with their own efforts, with revolutionary initiative in irreconcilable
Clarity to really improve our working methods, if we have a preponderance of
revolutionary forces provide to the forces of the fascist dictatorship, then
We are undoubtedly in the particular complexity of the situation in Germany, in the
 Tightening that's going on inside the country, the development path of the German
Revolution speed.
We need to move from the agitation and propaganda for real triggering
Actions and struggles. The mass strike and the political general strike are our
Main weapons of the fight at this stage. We have the resistance and
proletarian rebellion against the fascist dictatorship on all fronts unleash. one
can not deny that despite great weaknesses and shortcomings in our work, the German
has grown and marching forward Communist Party.
The task now is to eliminate not only the existing speed loss, but with all his strength
the revolutionary march against the fascist dictatorship, our own and the forces
the proletariat to strengthen.
The transition of Germany to the revolution, the victory of the proletariat over the bloody
Fascism can be critical to the preponderance of the Revolution on the
Counterrevolution and fascism all over the globe.
The decision in Germany draws inevitably other countries into the whirlpool
fiercest clashes.
But precisely because the situation is so complicated because Germany a hub of so
extraordinary importance for the further development of politics and history is just
Therefore we need to against a simplistic view on the development of
contact German proletarian revolution. May our comrades not at the plenum
forget what has been said by Comrade Lenin when he a comparison between
the German and the Russian Revolution moved when he stated that power in Russia
easier to conquer, but socialism is harder to perform. In Germany it is
vice versa! There, the power is more difficult to capture, but the implementation of socialism
was easier than in Russia in this country. In Germany we have despite all
Difficulties in the camp of the class enemy, in spite of the differences within the bourgeoisie
after all, the strongest fascist power in the world. This does not mean that this power does not
tomorrow or the day after tomorrow may lose position and strength. This does not mean that
the strife and division in the camp of the bourgeoisie is not new and surprising conflicts
can bring already in a very short time. All this is not only likely, but even
certainly. With this enemy and we need to measure our strength, if the proletariat
should prevail. If we face such a strong fascist, and if
we our great historical tasks that the here XII. Plenum is provided,
want to meet, we have swept the entire party, activate the last member to
the revolutionary clash of class forces the proletariat to victory cause
can.
If the last few weeks we have shown that the rise of the fascist wave already
shortstop starts, so this is only a small beginning of our improved revolutionary
Mass work. We believe that we in the further development of new progress fighting
be reached against the fascist dictatorship by the internal strengthening of the party and
by higher revolutionary forms of attack of the proletariat. The XII. Plenary, the
Comintern and our sister party, the CPSU have the German party important weapons
by their fraternal Bolshevik advice for the fight against fascism
given and capitalism. Both for Germany as for other countries, for the whole
World was given a thorough analysis of the situation, and in accordance with decisions
the XII. Plenary the revolutionary tasks were asked. We say it openly that
the Bolshevik Use the Comintern, especially in recent times, in
difficult problem in Germany, helped us a lot and we Bolshevist
has strengthened and Steele.
Mr. Trotsky dared recently, this to say:
"The Comintern but do not want to speak more correctly, afraid to take off on the bill
actual nature of the current world situation. The Bureau of the Comintern makes do with
hollow agitation leaflets. The leading party of the Comintern, which WKP, has no position
based. As if the, leader of the world proletariat 'mouth made full of water! commemorate
not to mention. They proceed to entrench themselves. They hope to be seen. Lenin's policy have
replaced by the ostrich policy. "
We only have deep contempt for this utterance of a counterrevolutionary. The growing authority of the Comintern, the Riesenmaß their efforts, deepening its influence in the revolutionary world proletariat and the growth of the revolutionary Forces found on the XII. Plenum their clear reflection. Germany is the one Country where in the near future may already can drop the cube. Our task will be, not only fascism ideologically to this or that places some wounds teach, not only the Social Democrats to wrest the masses of followers, not only to unleash mass struggles to earn a living, not only a higher level of To achieve revolutionary struggle - in addition, we have the masses closer to the Attract decision struggle for proletarian power, to the big fight attract and activate the revolutionary way out. Germany has a tremendous importance for Central Europe! If we succeed there, storming fortresses of capitalism to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and the dictatorship raise the proletariat, then that means not only the victory of the revolution in Germany, but the victory of the revolution in Europe, then that means the greatest revolutionary support for the acceleration of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. So we put our tasks. So is our victorious perspective! So we go to the Work to implement the decisions of the XII. Plenum. So we fight, together with our fraternal parties, under the leadership of the Comintern with Comrade Stalin at the Tip, for the victory of socialism! We must and the winner will be!

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In the fight against the fascist dictatorship

*Speech and closing words of Comrade Ernst Thalmann at the party conference of the KPD*

The results of the 12th ECCI plenum and Our Tasks

Comrades! If we look at the results of the 12th Plenary employ, so it seems appropriate, in the beginning of my remarks, the large Importance of such international meetings of our world communist party for Work of the individual sections to in their own country and especially for the work of the KPD illuminate. I want to point out the important role that the decisions and teachings 11. Plenum of our party in Germany had. We have the whole meaning of Results of the 11th plenary for our work temporarily not enough recognized. Only in Autumn of last year were made after a series of deviations and distortions our line had occurred in practice, when a serious review of the decisions 11th plenary which serious consequences, we had to draw from. One must today Pronounce that the price for the enforcement of the line of the 11th plenary in our party even met with certain inhibitions and partly due to resistance, and that we the means ideological offensive of the Central Committee a day of tough Bolshevik struggle had to turn to clarify and improve mass work before we some were able to achieve a breakthrough to overcome the main weaknesses. Both in the correct strategic orientation as in the question of a necessary generous twist in our entire revolutionary mass work with the course of the conduct of actions and struggles of the masses, it was the 11th Plenum, the gave us the most important clues. Especially in the period behind us History of Our Party has in particular Extent the role of the Comintern as the world party and the leadership role of the General Staff of international revolutionary workers' movement, the Executive of the Comintern proved. If we start from this knowledge, we are now in the treatment of Resolutions of the 12th Plenum of the start in all units of the party by the Central Committee muster and the caucus to the cell with the necessary understanding, studying, must process and concretize in our practical policy.

There was sometimes comrades in our ranks who thought themselves smarter and different to assess issues better thought than our in the specified decisions was resigned world party. I emphasize here explicitly: our relationship to the Comintern, This close, inviolable, solid relationship of trust between the KPD and the Communist International and its executive - which is one of the most important Results of the internal development of our Party, the internal political struggles and Conflicts of the past and the higher political maturity of our Party ever. This close relationship of trust is a piece, yes, the backbone is our Bolshevisation. Our party leadership, the Central Committee, therefore, it has always as a its most important tasks considered to fight every phenomenon, the authority the Comintern in the ranks of the officers and members of the KPD in the least touching. Wherefore such moods of an insufficient understanding of the decisions of the Comintern, as they were in places possible in our ranks after the 11th plenary, not as a conscious tendency, but simply as an expression of a certain

* The "resolution of the Party Conference of the KPD on the 12th Plenum of the ECCI and the tasks of the Communist Party"
Incomprehension, it must now after the 12th Plenum of the ECCI under any circumstances
give.

Tasks of the Party Conference:
Implementation of the decisions of the 12th Plenary

One of the most serious and most important tasks of today's caucus, in the ranks
our Party and beyond the masses to the decisions of the 12th Plenum of the ECCI
full respect to procure; this means not only formal recognition, but
real, practical implementation of the tasks which are the 12th plenary, real,
vivid application of the lessons that it gives us.
Of course, it is unthinkable to any major issues such large
to strip international meeting even remotely as part of a presentation,
let alone to treat them exhaustively. I will therefore aware it
limit, some major problems to briefly outline and the main part of my presentation to
Ask our practice to devote to the tasks that lie ahead. I stress this point:
a presentation can not the thorough study of the deliberations and decisions of the
replace 12 plenary, but only to provide guidance on the treatment of questions.

The end of capitalist stabilization

First, the question of analysis of the situation. The 12th plenary talks in his political
Theses that the end of the political stabilization of capitalism has occurred. What
does this mean, comrades? We must make all seriousness and all the weight of such
understand statement. Lenin and the Comintern have known all the current
Era, based on the theme of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism as the epoch
World Revolution marked. The World War of 1914-1918 and the Russian
Revolution of 1917 are at the beginning of this era and reveal their
historical character. The first post-war years of 1918-1923 were met
from one not incessant Chain revolutionary battles and armed
Clashes, mass political strikes and general strikes in a number
of countries. Germany, which in the Lost World War I as the weakest link
the chain of imperialism was to speak, was particularly evident this rapid
Succession revolutionary escalations and fighting. With the October defeat of
German proletariat in 1923, with the defeat of the Bulgarian workers and
Peasants overthrow the government Stambulisky ended this first cycle, this first series
of wars and revolutions.
Find At the conclusion of this first series of great historical conflicts
We Soviet power on a sixth of the earth, while in all other countries of the
Capitalism the bourgeoisie repelled the onslaught of the proletariat again
would have.
It was followed by the period of relative stabilization of capitalism that of a consolidation
class rule, with a favorable economic business, with a
Growth of demokratischpazifistischen illusions of the masses began. In the first major
Tidal wave of world revolution was followed by a certain ebb, a certain stagnation, even partially
decline of the revolutionary movement. The prophets of capitalism
exulted, the representatives of reformism, the leaders of the international social democracy
proclaimed the end of the world revolution and wanted to convince the masses that now the
peaceful "democratic" road to socialism, the gradual "growing into
Socialism "was assured.
But we Communists that we associate with the method of Marxism-Leninism to the study zoom and went to approach the economic and political development, presented with sharply this confused and hypocritical "theories" our revolutionary thesis contrary, that the stabilization of capitalism is only relative, had only limited, both in time and spatially limited, and that they place a new storm surge of revolutionary ascent must make.

As the global economic crisis in 1929. Then began when she more and more countries of the Capitalism moved into their spell and ever deeper, we have to former meetings of the Comintern and the KPD the importance of the crisis for the transition world history demonstrated. We worked for example on the January plenary 1931, before about three quarters of a year, the issue of crisis. We saw how the cyclical crisis on the ground of the general crisis of the capitalist system in the Epoch of imperialism had to unfold in much sharper and more comprehensive form, as the was the case with the periodic crises of war. We simultaneously showed already then on, conversely the Great Depression in turn the general crisis of Capitalism deepen and must increase in a higher stage. Events have us given absolutely right.

The general crisis is ongoing

The general crisis of capitalism, while the cyclical world economic crisis always continuing and intensified further, at present already in a stage of their occurred unfolding, where we the rightly from the end of the relative stabilization can speak capitalism. We have not yet revolutionary crises or revolutionary Situations in such or even similar extent as in 1917-18, 1919 etc. We already have the revolution in Spain, a revolutionary situation in China and there even the victory of the Soviet revolution on a large territory. From Poland says the 12th Plenum of the ECCI that already approached passes very close to the revolutionary crisis is, of Japan, that there this development can occur very rapidly. rise in Germany the conditions of the revolutionary crisis at great speed.

Nevertheless, the present development, as analyzed by the plenum 12, not the new wave of revolutionary struggles decision itself, but the transition to such new series of revolutions and wars, as we period before the have had relative stabilization of capitalism.

This finding of the 12th plenary is of utmost importance to us. Not because we now might want to talk in all articles of nothing but the end of the capitalist stabilization, because we make it a slogan, but the Standpoint of our tasks, from the standpoint of our revolutionary work. Which does ______________ mean the finding of the 12th plenary regarding the situation in Germany?

In 1924, after the October 1923 defeat of the German proletariat, succeeded in German bourgeoisie to consolidate its shook class rule again. The Mark-Stabilization was carried out, inflation overcome the revolutionary movement suffered a setback of a substantial part of the course insufficient strength of the Communist Party, revolutionary for their lack of maturity, their fluctuations between the right opportunist and liquidationist mistakes the Brandler-Thalheimer and the "left"-opportunistischen errors of Ruth Fischer-Maslow due was.

Today the Communist Party in Germany a completely different revolutionary Strength and repartee obtained, so that they are even in difficult situations, despite
all remaining weaknesses and shortcomings, much better able to beat, as it then the case was. But if we completely disregard the subjective factor and us restrict itself only to the objective development, so is the mere comparison between those years of relative stabilization of capitalism and the presence of the tremendous change.

Germany: "The gash Europe"

What is the present situation in Germany? At the 12th plenary our country has been through the Comrade Manuilsky the "gaping wound of Europe". In fact, by the Crisis and the special link between the crisis factors in Germany with the Effects of the Versailles system, all internal and external contradictions and Opposites Germany tightened unheard. I do not want to the individual economic The facts that that the delegates from the caucus in special materials Knowledge are brought. The immense unemployment in Germany, the total Breakdown of the overall economics, the increasing closure of the productive apparatus, the continued shrinking of the internal sales market through the impoverishment of the toiling vast masses, the direct pauperization broadest masses - these are all indisputable facts.

Papen program and economic "stimulus"

With great publicity din the program Papen was the last attempt of the capitalist path touted to overcome the crisis. The outspoken Newspapers of finance capital itself declared that this program is to some extent the last Chance of capitalism. If this program is not the famous "stimulate" the Economic bring, then capitalism had lost a decisive battle. Also if we do not make our own such formulations, so showing this challenging Accompaniment of the bourgeoisie to Papen program but clearly enough the seriousness of the Situation.

And what is the Papen program? It is a mixture of extremely contradictory Measures, one of which is always the other picks. On the one hand the bourgeoisie feigns an attempt to job creation. Of the Capitalist who adjusts workers get bonuses, gets special government Subsidies. But at the same time, where the government claims, in this way the wanting to "boost" production, marketing opportunities, the rapid anyway be are shriveled, reduced in colossal dimensions even further. Once the internal market is the new hunger offensive against factory workers, Unemployed, social pensioners of all kinds, and so reduced radically through tax robbery. Secondly, due to the agrarian program with its quota provisions, with violent intensification of the customs struggle with pronounced autarky tendencies increased resistance of the other capitalist states against German imports artificially and therefore the export of German industry seriously and largely against the present state still limited. It is clear that any speculation on a "boost production" in the face of these Facts is completely pointless. Neither the bourgeoisie with the financial policies of the Papen Program, using the method of tax certificates, the prevailing financial difficulties can avert or mitigate their further intensification. The method, einzupumpen tax vouchers as a kind of cash in the process of circulation, behind
which otherwise stands as the hope of a future value, is basically nothing more than an inflationary measure. Because the extended Cash circulation is by no means over a larger quantity of commodities, so that the consequence necessarily a rising wave of price increases, a devaluation of Cash, must be a further threat to the currency.

The crisis enters a tougher stage

All talk of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois and social democratic press about a Easing of the crisis, an imminent turnaround in the depression or even a speedy new prosperity is either baseless utopia or conscious deception. Opposite this Speculation, misleading and mendacious, misleading the masses serving phrases Communists say the masses with all severity that the crisis not weaken, but that on the contrary, enters a tougher stage. Starting at the Papen program and all the plans of the bourgeoisie in the economic field little or nothing in performance, which is supposed to overcome, the avoidance of to serve disaster for the working people, even if the government, the bourgeois press and rivaled the official economic Institute in an artificial optimism. All these Promises are lies and deceit. What remains in this program of the bourgeoisie only one thing: the morbid desire with newer and newer methods to increase the plundering of the masses! insatiable Greed of the capitalists, the big landowners, the bankers, the speculators, who even in the approaching disaster their profit at the expense of the unspeakable misery of the masses, the want to secure increased unbearable distress of the working people in town and country. One has to visualize even know what the terms of the emergency regulations for Capitalists mean. Take for example the question of wage robbery. If it were up to the will of the bourgeoisie, to the entrepreneurs in setting workers and employees have a three-fold increase his profit. What Papen brings the working people 1. he gets * directly a gift from the taxpayers of the working people in the form of Bounty of 400 marks. 2. to set the unemployed to work at wages well below the standard wage lie, that he should do more unpaid overtime for the capitalist, he should be exploited even more sharply. 3. to this increased exploitation for the benefit of entrepreneurs profits not only on the New recruits, but simultaneously introduced to the other workers of the company will. Overall, nothing but the bare, stark increase in the exploitation, predatory Increase in entrepreneurial profits! Exactly the same thing and for the industrial proletariat and the unemployed of the cities Industrial districts regarding the Papen program applies, also applies to the working peasants with respect to the to the agrarian program. It is a program of enrichment of pure large landowners and Junker. Even the at the most indebted, completely run-down goods such ostelbischer Junker that due to the Settlement Scheme of the Brüning government no longer artificially maintained, but for Settlement purposes should be acquired, are due to the großagrarischen Influence which is especially reinforced in the Papen government, with excessive subsidies obtained artificially.
A monstrous increase and intensification of the class struggle, a sharpening in
struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, between the ruling classes and the
toiling masses of such magnitude that characterized the conditions of
revolutionary crisis in Germany be improved a lot.
If one bears in mind that huge masses of unemployed in Germany
no longer obtain support, neither from the unemployment, still
from crisis care, still on welfare, so it is clear that these masses in
coming winter will not remain quiet. Such days are like now in Belfast in Ireland
this winter probably also in Germany. After the civil
Statistics, there are currently 5,392,000 registered in the labor offices unemployed to
which come the so-called "invisible" unemployed who no support
longer refer and no longer contact with the employment services because it's pointless.
Overall, the Civil Statistics estimates the number of unemployed to 7.16 million. In this
However, statistics arises in some investigation, that and the previous wage
Salaried employees at the time of favorable economic - 22.8 million - today 2 to
2.5 million have simply disappeared from the bourgeois statistics. The economic
Institute of the German bourgeoisie tried that with the transition of these unemployed for
Street trading to independent professions to explain. Of course this is a folly. What
thus results?
The number of unemployed must be estimated to 9 million. Consider, comrades,
what kind of a part of the whole population? What role for the
Class struggle of the proletariat play?
Looking at the current wave of strikes in response to the September emergency decree
Papen in connection with the general deterioration of the situation, so there is also
from a perspective that points to new, more violent, encounter fiercer mass struggles.
In the theses of the III. World Congress of the Communist International and Others
said the following:
"The nature of the present epoch consists in the fact that the most modest living conditions
the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, that therefore
the fight even to the most modest demands grows into the struggle for the
Communism."

Here we see, therefore, that the struggle for the most elementary interests of the day at the same time
Key is the great revolutionary struggles born of this development
will.
So just confirmed the observation of the position of Germany, the finding of the 12th Plenary
over the end of capitalist stabilization. The development of increasingly penetrating the
Disaster, in which there is only one for the bourgeoisie, the utter paralysis, enslavement
and decomposition of the proletariat and its plunder down to the last. While for the
Proletariat and the working people can only be a way: the way of
mass revolutionary struggle to the proletarian revolution!
The great comprehensive task, however, which of us Communists from the finding
grows 12 plenary about the end of capitalist stabilization, must be to
to gather the broadest masses of the proletariat and its allies and on the way
of mass struggle on the positions of the struggle for power, the struggle for
Against chauvinism and imperialist war -
for proletarian internationalism

Some remarks on the question of war. The 12th plenary the problem of Threat of war in the new conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization illuminated. It is clear that this general character of the present development also is the question of the danger of war is of utmost importance. It was no accident that the beginning the relative stabilization with some pacifist era coincided, and it is also no coincidence that now with the end of capitalist stabilization Bourgeoisie increasingly embarks on the path of violent solutions. Fourteen years after the end of the last world war, the problem of the redistribution of become world for the imperialists again to a burning question you with the means trying to solve the war. We are faced with the fact of the war in the Far East between Japan and China. There, on the Pacific Ocean, the conflicts of aggravate Imperialists among themselves so violently that the 12th plenary noted rightly that here the Main fire of a new imperialist world war was given. At the same time we see the increased war preparations of the imperialist powers towards the Soviet Union, particularly in East Asia, but also in Europe. I want it refrain, repeating the individual findings of the 12th Plenary on this issue. The other main area in which the danger of new imperialist military Conflicts developed is related to the Versailles system. The contradictions of Versailles system in Europe have intensified in an unprecedented manner, the worsening of the external contradictions of Germany and the Versailles victors plays a significant role. Poland is preparing for annexation of Danzig and East Prussia. At the same time intensified the imperialist aggressiveness of the foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie. What the Briining Government with the then Foreign Minister Curtius quarter years ago with the German-Austrian customs union has tried is now on of the Papen-Schleicher made much higher level: the opening of those barriers that the Versailles System has set the expansionism of German imperialism.

The imperialist policy of the German bourgeoisie

Here is the most important issue of the military buildup, here the question of a Revision of the eastern borders and even certain regulations in the West, such as regarding Eupen-Malmedy, or - what is within reach - on the issue of Saar. The German bourgeoisie is based on the nationalist-chauvinist Wave in Germany, which has led to the rapid rise of Hitler fascism and the worn the Papen-Schleicher government came into power. So try the German Bourgeoisie to prevail with their imperialist aspirations for power. Of course, pushes the German bourgeoisie with their course stricter imperialist aggression on the brusque rejection, the rugged resistance French imperialism. The eternal speculation the German diplomat, England to be able to play against France are, once again failed. In the German
isolated in the ranks of major capitalist powers is what naturally on internal situation as a factor strengthening the difficulties rubs. The wave of nationalism in Germany is to a certain extent on the particular situation Germany sprung as a defeated country. However, one must see that the had 12 plenary law by the amplified wave of chauvinism, not only as a German, but as a phenomenon in many major capitalist countries rated. This chauvinist wave is also an important lever for the emergence of larger fascist mass movements. In Germany is undoubtedly the Hitler fascism mainly thanks to its national demagogy to such a large movement become, because he wider at the bitterness masses about the Versailles bondage and slavery tribute hypocritical anknüpfte.

The 12th plenary represents the Communist parties the concrete task of the struggle against the chauvinist wave. The Communist Parties must after the Decisions of the 12th plenary against this nationalistic incitement of the masses under the Banner of proletarian internationalism in turn build a dam. This task can in each country only under close consideration of the concrete Conditions and characteristics are achieved. What about in Germany? Here we have one hand the Massenempörung about Versailles, On the other hand, the fraudulent policy of the German bourgeoisie, the oppression Germany by the Versailles system to exploit, by means of the National Socialist and other nationalist movements, the masses by the struggle against the capitalist System and its class rule divert to an alleged fight "Against the enemy". In this way the bourgeoisie is currently trying even for its imperialist Upgrading and for militaristic contamination of youth, the mass mood capture. By performing their imperialist rearmament policy, they are at the Bill to fight against Versailles. In reality, yes the Lausanne Pact again proved what we have always said Communists: Every bourgeois, every capitalist government of Germany is unable interests the national liberation struggle of the working German people against the Versailles championing system. Any arrangement whereby the bourgeois and capitalist government with other capitalist governments is always the enslavement and double the Sklavenfron can consist German workers or intensify.

Without social - no national liberation?

Sharply, we must hammer home the masses that without social liberation from the yoke it capitalism can be no national liberation from the chains of Versailles!

Sharply, we must hammer home the masses that imperialistic armament and Militarism no liberation mean, but on the contrary intensified penitentiary states, more oppression, gagging and enslavement of the German workers.
We must show the masses that the will of the bourgeoisie all over Germany a parade ground to be transformed in which the toiling masses after have to drill command of the ruling class. Sharply, we must hammer home the masses that do not side by side with you can German fascists against Versailles fight, but only rub shoulders with French, Polish, English, Czech and other workers of the whole World.

Opposite the upgrade bourgeois propaganda we have our revolutionary reveal position clearly and unequivocally, the strongest against the unflinching fight the imperialistic armament and militaristic contamination of youth with the simultaneous exposure of the pacifist hypocrites and fools connects. We must show the masses that each gun in the hands of the bourgeoisie Gun against the proletariat. That is why we fight against armament and propaganda against each practical step its upgrade with the goal of full disarmament of the bourgeoisie. But at the same time we are fighting for the valor of the proletariat as the most important Prerequisite for social and national liberation of the working people. We must more and more in the masses the question popularize that only the transfer of full Power in Germany to the working class, based on the alliance or the neutralization the rest of the working classes is based, means the way to freedom. Only when the Protection of a Germany of workers and peasants, the armed working class would be available, not only the social chains of capitalist plunder, but also the national shackles of the Versailles system fall, and the scourge of imperialist war will be taken by the masses. This question confronting the militaristic propaganda and upgrade pacifist phrases revolutionary standpoint, the solution of the transition of power propagated to the proletariat, is the more important, as the adventurous imperialist policy of the German bourgeoisie undoubtedly soon to new Neck blows and will thus lead to a disappointment of the masses.

Growing threat of war between Germany and France

Compared to the growing threat of war between France and Germany, it is utmost importance that we in a question of our struggle against the Versailles system resolute turn to the greatest consolidation of proletarian internationalism in the masses take place. Together with the French workers, it is important to fight to lift against the Versailles shameful to a higher level. This corresponds to the Realization of the decisions of the 12th Plenary about our struggle for the proletarian Internationalism, against the chauvinist wave. For this reason, the KPD is, together with the French Communist Party, with a manifesto occur in the next few weeks to the public, the masses calls for the fight against the Versailles system and this struggle determined the Offensive against the bourgeoisie in their own country, against their armaments, against the Militarism, for the complete withdrawal of all military and police expenditure towards War victims and unemployed connects. For the purpose of this Manifesto, the Communists are in the French Parliament a bring a resolution, that the Treaty of Versailles declared null and void and all Army expenditure, and expenditure on the repressive apparatus, for Mobiles, deleted for the gendarmerie and municipal police and the unemployed, the poor
Farmers and the war retired to be used.
REQUEST A withdrawing the expenditure Reichswehr and police will bring the Communist parliamentary group in the coming Reichstag.

The joint action by the German and French Communists

This common occurrence of Communists of Germany and France, which is other communist parties in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, England, etc. will connect without a doubt, will give us the opportunity for a broad-based

Campaign under the banner of proletarian internationalism, to a sharp front position against the anti-popular, chauvinistic propaganda of the Nazis, the steel helmet and the ruling bourgeoisie, as against the forthcoming pacifist hoax of give social democracy.

Papen Germany -

one of the forms of fascist dictatorship

Now to another major problem, the question of fascism. This problem, too, the in the deliberations of the 12th plenary played an important role for us in Germany utmost importance. With the end of the relative stabilization of capitalism also occurs the fascism of the capitalist states into a higher stage. Germany is a Prime example of this trend.

In the period of stabilization, the bourgeoisie has also in the immediate Exercise of government power primarily based on social democracy. The end of Stabilization increases the specific gravity of fascism in the state Management system of capitalism.

We can fascism at the end of capitalist stabilization is not the Fascist development in a number of countries at the beginning of the relative stabilization capitalism equate. The 11th plenary rejected the theories underestimate the Fascism, as they were represented by Comrade Neumann, back. It turned against itself the view as if fascism only a product of decomposition and not at the same time a Element of the attack of the bourgeoisie representing the working class. currently there another danger that the overestimation of fascism, the view as if the fascist dictatorship represented a consolidation of class rule of the bourgeoisie.

We need to recognize, especially in Germany, that fascism as a product of decaying monopoly capitalism is also subject to degradation. In the political Resolution of the 12th plenary states that the domination of monopoly capital in the face of general crisis of capitalism extremely overcoming the economic crisis difficult in the usual way for capitalism. German capitalism is in its attacks against the working class, particularly against the KPD, given the deep undermining its foundations increasingly to Methods a terrorist dictatorship. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the crisis is increasingly becoming a simple struggle for the preservation of the capitalist state, the capitalist class rule as the decisive precondition for Defense of the capitalistic system.

The announced "imperial reform" the Papen government as Papen in his Munich Speech has shown, shows the plans for a further expansion of the fascist dictatorship. An upper house is used for consolidation of fascist rule, Prussia under Abolish its special Parliament and its particular government the Reich
bring Junkers and the southern German counterrevolution.

So Papen tried a stronger bond between the East Elbe

On the question of fascism it obviously different in our ranks wrong
given conceptions against which we had to fight in the past. recently,

Time appeared in connection with the replacement of the Brüning government by Papen

Government such misconceptions on how, this change in the

Methods of rule of the government to call a "regime change".

Bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in its veiled form.

Fascism is the open, undisguised dictatorship that on the way to destruction

class organizations of the proletariat is erected and especially the brutal

Use of force to suppress the masses served.

The transition from one to the other form is, on the whole, as the 11th Plenum

noted an organic process. Not just any people change in government,

but the general conditions of the class struggle determine these exchange

in the form of rule of the bourgeoisie.

As Brüning prepared the Papen dictatorship

Thus we have seen in Germany, like the Brüning government, which fully,

also open and parliamentarian, was based on social democracy and its branch the

Social Democratic Prussian government was, for almost two years the way for the fascist

Dictatorship prepared with a policy that we rightly regarded as the policy of "carrying the

fascist dictatorship "designated.

The re-election of Hindenburg, with simultaneous mighty swelling

Nazi wave, the output of Prussia elections, the Brown-Severing-

Government adopted the parliamentary base, the establishment of the Papen-Schleicher government

instead of the Brüning Cabinet then accelerated development for the erection

fascist dictatorship until July 20 of the fascist coup in Prussia in

jerky intensification of fascist politics a certain intersection of

Development brought. The 12th plenary full-scale assessment of the character of those

the Papen government confirmed as we have taken after 20 July. We said

at that time:

"With their coup in Prussia is the government Papen-Schleicher-Gayl, Having regard to the Hitler

Style fascism to the government of fascist dictatorship and has the fascist coup

in Prussia carried out with the bayonets of the military dictatorship ... The combat power and

Determination to fight the proletariat is broken by fascism in any way or

paralyzed, on the contrary, it is, as July 31 showed growing. More violent, getting

irreconcilable to transform the class fronts ... Every moment must the working class

be gewärtig being able to parry a Überrumpelungsversuch the bourgeoisie. "

These three findings: 1. the character of the Papen government, on the 2nd

unbroken fighting power of the German proletariat and 3. about the threat

Another Überrumpelungsversuche the German bourgeoisie in the Art of July 20 were

of 12 plenary acknowledged as correct. The Board met with respect to the forms of

current situation in Germany to the conclusion that here one of the forms of

fascist dictatorship was established.

This formulation includes both a mechanical equation of fascist

Dictatorship in Germany about with Italy, Poland, etc. from, and it shows that it at the

today's form of government of the German bourgeoisie not something rigid, Completed

is, but that it is primarily the development of the rule of the

Bourgeoisie are the class struggle depends.
Our present findings about the Papen government confirm the existing perspective of the Party and our previous treatment of the problem of the fascist dictatorship. We have a serious ideological education work done that against the Socialism representation turned, until the Hitler regime was fascist Dictatorship. In contrast, we have stressed that you can not just Hitler Government and should equate fascist dictatorship that rather well a government of fascist dictatorship without official involvement of the Nazis was conceivable. The present situation confirms this view. It is clear that the Papen-Schleicher Government does not need to represent the last and highest stage of fascism, but just only one of the forms of fascist dictatorship, and it depends on us whether it further consolidation and development of fascist tyranny or its Decomposition occurs.

Marx on the domination methods of the bourgeoisie

The 12th Plenary explained the concrete treatment of fascist development in the individual countries and thus also in Germany in the context of a general historical discourse on the role of fascism. The plenary lifted Relationship between fascism and intensification of political reaction with the Progression out of the crisis of capitalism. I want to some sets of Karl Marx Quote from the 1st volume of "Capital", which deals with the application of immediate Violence by the bourgeoisie in the various stages of development of civil employ class society. Marx talks about the historical development of capitalist production and is saying,

"The emerging bourgeoisie needs and uses the state power to ... the workers themselves in normal degree of dependence to obtain. This is an essential element of the so-called primitive accumulation."

In the time of their ascent so used the bourgeoisie in the formation of capitalist mode of production as a crucial moment the immediate violence. As is it contrary to the period of the unfolded capitalism, the "trained capitalist production process"? Here About Marx says:

"The silent compulsion of economic relations sealed the rule of capitalists over the workers. Besides economic, direct violence is indeed still applied, but only exceptionally. For the ordinary course of things, the workers the nature of the laws left to production ', ie his own springing from the conditions of production, guaranteed by them and immortalized according to the capital."

These findings of Marx allow certain conclusions for the present. Marx shows us how to by capitalist early capitalist flowering a Development takes place, in the application of direct force in the exercise of capitalist class rule, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, relatively resigns and the "silent compulsion of economic relations" makes room. Today, in the Epoch of imperialism, of rotting, decaying monopoly capitalism loses, this "silent compulsion of economic relations" turn its effect. The general crisis of capitalism undermines the basis of bourgeois class rule. This is historically the requirement for enhanced transition to the use of force by the bourgeoisie as a rule when exercising its dictatorship. This historical
Finding which is reflected also in the theses of the 12th plenary has, of course nothing to do with the disproved in the 11th plenary theory that Fascism in the era of imperialism inevitably rule method Bourgeoisie representative. What is it that is rather the clarification of the causes and roots of the present fascism in a number of major capitalist States.

For Germany today and what we in the face of the establishment of the fascist Dictatorship already on the February Plenum of our Central Committee in the heart of our Considerations presented: the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat to the capitalist or revolutionary way out of the crisis enters into a tougher stage. The course of this struggle will decide on the further development. Fully justified say the theses of the 12th Plenum of the ECCI on the situation in Germany:

"The further development or the dismemberment of that dictatorship (fascist Papen-Schleicher Rule) depends on the revolutionary struggle of the working class against fascism in all its Forms from."

We see for example that in countries such as Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia, where fascist dictatorship was built before the Great Depression, currently under the influence of the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses of processes make disintegration of fascism noticeable. In Germany, we can not from a speak collapse of fascism. Although the National Socialist movement in all likelihood their Peak has passed, so that means alone does not mitigate the fascist dictatorship, because we have already pointed out that the Nazism, the Hitler movement indeed the mightiest fascist Mass organization in Germany is, but yet only a part of the fascist Front who can not simply be equated with fascism at all. one only need in this connection to the increasing role of the helmet and the German Nationalists think. Nevertheless, it is natural for our struggle against fascism very important that we the big objective possibilities of a successful fight against fascism i realize in full by the German proletariat. The fascist dictatorship is not built in the era of stabilization, but under the Conditions of the sharpest crisis. While in Italy, fascism came to power after a defeat of the proletariat, pushes the fascist dictatorship in Germany on the deploying more tempestuous revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The recent countries of fascist dictatorship as Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, as well as the Spain of Primo de Rivera, were not nearly as industrialized as Germany for his numerically powerful and all its development by the antifascist struggle armed proletariat. On the important role of the Communist Party in Germany with their organizational Strength and its revolutionary experience, I want to point only briefly. This much is certainly clear: the German proletariat, in the heavy and mighty Class battles the near future with fixed, fight resolute confidence, with a revolutionary perspective march.

Fascism and social fascism

And now to the question of the relationship between fascism and social fascism. The size
Importance of a correct treatment of this problem strategic both for our Orientation, as for our concrete tactics in every single situation is obvious. The 11th plenary regarding the relationship of fascism and social fascism a Shock against any liberal juxtaposition of these two pillars of the capitalist System out. We have in Germany as part of the ideological offensive of Central Committee towards some deviant and ambiguous views the right View according to the Stalinist definition enforced by the twins. one can say that the entire political development in Germany over the last Years almost a vivid lesson for the accuracy of this Stalinist thesis form, which fascism and social fascism not adversaries, but twins are, which are not mutually exclusive, but complementary.

We had in the policy of the German bourgeoisie mutual advantage of Social Democrats and the National Socialists, the heavyweight among the Briining was government in the SPD, while now in terms of the Papen-Schleicher government

the form in which the two supports are utilized, a certain change occurred is. Social democracy is one connected with the coup of July 20 from the function open government participation displaced to a considerable extent. She mimes before the masses a translucent radical opposition against the Papen government. But that is just as fraudulent as the opposition cries of the Nazis, without whose active support the Papen Government helm could not have come.

The SPD remains the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie

As before, the Social Democracy remains the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. Yes, just currently delivers the SPD temporarily much more open since 13 September as Tolerating party of the Cabinet than the Nazis. Bourgeois newspapers in Germany and abroad as have highlighted how much the Social Democrat Lobe following the Reichstag resolution almost as a "savior" for the Papen government operated. The election campaign of the SPD with its infamous incitement against us communists, are often referred to even as the main enemy, further illustrates this role of Social fascism.

I do not need our findings on the SPD as a pioneer of fascist Dictatorship and repeat on the self-exposure of the SPD leaders on 20 July. I want point here only on a document before in the current negotiations on 20 July the Constitutional Court came to the public. I refer to the letter of Otto Braun, the former Prussian Prime Minister, who read out by his representative in Leipzig has been. In this letter it is said:

"For over a decade I have the imperial policy without regard to the composition of the Imperial government ... supports ... And now as a servant who has stolen and is the House can not enter to be ousted, is bitter, and the more so, as it happens to the arrangement of a man ... not least for my re-election Reich President owes."

This self-exposure of the SPD can be at most of the known products of Compare Mr Goebbels, where he admitted quite openly that "the on the broad back Nazis "the fine people from the gentlemen's club - hence, the Papen-Schleicher government meant - had come into power.

For us Communists is a correct assessment of the relationship between fascism and Social Democracy of course of the utmost importance. We must, despite the Opposition maneuver the SPD in the working class understanding of the role of
Social Democracy as "moderate wing of fascism", as "social mainstay of Create bourgeoisie.
We want the proletarian masses in the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie result, today more and more sharply in the forms and the methods of fascist Dictatorship is exercised. Can we as a weakening of the fight against the SPD, with a "bloc politics" against the SPD, with a "neutrality agreement" reach towards the social-fascist leaders as the "left" of the branches
Social fascism, SAP and Brandleristen, or especially the counter-revolutionary Leon Trotsky Suggest the revolutionary workers?
That's impossible. Just to the masses in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship To lead, we must influence the SPD on crucial sectors of the proletariat try with the greatest effort on our part to break. Without the same sharpest struggle against social democracy there can be no classification of the SPD-workers in antifascist battlefront and thus no successful fight against fascist dictatorship and its terrorist organization, the Hitler-fascism give.

is a big difference between SPD leaders and SPD workers

For our daily work, in our untiring struggle against the SPD, we must always keep in mind that, between the SPD leadership and ordinary members the proletarians of this party is a great difference. We may not get a chance pass up to this our class comrades our close revolutionary to show solidarity and our steely will, in a common front with them to fight against hunger and wage robbery and against the betrayal of the bureaucracy. With the strongest possible terms, the 12th Plenary on the new role of the Social Democratic Hoax out that are more versatile and sophisticated, while the mass influence of Social fascism back. The 12th plenary confirmed the orientation relative to the Main shock in the working class against the Social Democrats. In the political theses of 12th plenary explicitly states:

"Only when the main blow to social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, is directed, you can beat the main class enemy of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, with success and smashed."

Any tendency of weakening of our principled struggle against the SPD leaders or a liberal opposition of fascism and social fascism is therefore totally inadmissible. But nor are we allowed an equality of the two wings of the Allow fascism as the in the implementation of our right general line in Practice occasionally occurred. A simple schematic equating Hitler and Severing, von Papen government and Brüning government of Social Democrats and Nazism is wrong and makes it difficult to fight both against the Nazis and against the SPD. It says the resolution of the 12th Plenary on this issue:

"Fascism and the social fascism (social democracy) are effective for maintaining and consolidation of capitalism, the bourgeois dictatorship, but they draw different Conclusions. Since the position of the ruling bourgeoisie of each country present is extremely contradictory and compels them frequently, between the price on the resolute Unleashing the struggle against its external and internal enemies and a more cautious approach to maneuver, this contradictory character is also reflected in the diversity of Attitude of fascism and social fascism."

This clear formulations give us not only the possibility of a right strategic orientation, but also form the basis on which we methods
our tactics in the fight against Nazis and SPD can develop concrete.

The struggle for political power

I turn now to a major issue in connection with the results of 12th plenary, the question of the struggle for political power and the role of Communist Party. Comrades, I have tried in the whole discussion about the 12th plenary all various problems of the class struggle always in conjunction with which currently executive transition to a new series of revolutions and bringing wars. This is especially necessary for the question of how we solve the problem of must treat proletarian power.

We have seen that we do not have any revolutionary crisis in Germany but an extraordinary acceleration of the maturation of their conditions. We can the present stage in Germany as the preparation period of the proletarian Power designate. In other words, today is for us to getting wider Masses of the proletariat in the struggle for political power and weld through the experience of political and Economic Days Battles from part to strike to the positions of the struggle introduce to the highest forms of strike for power.

And moreover, it is, from the other working strata partly allies for to win the power struggle of the working class - I am thinking of the poor farmers and rural semi-proletarians, the masses of the lower staff and the poorest sections the artisans and small commercial, some - like the middle peasants and other Layers - as much as possible to neutralize. Now it is clear that to the extent that such these objects are always burning for us to improve the way we question the of Final goal set in our agitation and propaganda, likewise a different character must assume. It goes without saying that the question of the proletarian state power of the Communists treated differently in the period of stabilization of capitalism had to be as present. Especially here in Germany, it does. We have the declining mass influence of social democracy, a historic decline, which takes for a number of years. We have after the rapid rise of Nazi Hitler movement, with its propaganda for the "Third Reich" has greatest hopes, especially among the middle class brings, even in this camp Stagnation and incipient decline.

The Social Democrats, on the masses after 1918 placed their hopes in the years, has broad million layers disappointed today is also the first disappointment wider Masses on the unredeemed promises of Nazism.

What results from this? A situation in which the Communist Party, the largest mature options, but also the biggest tasks this of the SPD and of catch Hitler disillusioned masses gather, and in the revolutionary class army reintegrate.

That is why the propaganda for the conquest of political power in a whole new occurs Stage. SPD and Nazis talk of "socialism". We need the masses for the Struggle for power train. And this requires the decisive methods our mass policy and the stronger and more concrete popularization of the rule of Proletariat. So it is no coincidence that the 12th plenary with sharply as central Main slogan for the KPD in this sense the slogan of workers 'and peasants' republic has found!

The role of our Party
In this connection, a few words about the role of our Party. As with the World War
began the first cycle of wars and revolutions, there was only one Bolshevik Party
throughout the international workers' movement, the Russian Social Democrats under Lenin
Guide. In the years 1917 to 1923, although communist parties were established,
but they had only collect their combat experiences.
Now we write 1932. We have a large Communist world party, the ideological
has withstood storms and conflicts. We have the huge success of
socialist construction, the completion of the first five-year plan in the Soviet Union. We
have the victory of the Soviet revolution on a large territory in China. And we have
in Germany the KPD, the second party of the Communist International, the rich
Combat experience, solid squad and a determined revolutionary struggle will have.
We are with quite different conditions in the second wave of revolutions and
Wars occur, as this was in 1914 or even 1917/18 the case. This awareness must each
Communists with pride and will to win.
If every Communist imbued with this sense of power, a revolutionary work
performed when the cadres of our party and with full consciousness of the triumph of
Superiority of our ideas against the bourgeois social democratic

Illusions do their work among the masses, then the attraction is the
boost Communist Party quickly and it will be easier for us the masses to action
and collect battles and beyond the on the struggle for the conquest
prepare political power.

The mass revolutionary politics

I turn now to the main question with which our Conference must employ,
to question our tactics, to question our mass policy.
How can we the masses to the decisive battles for political power
Attract? The methods of agitation and propaganda? It is clear that the correct
Agitation and propaganda, mass excessively operated, on the basis of establishments and
Stamping stations, the workers' quarters and villages, plays a huge role and not
should not be underestimated. But agitation and propaganda alone, without a practical,
concrete policy of mass struggle, the real defense of the interests of the day
Proletariat - this is like a horseless carriage, such as an automobile without engine, may thus
not to conquer the world.
I emphasize: Only in proportion as we finally stepped out of a party of mere
perform agitation and propaganda for real Bolshevik combat party - only
the extent we can conquer really the masses in the struggle for political power.
We have in the past to the very last time in this field, the largest
had recorded weaknesses. A series of emergency decrees of the bourgeoisie, the
worst mass loads brought, walked past without we managed a
real closed mass resistance in the form of strikes and mass actions
trigger. July 20 is a special example. Fully justified the KPD was to
criticized the 12th Plenum of our world party in serious way, because it gives us on July 20 by
A number of factors have failed, our correct political slogans in
to realize practice. That it is possible to trigger fighting, has the current strike wave
demonstrated on the occasion of the September emergency decrees Papen.

Each fight increases the difficulties of the bourgeoisie
Today this question acts a very special meaning. With the end of the relative stabilization is also the period of social reforms to end. Every fight, every action, any part strike or even mass strike against the capitalist offensive is therefore in a far greater extent than in the past to increase the difficulties for capitalism, for the bourgeoisie.

That alone we have the extraordinary importance of all forms of proletarian make resistance against the capitalist offensive clearly.

But a second question: one can indeed establish any scheme that such political mass strikes out only grow from economic strikes or just following economic strikes are possible. But one has always the close intertwining of economic and political struggles of the proletariat, Lenin has always stressed eye grasp. And it can conclude: without the experience of a number of economic or political daily struggles, partial strikes, mass strikes to General strike, it is inconceivable that the proletariat is ripe to rewind the power issue.

And a third: For years, Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie are communists than the Party a mere demonstration policy, mere revolutionary future prospects slandered. At present offers to gloss than ever the opportunity this to expose scams before the masses and to show the real role of our Party.

The Social Democrats chatter from socialism. The Nazis even lead the word "socialism" in the mouth.

But we, the Communists, say to the masses: Yes, the capitalist system is rotten and in decline. It must disappear.

Yes, there is only one real solution to the crisis, only a real salvation for Masses from misery, slavery and fascism: this is the full power of the proletariat as Prerequisite for socialism.

Yes, we fight for it, that the capitalist system is eliminated, that the proletariat seized power and building socialism.

But we are fighting for the daily interests of the working class. We fight for the defending the existence of the factory workers, the unemployed, workers, lower Officials, the poor peasants and the toiling middle class.

Today, when the SPD leaders by the chatter of "socialism" of the masses Defense of their daily interests, from the struggles of the proletarian everyday of strikes and mass actions intend to hold, we must succeed especially, our role as the only Workers' Party to explain to the masses, and not just with words, but above all by the fact, practically: by organizing the fighting and lead to victory.

So it is necessary to prove the KPD before the masses as a party that both alone the revolutionary way out shows and for the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist Future of working class struggles, and only the interests of the proletariat and days the toilers champions.

Advances in the application of the united front policy

Comrades, we have the largest, greatest opportunities for the firm Application of such mass politics, such a line of mass action and the Mass struggle. What shows up lately on the issue of mass politics of our Party? We have in recent months in two issues of a major breakthrough, a recorded significant progress, we need to see, without the still existing shortcomings and weaknesses to shrink; first by the Antifascist Action a major step forward in the question of the application of the united front policy of
down in the field of anti-fascist mass struggle against fascist terror. I need not say much about the importance of this success. And then in the last few weeks the beginning of a breakthrough on the issue of Economic struggles, the strike wave began with benefits for the revolutionary Move.

These two crucial steps on the road to turn to mass politics, Twist to a Bolshevik struggle policy of the party would be unthinkable if we not overcome in a crucial question inhibitions of the past and the Offensive had taken: in the question of the united front tactic! We have driven agitation for industrial action in the past, as now after September emergency decree. But at that time we could with our solutions only relatively small masses Mobilising, both in mass self-protection as well especially on the issue of Economic struggles. Why now we had a stronger, bulkier success with our solutions? Once the objective conditions for the strengthening of the class struggle become naturally cheaper. The degree of exploitation, plundering of Masses down to the last rose. The fascist terror has particularly bloody forms adopted.

The turn toward mass politics since the February plenary

But these favorable objective conditions alone explain our growing success not. Here is another, more important for us Cause. And that is the fact that it we succeeded, as required by the February Plenum of the Central Committee turn to a real Mass politics, under a policy of leadership of the struggles and actions of the masses Angle to successfully take the broadest possible development of the united front policy in attack. The is what we need to emphasize, without somehow whitewashing or falling self-sufficiency. So great opportunities for developing the powerful wave of proletarian Resistance by our mass revolutionary politics as currently were rare available. Suppose the scope of the strike movement against emergency decree and Wage cuts in the period from 16 September to 13 October. From the RGO are 447 strikes in this time has been registered. Of which were completed with success 228, with partial success 16, 30 without success, with unknown outcome 173. In reality, the number of successful strikes far greater. A bourgeois Berliner lunch Journal even speaks of that 80 percent of all strikes had been successful. These strikes is interesting that the majority took place in metal factories, then in textile plants and in the construction industry. It is significant that among the Strikes have found no miners' strike. The large number of strikes in the metal factories is explained by the strong decrease in wages with the skilled workers, the radicalization of organized labor and the Fact that the reformist bureaucracy had to maneuver under the mass pressure and some strikes sanctioned to take the lead on wherever possible. In the Mining operations went entrepreneurship to the tactics above, most tariffs on extend. Only in relatively few places was the wage robbery due to the Emergency Ordinance started. The reasons are that the miners so far on have the fastest and most violent replied to wage robbery by strikes that strikes Mining could give the signal for other industry groups and the bourgeoisie until the other industry groups "do" wanted to then approach the buddies.
When considering the size of farms depends on strike after a survey that it is about 60 percent to small businesses and small medium-sized enterprises, at about 30 percent to bigger sized enterprises and nearly 10 percent of businesses on strike. Large enterprises are. Our decisive weaknesses are therefore still in the Large companies, the most important key points of capitalist production, yet.

The methods of attack entrepreneurs - and our response

What are the major features of the methods of attack entrepreneur?
Once in an attempt to decompose the battlefront by cleaving the proletariat and play off unemployed and factory workers against each attempt.
Second, in an attempt to the workforce itself by "department have wage cuts" to decompose in which under certain circumstances, some groups are affected. Operational Phoenix (Dusseldorf), consisting of six closed departments, focused the Directorate as the most important department, the tubing 3, and pushed in this department before again against a particular group of workers.

We see a third method in Miag Braunschweig. There, the company is ready with the Wage cuts due to the emergency decree and begins to phase out the chords.

In the fourth case, the entrepreneurs start with the reduction in working hours Wage compensation, to then perform the Notverordnungslohnraub. has this way Mannesmann introduced in Dusseldorf, recently, Krupp in Essen and the Conti works in Hannover.

From all these examples, it appears that the contractor is not uniform, but differentiated advance and that the problem of splitting decomposition of the Workers' Front plays a greater role than before.

Foremost in the strike action against the Notverordnungslohnabbau were our Districts Hamburg and Lower Rhine. The strikes have not fallen here from heaven, but the fruit of a systematic preparation strike.

Everywhere we see a courageous participation of unemployed in the formation of Strike protection, on the collection campaign and the strike agitation. In no single case were the unemployed to strikebreakers.

Where we applied a good united front tactic, we penetrated not only in the layers of unionized workers, but also in the ranks of the Nazi proles a. So were for example in the shoe factory Pannier on the Lower Rhine, a company with about 180 men Workforce, mainly Nazis employed. In strike outbreak we had no Positions. But by mass use of the outside we conquered the strike leadership. in the History of the strike have joined 17 male and female workers of the RGO.

In Textilbetrieb Peltzer, Gladbach, a company with 190 men and predominantly Christian organized workforce, we have managed to trigger the strike under the leadership of the RGO.

Young workers, members of the Jungfrau congregations gather to Lists of IAH and close to each other competitions from. The fight is to five Days ended victoriously. A mass entry into the RGO begins. in the Assembly alone at the conclusion of the strike are 58 entries in the RGO recorded, including colleagues who organized 10 to 15 years in the Christian Association.

How shiny solidarity action was carried out in places, in the district of Lower Rhine, it showed the strike of a factory Wippermann in Hagen. On the first country Sunday marched in support of this operation alone 100 groups mostly with handcart from which at the farmers 65 hundredweight of potatoes, 6 quintals vegetables, baskets of bread and hundredweight apples collected. The strike was a breakthrough in the Country areas.
The wave of strikes in the Hamburg area also mainly during the strike High Bahner, road workers and so led to a powerful reinforcement of our influence. The monopoly of the reformists in the Hamburg High and tram is broken. While the RGO has received only 300 votes in the last council election, have until the second day after the strike betrayal of the reformists already 180 road workers and high workers, most of them are free unionized colleagues their Entry into the RGO completed.

The mistake our comrades in Weissenfels

A bad example is the behavior of our comrades the strike of shoe workers Weissenfels. On September 17, the Papen emergency decree was the Wage cuts announcement posted in most Weißenfelser shoe factories. On the Works Meeting on 19 September took no opposition speaker. Only after September 20, the workforce of a company had already decided to strike, takes our party organ for the first time on September 21 as a reward predatory campaign in the Weißenfelser shoe factories position. This is followed by another strike decisions, but the party and RGO not concentrate its forces on these establishments, but only organized for 23 September a - public Assembly. In general, convened by the bureaucracy strike meeting at September 27 occurred, neither the opposition, nor the present District Secretary of the RGO of Halle-Merseburg on against the pseudo-radical phrases of the union bureaucracy. As

remiss our party newspaper, the treated "class struggle", the strike issues goes, it show that the newspaper even after the strike a call to "widens the strike front "published. What are the general weaknesses showed themselves at all in the last strike? Once set our comrades in the struggle mobilization only when the entrepreneur already by stop to announce the reward robbery. In the preparation of the internal union strikes still prevails a extraordinary weakness. The tendencies of right opportunism occur primarily in appearance. Red works refuse occasionally to come out openly against the emergency decree, are often legalistic set by recognizing the arbitration awards, or make instead of exposing the Reformists to "not to disturb peace" the Block policy with the reformists. In many cases, is also the leading face of our RGO and the red organizations not enough to see. But above all, settled in almost all combat moves a strong underestimation of the "Left" maneuvers of the Social Democrats and the Free Trade Unions of pages of our comrades watch. Examples of this are in abundance. I call the operation in Alexanderwerk Remscheid, Wippermann in Hagen, the publishing industry in Dusseldorf and others, in who succeeded the reformist bureaucracy, by apparent advocacy of the Strike front to take the lead itself and stifle the strike.

The political significance of the strike wave

Now few words about the political significance of the whole wave of strikes. In this I will only important factors indicate:

1. We have succeeded for the first time, a real wide fight against the wave unleash conduct emergency decree of the bourgeoisie and thus the Carrying out a fairly comprehensive program of finance capital initially to a
to prevent large extent.
2. For a long time, the working class is the first time again their tremendous power realized. The reformist ideology, after which in the crisis no strike can lead, after which the unemployed play a role scabs and against Emergency decrees dictated wage cuts should not be fought, is through practice disproved.
3. Wide masses have for the first time virtually recognized that successes achieved only in the fight can be, as it have always said the Communists and the RGO.
4. The role of the reformists and the SPD leaders came in increasingly expressed. Your new demagogic deceptions to conceal their strikebreaking Policy characterize the higher phase of fascization the SPD. The versatility of its Scams has increased.

The teachings of our RGO work -

What are the consequences of all this for our RGO work? I will also only the most important points in brief list:
1. The RGO and the red organizations need to truly mass fighting organizations will. In all RGO groups it is, a real collective cooperation create.
2. Proletarian democracy has in the revolutionary trade union movement in strongest measures be strengthened.
3. It applies new cadre of non-party and unionized workers consulted.
4. In each trade union unity, in the operation and the place has an opposition group be created.
5. Above all, it is true, the real focus on the internal union work conduct, which is not enough, the reformist and Christian organizations to berennen from outside, but the battle for each selectable position Trade union organizations must be conducted. In the reformist and Christian organizations, it is necessary to survey the demand for proletarian democracy.

On the issue of the strike we must, when the reformist bureaucracy ballots organized, usually - although there may be no general scheme - it participate. But the main thing is, always and especially in these situations increases the to take independent revolutionary preparation and triggering battles in attack. Above all, we must under the free trade union membership in the strike movement achieved tangible successes popularize and further radicalization of exploit organized labor.

- And for the work of our operating cells

But also for the work of our operating cells are certain conclusions necessary. What is important? On July 1, the fast, self-reacting, as especially on the occasion of the 20th was present not in units of the party.
2. The operation cell has to be the political center of the operation work.
3. There must be in our cells work no seclusion, not commanding, but collective way of working that will help the other workers who really United front tactic applies the workforce revived politically, thus achieving success.
4. In the promotional work of the Party has determined the course of the factory workers
be taken. The proportion of factory workers going into the party in the gravest manner back. The characters on this issue are a direct warning signal for us. As we can win the majority of the working class as we want as possibly illegal party master our tasks, how can we the political general strike organize against the fascist dictatorship, when the key cadres of our Party not in the factories?

I refer here to the example of our Polish sister party, which for many years is illegal, but is firmly rooted in the masses, thanks to its good operation and their work. March continues uninterrupted. About 40 percent of our Polish comrades are in Operation. On February Plenum of our Central Committee, we decided a generous Turn on the issue of operational work. This decision then it is completely perform.

Error of Neumann group

When we examine the whole strike campaign with their weaknesses and successes, which then we need to draw on conclusions from this development? The whole party of the top to the bottom unit has a movable Bolshevik Attack factor. Our party is indeed politically manoeuvrable, but in the implementation of its policies is far too cumbersome machine. To the maneuvers of all to make class enemies quickly and decisively by our bold initiative to naught, is it is necessary that the party itself the largest ideological clarity and consistency, the

Maximum has in its revolutionary strength. It proved that the party under their general advance last year temporarily by a clever tactic the bourgeoisie found itself in a situation in which not least by certain deficiencies, Weaknesses and deviations in our politics of the masses showed. There was in this Moment even comrades in the party, as Comrade Heinz Neumann and his Group not only by their political errors and deviations, the largest Responsibility for the weaknesses and the lagging behind of the party wore, but on top of that the difficulties of the party tried to exploit for their own purposes. The experiences of the German party in the course of the past year are of great Importance for the future. If we want to be real Bolsheviks, we must unlearn the road of revolution as such a simple, easy matter without to consider difficulties and setbacks, as sometimes in our ranks Case was. Lenin on this issue in August 1918 in his "Letter to the American Workers "some phrases coined that every revolutionary must write on the ear itself:

"The historical activity is not the pavement of Nevsky Prospect, said the great Russian Revolutionary Chernyshevsky. Who the proletarian revolution only on the condition 'Accepted' that they go very painless, that the proletarians of different countries at once with a start united action that given from the outset a guarantee against losses that the Road of revolution broad, free and just had that one on the way to victory not temporarily heaviest sacrifices, not, endure in a besieged fortress' or not the narrowest, must climb ungangbarsten, gewundensten and dangerous mountain trails - which is not a Revolutionary who has not freed himself from the pedantry of the bourgeois intelligentsia ... "  *

What Lenin says here about the difficulties on the way to the proletarian revolution, has for us not only in the past, but also in the future importance. Although we do not want it, you can but with a certain probability foresee that the party in the period ahead not just of success will march success, but also occasional defeats temporarily in buying
must take. Can this scare? No way! If we our party in the way of Bolshevisation to a higher level of maturity, leading to a steely strength, then we shall be able, through all these turns and zigzags, where the Rise of the revolutionary proletariat is subjected to complete victory without internal difficulty to get over. And because we see, comrades, because we about us are clear that in view of our revolutionary perspective the KPD always harder Conditions of class struggle is approaching, so we need to understand that what in intra-party respects is behind us, our essential fight against disorganizing activity of the group Neumann, at the same time the internal consolidation and the formation of the front for this upcoming fights meant. To which political deviations from the party line is in the group Neumann? I will briefly outline the main points:

Errors in the application of the united front tactic

First, the issue of our struggle against the SPD. In this area was particularly clearly the nature of the Neumann Group as an unprincipled opposition. Your main line are Error one left-sectarian attitude opposite to the Social Democratic workers. The fight for the living application of United front from below, as it is the part of the party leadership had long been, was social by Comrade Heinz Neumann as "hunting behind the Democratic workers called ". He even turned against such formulations

*The template in the incomplete at one point playing the Lenin-words was the editor by the better translation in Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p 55 replaced and completed.

like that we the Social Democratic workers reach our fraternal hand. He tried the slogan of a united front by the formulation red Workers Front to replace, although he - was explicitly drawn to the fact that the waiver the unit will of the workers and a narrowing of our mass policy performing. The same sectarian attitude took Comrade Neumann on the issue of internal union work a. His proposals and formulations in August last year had the tendencies of the addition, running out of the unions extremely amplified and any improvement in internal union work impossible if this policy had not been rejected in "Polbüro". This sectarian errors in of the question of the United Front and internal union work were on the other side Right opportunist Derailments over. I recall the preface of the "Red Flag" to the known Letter of Comrade Stalin. This preface contained both in terms of how the SAPD Trotskyism severe opportunistic mistakes for which Comrade Neumann responsibility -, wore. Similar errors were right with him on the issue of people's revolution, where he false slogan of "Triple Alliance of the working people" aufstellte that a complete underestimation the proletarian hegemony, the class role of the proletariat showed.

Wrong views on the issue of fascism

The second major area is the wrong policy Neumann against Nazism and in the question of fascism at all. If we in the German party for a long time through the Nazi wave and from originating a particular
Neglect had recorded Comrade Neumann has influenced this course.

He was the one in the Reichstag elections of 14 September 1930, the false thesis aufstellte, this day was "Hitler's best day" and have put the climax of Nazi movement is on 25 May last year Comrade Neumann:

"As for the Nazis, I am, as already stated, staunch opponent of any revision our correct assessment of 11 plenary. Neither the local elections Oldenburger still possibly to expected quantitative gains in the Prussian elections can alter the fact of the world, that the initial momentum of the Nazi movement, the weight of their mass action, especially her Trending temporary paralyzing effect on parts of the proletariat, SPD-workers and to us Petty bourgeoisie in decline or already broken is ... Who Oldenburg has increased over the head, who is not a politician but a philistine, a belly full moods. We have a Demise of fascism, not only in Germany but throughout Europe."

But in practical policy towards the Nazis defended Comrade Neumann false slogan "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" And tried thereby impede our fight against Hitler fascism. Comrade Neumann Setting difficult and our struggle against the bourgeoisie often aware provoked occasional tendencies of individual terror among the workers. Great confusion straightened Neumann on the question of the fascist dictatorship. As in December 1930, ie about two years ago, to more stringent the Brüning government passed methods of Notverordnungspolitik, presented Comrade Neumann in the "Red Flag "to the exaggerated thesis that the Brüning government was thus the Fascist dictatorship. The party had no longer to the prevention of the fascist dictatorship, but only still struggling to its overthrow. In this exaggerated formulation is expressed only the rejected of 11 plenary theory of the fascist dictatorship as "Springboard for the revolution". In the spring of this year were known at

*Text disfigured in the template.

certain layers of desperate unemployed mass moderate to moods, you would bring to power, to thereby accelerate the revolutionary crisis Hitler. This was supported by the SPD leaders with their talk of "ranlassen Hitler, so he abwirtschafte "encouraged. It is clear, comrades, that the party by such false Formulations and theories about fascism as a "springboard of the revolution", as Comrade Neumann in December 1930 by its exaggerated formulations over Brüning government and later quite openly in the Youth League expressed, in their struggle to overcome the dangerous moods unemployed this Spring was inhibited.

Neumann's fight against Bolshevik self-criticism

The third main question of the deviations of the Neumann Group of the Bolshevik Line pertaining to its whitewashing and its fight against the Bolshevik self-criticism. I just want very briefly some of the group work of Comrade Neumann and some other comrades say: Comrade Neumann suggested in this question a line, which in fact a Sichverstecken behind the objective difficulties in assessing the situation the party came down, while the group as at February plenary and subsequently to Palliation of the error in various literary productions of some comrades who have been criticized in the paper, developed an almost family-explanatory philistinism. Given the perfect, unshakable unity of ideological maturity and Strength of our Party and the Central Committee were all these attempts from the outset Sure to fail. We had to fight Neumann differences politically, as we
have done with the ideological offensive of the Central Committee since the time limit, but we took the party not in their work by a large party discussion disturbing because the Group Neumann always a small, vanishingly small group was - not just officers without soldiers, but even without NCOs. We had the impression at all on it, to provide ideological clarity and so that the misconceptions and deviations Neumann completely isolate. We have succeeded. Already in the decisions of the The February Plenum there was inter alia the following formulations:

"The importance of the ideological offensive within the party for the practical revolutionary Mass work will be the stronger emergence rechtsoptunistischer deviations and errors as the main threat, and left 'sectarian risks in the party particularly underlined. Against these deviations and errors, it is the fire of open Bolshevist self-criticism kindle. Any attempt to weaken the self-criticism would be a blow to the Bolshevisation the KPD. All middle-class attempts to whitewash and cover-up of Weaknesses against the Comintern and the Central Committee, the ambiguity and double Accounting, recognizing the policy of the party and its leadership with words, but Failure to implement the decisions and non-support of the leadership in practice, must mount are sharpest fought and overcome."

Such formulations were naturally in the decisions of the February Plenum not chosen for a reason. They were directed, as well as other formulations on the issue of United front tactic, the Hitler fascism and the struggle against the "left" of the branches Social fascism, even then against certain errors and deviations of Comrade Heinz Neumann. Now that the political issues are all resolved, Neumann and some Comrades, however, are passed to the methods of group work, had the need to combat this unprincipled opposition be completed. In this Battle had the party leadership always full support of the Bolshevist Communist International, the ECCI.

By overcoming the misconceptions and tendencies of the Neumann Group the party cleared the way for her new successful rise. Already the first

Success in this area with the Anti-Fascist Action and the new strike struggles are due in large part to the fact that the party's wrong, sectarian and opportunist deviations Comrade Neumann decided to Body went. War in the first weeks after the February Plenum of the Central Committee Group Neumann a certain obstacle to the implementation of the decisions of the The February Plenum, so is now free of the way to make our turn to resolute mass and martial policy wholeheartedly and decided further to perform. That is why we need to the caucus as to upcoming district party conferences no superfluous Discussions on the pernicious actions of Comrade Neumann and some other comrades to operate, but only have the benefit of Bolshevisation our squad the political and ideological problems to improve our Party work in the forefront.

The Immediate Tasks

Comrades, I conclude. I will briefly summarize the main Which, urgent, urgent tasks of the Party are. The 12th plenary us as KPD made to the central task of the masses on the implementation of the political General strike against the fascist dictatorship prepare. By what means can the happened? I want to try the whole of our specific tasks in some Points summarize:

1. Focusing our work on the farms, improvement and specification of our
Operation work. The operational cells have actually taken to the main organs are, which are the main carriers of all campaigns of the party. The operation cell has in the Center of our party work and our party life occur. In operation it is important that Application of the united front tactic from below to actual collection of the workforce to unified fighting more precise. We have the workforce to educate joint action and through a systematic application United front tactic in operation, by taking decisions on resolutions of protest to Strike forge fighting united front. The political content of our operational work must enter the service of the concrete struggle mobilization. non-mechanical Strike slogans but concrete utilization of the available in every operating Conflict substance for the mobilization of the workers, the creation of the revolutionary shop stewards body in Operation and implementation of the method of non-party consultations to the quick wit of secure cell in operation. Close relationship of the work of the operating cells with all the other Branches of revolutionary work. These are the key factors for the necessary resolute raising our operational work.

2. Powerful revitalizing our unemployed labor. Given the tremendously growing Misery of the unemployed, the growing mass of millions of unemployed, the never receive any more support, we need to understand the explosive, which in the mass of millions of unemployed for triggering mass actions and for the general increase of mass struggle against capital dictatorship and fascism present is to bring the inflammation. It is not enough to tell the unemployed that they to show solidarity with the operation of workers. We must show them at the same time as they struggle through mass action of any kind for their own vital interests and together with the other working people can conquer their bread.

3. The development of all forms of daily struggles and actions of the proletariat and other toilers. Partial strikes, protest strikes, strikes against wage-robbery, political strikes and mass strikes, fight against rent and tax usury, against evictions and Foreclosures, mass actions of unemployed, joint demonstrations with the operation of workers and similar actions more.

4. Enhanced development of united front from below with all and all Methods. Continuation and increase of Antifascist Action, which in recent times neglected has been. increase of the United front movement to comprehensive United front actions in the fight against hunger and wage robbery in the factories and on the Stamp Set.

5. Strongest course on increasing the internal union work in the reformist, Christian and other associations, real struggle for all eligible Functions in the trade unions, because an essential condition represents for the real winning the masses of union members. extension a broad opposition movement, rest loosely overcome all tendencies of getting out running from the trade unions, the omission of the internal union work, the Kapitulierens before the reformist bureaucracy or before conception, as if the Belonging to the RGO and membership in the reformist trade unions not is compatible.

6. Improvement of our struggle against social democracy. On the one hand, it is important to Fraud is the social-fascist leaders concrete, convincing, sharper counter to increase the principled struggle against social democracy, its role as social mainstay of the bourgeoisie ever clearer and more evident from the to unveil Social Democratic working masses. On the other hand we have to learn, against the Social Democratic workers an increasingly kameradschaftlichere language speak and so to win for the joint fight. Right the 12th plenary says
in his political theses, inter alia:

"... Only when the Communists between the Social Democratic leaders and the strictly distinguish Social Democratic workers, they can use the wall which today of the Social Democratic workers separated, on behalf of the revolutionary united front from below tear down ... "

7. increase in our struggle against Hitler fascism. We have the fact of incipient decomposition in the ranks of the National Socialist movement, the fact that now the Hitler fascism begins in its mass base crumble a bit and has exceeded a certain climax, a generous offensive on our part exploit. It is, in fundamental ways the ideological mass struggle for breaking away toiling followers, workers, the unemployed, workers, rural workers and small farmers, Artisans and small business to develop. It is true, the mass self-protection against the Nazi terror, when this begins tightened again very soon to consolidate, and to wider unfold. So we will be given the favorable conditions capable of a powerful slump in the previous trailer mass by the Nazis to carry out.

8. Increased struggle for proletarian and toiling youth. Only with our help, with Help the party can overcome the weaknesses of the Communist Youth League, which he currently by bureaucratic and sectarian tendencies of the group under the Kutschi has to show influence of Comrade Neumann. We need a party the youth league help solve the great task that will not be applied schematically to numerically obtain the party and to overtake. We must help the tear youth from the followers of reformism and Nazism and gather in the camp of the class struggle, in the camp of strikes and mass actions, the real advocacy of youth interests, in the camp of the fight against Militarization of youth, the fight against forced labor in the camp of the struggle for revolutionary way out of the crisis, the youth a future - the future of Socialism - to give.

9. We need to approach the party especially to the serious task, the work of RGO to lift to a much higher level. By communist fractions in all...

Groups of RGO and red organizations, by the strongest comradely Support, not mechanical paternalism, it is the work of the RGO and the red organizations in line with the unleashing of mass resistance and the revival of to increase mass initiative against the offensive of capital and improve. Given the forthcoming "draconian measures" of the bourgeoisie, as Papen to has announced the prevention of strikes and mass struggles, the reformist Leaders very soon going to spend most strikes as "wild" strikes, Payment of subsidies to refuse completely. The class organizations of the proletariat will be threatened again with progressively stronger prohibition measures. Therefore it is already Today, at the premises of the course to strike funds for the upcoming support to take fights that are not abandoned to access the class enemy. Therefore shall it, all the preparations for the implementation of the fighting also led by the RGO, in Unlike the defeats of those strikes that were under reformist leadership as for example in the transport workers in Hamburg, in a clear manner the broadest masses for to bring knowledge. The RGO must learn to study the workers' lives better and it their tactics to draw conclusions for all their work.

10. In the inner life of our party's inner-party democracy, recourse must and political activation of the entire membership of the widest form to be deployed. This applies of course, those comrades who for a time with the Comrade Neumann went when they recognize their mistakes and correct them, completely
to enable the party line and the party work. The revitalization of the inner life of our Party, go hand in hand with the unconditional assurance of revolutionary discipline must also serves to increase the self-initiative of all cadre and units of the Party and thus increasing our revolutionary repartee. The focus of our Work must take the course on the connection with the districts, with the holdings which District lines must the emphasis of their work on the sub-districts and cells embarrased, and in the operation of cells must, as we want to emphasize again, the actual power of our life are unleashed alive.

This internal revival of our party is also a prerequisite for getting firmer Connecting the party with the masses, for the tireless mobilization of the masses for Protect and defend the party against the ban plans of the fascist dictatorship. In the further intensification of class antagonisms sharpened the conflict between the revolutionary upsurge and the fascist reaction. The class enemies must us and the masses prepared find their plans and plots against us. This is a the most important tasks of our mass policy, a task that we never from the eye may lose.

The maneuvers of our adversaries in the elections

For the purposes of this task, the on November 6th also has validity, it is also true, prepare the general election and perform. Highest increase extraparliamentary mass struggles is needed. The strike wave may not die down, but must be increased.

In the masses, it is, on the broadest base our solution, the Workers' and Peasants Republic to proclaim the question of power as the sole condition for socialism, for the clarify exit from the crisis.

Thus alone can we at the same time the greatest possible increase in the daily struggles the Fraud of the SPD with its "socialist action" debunk.

There must be no fatalistic views that simply coming to a leave loss of Nazis, as if this loss automatically, without our revolutionary Work would occur. Yes, we must also consider the fraudulent attempts of the bourgeoisie, not least the Nazi press, reveal that today with great fanfare a likewise weaken our activity impending huge growth of Communists and by the artificial production of exaggerated expectations our forthcoming want to weaken success in the general election. We go sober, but with the greatest Energy to work.

In its broadest extent, it is a real crowd moderate agitation and propaganda to unfold. Tens of thousands of red flags and banners have in the whole of Germany carry slogans of the Communists among the masses. Only the Communists were the winners last Reichstag election campaign, only the Communists on November 6 a new success win. Just the Communists are in the coming extra-parliamentary class struggles the inevitable winner.

The world-historical role of the German Revolution

Comrades, if you criticized our party at the 12th plenary sharp, so be and we must draw the necessary conclusions.

Because we know how extraordinary amount of our own strength and our initiative, our ability to Marxist analysis and the corresponding Bolshevik
Our entire party must always be aware of: The transition to Germany
Revolution, the victory of the proletariat over the bloody fascism in Germany can be crucial to the preponderance of the revolution over the counterrevolution and the Fascism on the globe. - Does the decision in Germany inevitably the decision for other European countries.
But we have to look at things objectively. In Germany we have despite all
Difficulties in the camp of the class enemy, in spite of the differences within the bourgeoisie after all, the strongest fascist power in the world. This does not mean that this power does not tomorrow or the day after tomorrow may lose position and strength. The turmoil and Split in the camp of the bourgeoisie tomorrow new, surprising conflicts with to bring.
We have swept the entire party, activate the last member to the class struggle to lead the proletariat to victory.
Do us the last weeks showed that the rise of fascist wave already shortstop starts, so this is only a small beginning of our improved revolutionary Mass work. We believe that we in the further development of new advances fight be reached against the fascist dictatorship by the internal strengthening of the party and by higher revolutionary forms of attack of the proletariat.
We are strengthened internationally! The 12th Plenum, the Comintern and our Russian Brother party have the German party through their fraternal Bolshevik Advice given important weapon in our fight against fascism and capitalism.
We openly say that the Bolshevik line of our Comintern us at the difficult problems of the class struggle in Germany helped a lot and has steeled Bolshevik.
Our task will be not only fascism ideologically and politically to this or those places some setbacks and blows teach, not only of the Social Democracy snatch masses of their followers, not just mass struggles to earn a living and unleash political demands - in addition, we have the masses closer to the Attract decision struggle for power of the working class, for the big fight win the revolutionary way out and turn.
Germany has a tremendous importance for Central Europe! If it succeeds here storming fortresses of capitalism to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and the dictatorship raise the proletariat, then that means not only the victory of the revolution in Germany, but the victory of the revolution in Europe, the greatest revolutionary Support for the acceleration of socialist construction and the Soviet Union.
So we put our tasks with revolutionary courage! So is our victorious perspective!
So we go to work to implement the decisions of the 12th Plenary. So fight we, together with our sister parties, under the leadership of the Comintern with the Comrade Stalin at the top for the victory of socialism! We must and we will be winner!

conclusion

The historical significance of the Caucus

Comrades Our present Reich party conference is of great importance. It meets in the period between two party congresses and replaced it were a Party. After this Weddinger Congress we never had in central scale before such a broad and decisive forum as now again treated the problems of our Party. Of the
Typical of this conference is determined solely by the fact that out of a hundred large companies are present here the most important representatives. This already shows the foundation of our party, although by no means sufficient, but significant progress having, in particular with respect to the Ruth Fischer period.

We need to see: With the growth of our Party also grows our proletarian class, growing their attack power and attack her will.

We have so far had three caucuses in the party history, significantly, in addition to discussing the general policy issues with important intra-party issues were employed:

The first Reich party conference took place at the time of the open letter as the conclusion of the Ruth Fischer period. - The second Reich Party Conference convened by the VI. World Congress and was marked by the struggle against the Rights and conciliators. - The third Party conference takes place today; it addresses the problems of the 12th Plenum and is in relation to the elaboration of a mass revolutionary politics, dominated by the intraparty struggle against the errors and deviations of Comrade Neumann and some other comrades.

We can in the consideration of the party history both in our party as particular notice also the Russian party that in all escalations and certain historical turning points with respect to the evaluation and characterization of the situation, as well as the revolutionary development, petty-bourgeois tendencies and deviations from the general line of the Party and the Comintern occur. In studying the Development of the Russian party, we see that, for example on the occasion of the Russian-Polish War, on the issue of attraction of trade unions, etc., with the introduction of NEP opposition movements emerged, which always with Bolshevik sharpness were liquidated. One can say that all these conflicts with the views deviating from the party line, the party only strengthened, made more efficient attack and attack joyful.

The ideological and political maturity is growing, especially in the times of these clashes greatly.

And if our comrades about our inner-party disputes on this report caucus in the districts, which must be done in such a way that our enjoyed the great political, our tremendous progress, our boldness in see overcoming weaknesses and faults and stress. All comrades are then see how we have grown that the unity and cohesion of the Party so is steadfastly determined that Neumann and his friends to this hard shell have eingerannt head.

If we talk of our party conference on the problems of the united front policy look, we see only the enormous progress if draws a comparison to the position held by the Brandlerismus within the party once on this issue could. Especially in these comparisons we see in particular how much the party today has already grown to ideological-political field.

The assessment of our revolutionary movement

If we have the perspective, the masses of the main forms of struggle to fast partial movements and mass struggles until the decisive battles for political in bringing power, when we speak of the growing conditions of the revolutionary speak crisis and determine the accelerated revolutionary upsurge, then believe 1, comrades, we must consider the significant finding of 12 more acute. Plenary heed that a strong retardation of our party behind the objective
This question is very serious. For each lag encouraged the bourgeoisie to
can gain their offensive, any lag or weaken the
Offensive weapons of the revolutionary proletariat and the entire working people against
the fascist dictatorship lead. We have seen that in comparison with the pace of
Formation and concentration of the class forces of the bourgeoisie in the direction of
defense dictatorship, the pace of revolutionary advance was slower.
However, already showing an incipient serious shift in advance of
The 12th plenary noted very true that both in Germany, as well as in other
major capitalist countries-increasing chauvinist wave noticeable
made. The threat of war between Germany and France and between Germany
and Poland gets a serious character. German imperialism operates a
Adventurer policy towards the powers of the Versailles system. We need to see that
with this war policy of the German bourgeoisie, with the growing contrast
between arms spending and the great mighty distress, similar to the
make Panzerkreuzer question, broader anti-war sentiment in the masses noticeable how
We already see this anywhere else in France. This is a new situation with new
given conditions. We can for offensive frontal attack against chauvinism and
Nationalism merge. We can and we must strongly the question of our
provide revolutionary internationalism in the foreground.
The close fighting community and solidarity struggle fraternization between the German
and French proletariat is an important factor of our struggle against Versailles. We
must the national question today more decisively in connection with the question of
proletarian internationalism roll. We must show the masses: you see the
Chauvinism of the bourgeoisie! You see the bustle of the military in Germany! but you look
also, that the bondage deepens that the exploitation and plundering increases!
And we have to tell the masses that only under the banner of proletarian
Internationalism, only by the Workers' and Peasants Republic the Versailles system
is smashed.

We must show the masses that just not to be separated in connection with the
Question of social and national liberation the closest class community
Class solidarity of the German, French and Polish workers against the German,
French and Polish bourgeoisie is necessary. That is why the joint action of our
Party with the French workers against Versailles. This is why our plan a large
Campaign under the banner of proletarian internationalism, so our directive that we
immediately have to start with this campaign. We may not be the
Nazis, nor the Social Democrats left the field. We have to get into the
Offensive go stir the working people, the proletarian masses for our electrify antiwar action in a sense and an even greater mass mobilization trigger, as already achieved this by our Anti Fascist Action. If we roll so crucial issues before our party, then it is necessary to emphasize that the decisions of our Party, the directives such conferences such as our caucus are actually carried out in practice. According to our February plenary so we did not have sufficient implementation of our decisions notice. The example of July 20 has shown us where it leads when our directives Party undergone any implementation in practice.

Some current political issues

A key issue in the implementation of our strategic main task of Conquest of the majority of the working class and in the task by our mass policy the working class and mass struggles of the decisive battles for the conquest of introduce political power, is the issue of secession of the reformist and Social Democratic workers of the SPD and ADGB leaders. No doubt it was us succeeded by the Antifascist Action a broad revolutionary movement against the unfold fascist terror, to make a turn in our mass work, a level of isolation of our party from the masses as to that, the Prussia election on April 24 came to light, to overcome. But our fight against social Mainstay of the bourgeoisie, against the Social Democrats, has much more specifically, much fundamental and social democratic in the clashes with our Classmates are designed much camaraderie. It is quite clear that our strategy in the working class because we their our Main attack against the SPD judge, the fierce struggle against Hitler fascism with the Aim to crush its mass base, within itself. The Hitler movement has already such a mass character, that without the break in their front a victory is proletarian revolution unthinkable. The issue of recovery of Nazi supporters in largely a matter of winning the masses of employees, officials, smallholder and middle classes in our revolutionary battlefront. That is a complicated process. But in proportion as the proletariat's struggle character shows it will also be possible from these layers real ally for our revolutionary Fight to win.

We must fight in the strongest terms such moods in our party that a was an ideological struggle against the Nazi movement unnecessarily; we may also not only berennen Nazi movement from outside, but must also face the growing defections from the ranks of SA given to us for a certain time squad blank in the Nazi movement, there to make a greater revolutionary awareness training. Despite all this, of course, the Social Democracy remains the main obstacle of the proletarian Revolution, the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie and the main reservoir, we from the our trailers win the battle for the conquest of the majority of the working class. We must fight against any attempt of a weakening of our struggle amounts against social democracy.

The main method of our struggle against fascism and its forerunner the application of the united front policy from below. The diverse, sophisticated Deceptions of our class enemies force us just in the field of United front policy to improve our methods extraordinary. We need therefore a Increasing the revolutionary political class and power of consciousness in the masses unfold.
Small errors and their political impact

A few words about our policy on the issue of the referendum, which the SPD was demagogischerweise organized against a "part of the emergency decrees". Our tactic was completely correct when we said to the workers, the SPD maneuver meant a distraction from the fight against wage-robbery, a distraction from the struggle against the Emergency decree and Papen dictatorship. But we must at the same time no confusion about admit that we of course with increased development of our extra-parliamentary Battle Actions are willing to stand up for this referendum. Our present Conference is therefore of following the already issued a circular Central Committee rolled opinion so decided about our Participation proposed the referendum. Thereby we smashed the electoral maneuver the SPD and also come at widest Socialist working class to Implementation of extra-parliamentary struggle Actions zoom. With a correct policy we will succeed in doubt, millions of far from the Social Democracy affected workers to the periphery of our movement and in our Front to bring in. What progress has the higher process of development of the SPD to makes social fascism, for example, the fact that the at a meeting Social Democratic parliamentary party on September 12, 40 SPD deputy for Toleration of the Papen government entered. The utterances of Severing State Court, which is becoming more resolute overtures Leipart, Grassmann etc Stegerwald and Gregor Strasser, the so-called "Third Front" in support to form von Papen and Bracht, all these facts give us increased opportunities the masses of the SPD to win for us. Significantly, commented on the evening of the Reichstag resolution in a national cabinet Known Minister as follows: The right wing of the Social Democrats was very strong on him one could rely on. And Mr. Höltermann stated in an internal consulting the ITUC on 2 10 in Berlin Printers house that was Reichsbanner "The long arm of the Government". Such facts must the tension between the SPD leadership and membership course exacerbate. Our task is, our in bold and generous application United front policy to extend this tension and deepen. In all our agitation and propaganda we have more still apolitical Thinking of some layers of the working population, including for the proletariat important reserves, note. This of course in no way a waiver of the Development of our principled position on the various issues. We have these masses lead to the level of revolutionary consciousness.

Contact with the masses

Contact with the masses! Contact with the masses, that is what matters! Our Russian brother party led the victorious October Revolution in 1917, by using was linked to the masses. The socialist victory was shared with the masses carried out; our Bolshevik Party brother has grown with the masses, she beat with them the bourgeoisie and the enemies within their own ranks. The compound of the party with the masses, that is the basic problem, the need to see our comrades. at fundamental purity, with the greatest elasticity and mobility, with a strong authority the guide is much easier to overcome errors than with a rigidity and Immobility. For each concrete situation and depending on the county, city, and so many other
Methods by which we connect with the crowd. There is just no general recipe of our united front policy and tactics. The 12th Plenum of the ECCI has all the sections in this area large and new experiences mediated. Our Polish and our Czech sister party have shiny achievements in the setting of the whole party to the specific needs of the masses reported, although our Czech comrades of the fundamental question United front tactic could learn at the 12th plenary also something from us. Most of our editors do not understand, to speak a language mass. - What was the most important weapon in the Bolshevik Party to the masses convince? That was the "Pravda" the Bolsheviks were their other legal and partly illegal newspapers. A Social Democratic workers will not happen tomorrow to us. This includes a bold, brave, tenacious, systematic persuasion. Our editors have to help this much stronger, broader collective work with the workers unfold and the image of the newspaper, the content of our press-labor and make popular.

In our RGO work we have from top to bottom a stronger mass political line unfold. What does it mean that we in the main lines no non-party and have free trade union workers? The narrow-minded composition of our RGO lines inhibits and disturbs the further and faster development of the RGO. As our RFB was not prohibited, we have consciously to the average official squad, to some places even up in the District tips nonparty workers employed. Thereby got the RFB a certain authority in the unorganized and party workers. That has to be an incentive for all mass organizations. In our antifascist mass struggle we have completely the wrong by the slogan "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" Overcome created trends. If we in Belegschafts-, union meetings, etc. on the problem of imperialist take war position and want to roll up these issues before the masses, we must improve our methods. This also applies to the issue of pre-Coming to the Christian working masses. We make no progress in this area, if we back issue of religion to the fore; we must start from the social question. On the Christian Trade Union Congress in Dusseldorf were the strong fermentations particularly among the youth, strongly evident. Minister Schaffer, who said there was shouted down. The shows the growing pressure of the Christian Union members masses. Fermentation was also by special solutions for Expression such as "No cheap labor, but wage" - "Same Power, equal pay ".-" Not, Not, Not, the fate of the working youth ".

Boots revolutionary fighting ability of our cadres

We need to understand our Einheitsfront- and mass politics, the revolutionary struggle ideology in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and the to reinforce the danger of war. In the political theses of the VI. World Congress states already:

"The intensification of the struggle against social democracy shifts the focus decided the united front from below. But it does not deprive the Communists of the obligation to distinguish between the Social Democratic workers who are misled, and the Social Democratic leaders, who play the role of lackey of imperialism. In fact, they increased this commitment. Similarly, the slogan of the fight is to the masses (including the Compositions which afford the bourgeois parties and the Social Democrats allegiance) not only
not of the agenda, but certainly at the center of all the work of
Communist International made."

Since the VI. World Congress, the contradictions of capitalism have intensified. Our
revolutionary united front policy is more than ever a method of revolution and no
Method of peaceful development, of evolution. We have the suspicion of
SPD and ADGB guides, as if we were the splitters, reject in the strongest terms. In
the Theses on Tactics was already on the III. World Congress said:

"The slogans and principles of the Communist Parties constitute the sole ground that in the
Working class can unite again, because they express the needs of the proletarian
Struggle out. This being the case, there are now the social democratic and centrist parties
and directions that represent the atomization and division of the proletariat, while the
Communist parties form the element of his collection."

With the growth in numbers of our party grows naturally not readily
the quality of our squad. We must succeed, the revolutionary struggle of our ability
to increase squad, they more and more on the attack against all repressive methods
the bourgeoisie adjust to the tempo of the revolutionary advance to
accelerate. Two hundred thousand workers who previously unorganized or in other
Parties were, have occurred lately in our party. On a higher level of
ideological training uplift, so that they are able, the revolutionary
to fulfill tasks - this is a big job. July 20 would have a different course
taken, if we in the past few months self initiative, combat and clout
our cadres and the quality of our lines had higher developed.

We need to understand precisely because we no big strike experience in recent years
had immediately take advantage of the recent strike experience. We must all strike examples
popularize, we can not rely on spontaneous strike outbreaks ans, but must
operate a very deliberate, systematic preparation of the strike struggles. In order to grow in
Consciousness of the mass and in practice, the leading role of the RGO and red organizations, and
so that we strengthen the foundation of our revolutionary internal union work. We
develop new cadres, new revolutionary labor activists, and have set ourselves the goals,
particularly in the RGO a team of experienced instructors as helpers, advisors and inspectors
use for our comrades down.

Concluding remarks on intra-party debate

The decisions of the 12th Plenary mean the closure and liquidation
internal party difficulties of almost exclusively in the central apparatus, in
Leadership of our Party, in the editorial of the "Red Flag" and the office of KJVD to

Why was the Neumann group only in the central peak and the top of the
anchored youth agencies? For certain causes must be present. If we this
conceal causes, then go not with the delegates of our party conference
full insight into these issues back home. What are the causes?
First, because in the individual members of different lines, with individual comrades
lacked vital connection with the life of the masses.
Secondly, another reason is the insufficient ideological strength, in the
Unfamiliarity with the problems of Leninism, which in a number of policy
Friends of Comrade Neumann was expressed.
Comrades, if we all have grown in the party, the one more, the other less,
then we may know no envy. Also the nature of every human being is not the same! We can not all be like the Saxons comfortably! Take for example the hamburger: You know, that he is of a rougher kind. But playing such questions in politics play a role? not more than only petty bourgeois. It is at all significant that the comrades to Neumann many Problems out of the pit of the petty bourgeoisie out consideration. These comrades had the hopeless perspective to capture the lead. I say, In our opinion: hopeless perspective! How could they be such a View come from? Because they a poor connection with the masses of Party officials and party membership had. Yesterday here was an interjection when we our disputes with the Neumann Group spoke, which read: "Why you were so human?" - Comrades, we were not human. The whole is not a question of humanity. Here were political facts crucial, we had to take into account the situation where crucial for the party so important situations at all costs bring the unity of leadership expressed. Of course, such work requires great effort and the greatest revolutionary Energy, especially if you, like for example when Comrade Neumann was be stated, twice the Comintern against commitments received, which one has subsequently breached. Of course, not all the errors that have been made, errors of Comrade Neumann alone. It would be wrong to say that. We have all made mistakes. Do you think perhaps that in such a serious situation in which our Party must adapt ourselves to the attacks the entrepreneur, of fascism and its accomplices, no errors occur? Of course, mistakes are made. When you go to work with initiative and energy, is you not immune to mistakes. But there are facts that one must see: There are Comrades who make mistakes and then are too miserable coward, their own mistakes correct. But we have seen that in his knapsack Comrade Neumann a whole has accumulated a mountain of errors, and that both Comrade Neumann as his friends this error did not see. That's the important thing. That is why we have already on the February plenary these questions asked so sharp. And that is why we need for the future Decisions of the Central Committee more seriously and treat conscientious. The authority of a guide is not only enhanced by the fact that it has a right General line has, but also the fact that they tried - without to be told so, that characterized the methods of party leadership are already completed -, the political life of Party the highest inner development and ideologically on the highest possible level to bring. It must be fought for all the problems. But if comrades are there who do not have the courage to write articles because they strengthened internally politically enough are, and because they are afraid to get in the Malheur Aufzeigung a line, then should 'they beware, afterwards with decomposing, the authority of the party Methods act as "critics".

The KPD deeply connected with the Comintern

Today's caucus has demonstrated how our comrades to these problems to stand.
We need to meet today's caucus certain safeguards to ensure that our Officials in districts and our plant workers can return to the farms the deepest certainty that the guide in its present composition not only in itself is consolidated, but also the guarantee are that disturbances as in the past were trying not easily happen again. Each persistence of errors, each
Tolerance of ambiguity or any silence is a violation of our basic principles. Today I want to remember what we know about the Bolshevik self-criticism have already said on February plenary. There is cited what the Comrade Stalin at the 14th Congress of the CPSU said:

"If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution, shut our eyes to our defects, the questions to decide in a familiar manner, mutually concealing the error and the disease in will drive the interior of our party organization, who will receive this error, these deficiencies correct? Is it not clear that we will cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, that we certainly go to meet the sinking, if we do not this from our midst Philistinism, this family economies when deciding important questions of our constructive will exterminate."

This issue is particularly acute in our party in the face of great challenges, bring the masses to the struggle for political power.
In the big tasks we have to understand it, zusammenzureißen the party as a whole and together to focus on the major tasks. If the comrades who all with Focus were attacked by us, all the consequences of their political past, pull out of their variations and deviations and for the active, unconditional decide the decisions of the 12th Plenary Assembly, it would be for a unwise repel these forces revolutionary leadership and they do not clamp the Implementation of the line of our Party.

The ideological deepening our work
We need to implement the decisions of the 12th Plenary certain consequences for draw ideological deepening our work. The overall policy level our Party has to be lifted, must obtain a stronger, firmer political character. Again we must ask the fundamental clarity of our party in the foreground. It is true, to awaken the theoretical interest in our party stronger, to improve the reach work in the revolutionary practice. Our ideological offensive, in Connection with a thorough Bolshevik self-criticism, the fighting capacity must increase the party and the masses a greater boldness and Offensivfreudigkeit wake up.

Some remarks on the youth question
We can not roll up seriously enough in our entire Party, the youth problem. The Question our youth is not a departmental issue, but represents an important part of the problem the conquest of the majority of the working class. Here is not only the question of KJVD, here is the question of rejuvenation of all our cadres. Only the full realization of Importance of working youth, their importance and role in the class struggle of the Proletariat, the question of imperialist war, our comrades will also introduce the practical launching of a revolutionary youth policy.
According to statistical surveys, it was found that after 1910 about 10 to 12 million have grown up young people, a generation after the war. She has declared war or the revolution not participate or only experienced as children. This generation is already economically uprooted before it enters into life. These youth goes from the classroom to Stamp office or by the apprenticeship for stamping point. This seething, revolutionary tuned youth studied socialist ideals. We have to see that it the Nazism able to offset some of these youth. We
must contrive to win these youth masses for us, for the revolutionary
to mobilize out of the crisis. We need to see that fascism by
feigned camaraderie in the labor conscription by military discipline
etc. these youth layers for the fight against the proletariat and the imperialist
War mobilized.
Only through revolutionary comradeship, by real love for youth work
we can educate our young comrades and socialist for our large
win goals. Here the youth was called the sacred treasure of our party! This is
correct. We need our youth as our own eyeball beware! We need the
bring political life of our youth organization to higher development. To all
crucial work of our Party, the young element must be reinforced.
Comrade Lenin in 1905 wrote in his letter to Bogdanov:
"We need young forces ... There is an enormous amount of people, you just have more liberal and
bold, broad-minded and broad-minded and again advertise again bolder among the youth,
without fear. It's wartime. The youth is the outcome of the whole campaign
decide. Let the old habits of slowness, of respect for the judicial officer.
Founds from the Youth hundreds circle ... and encourages them to work with all our strength. "
"One must" - as Lenin wrote further - "an unbelievable speed all people with revolutionary
Unite initiative and set in motion. Do not be afraid of their unpreparedness, trembles
not because of their inexperience and immaturity ... Either all new, young, fresh, energetic
Fighting organizations for our work, of all forms, of all kinds and in all layers, or their
will perish ... "
So, comrades: No anxiety, attracts youth zoom to revolutionary practice. The
Party work can only be promoted if fresh, young blood in the veins of our party
is pumped.
Comrade Florin in his Accompanying paper about the problems of socialist construction in the
USSR referenced. Comrade Florin has rightly said that it is necessary in the
Agitation and the difficulties reveal the growing pains.
He has demonstrated in an in-depth analysis of socialist construction, one of which
eminent revolutionary factor the successes at the front of socialist construction
simultaneously also for the class struggle of the international proletariat.

Revolutionary struggle Greetings our Russian comrades

We send from this conference from our Russian comrades hot revolutionary
Greetings struggle and explain here: We're in the fight of our Bolshevik
Brother party against the counter-revolutionary group Njutin and their accomplices, the
Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc., Russian with our Russian brother and party at the
Workers and peasants in irreconcilable struggle against all the enemies of Soviet power.
The 12th plenary meeting of the German party asked the task of mobilizing all forces to
Preventing the further development of the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow the
Fascism. The bourgeoisie is of great anxiety met before revolutionizing
Masses. We have the most brutal terror for the immediate future and beyond, a

further increase of fascist violence by the bourgeoisie against the proletarian,
particularly to expect against our party.

Take up the decisions in the cells and to the masses!

We need therefore to all forms our agitation closely with the rest of the work
connect understand an eventual ban to the lowest members of our party
to be prepared. The decisions of the 12th Plenary and our caucus must in all
Cells and are studied and evaluated among the broad masses of the proletariat.
In the upcoming elections, we must boldly as the winners of the future our banner
raise. We have to act as the organizers of the masses in the struggle for political
Makes. We must succeed, to those already on July 31, conquered 6 November masses
new sections of the proletariat and the laboring population under our Freedom Flag
to collect.
We must never lose the goal of our struggle from the eyes. The 12th plenary us
shown his way to it is to rigorously pursue. We need to attack will
and increase the power of the proletariat and the large corps of the working class to the
Struggle for political power zoom lead. This can only happen through the development
the forms of mass resistance.
Go boldly to work! Fill each his duty in Bolshevik self-sacrifice!
The bourgeoisie must fall, and we have to be the winner!

As published brochure
of the German Communist Party

Communists to power!

*Thalmann battle cry against capitalism and the Versailles diktat robbery*

After the two big rallies of the leader of the KPD, comrade Ernst Thalmann, in Essen and Dortmund,
involving a total of 65,000 working men and women took part, collected the Thälmann rally on
Thursday was held in Dusseldorf, not less than 60,000 laborers, which are suitable for in flaming enthusiasm KPD known.

In half an hour's train streamed not less than 130 operating missions to the giant machine hall, at the Top representatives of numerous factories where the notverordnete wage cuts led by the RGO has been victoriously fought down the cable plant workers from Reinshagen-Rohndorf, the shoe workers Cleve, the Gußstahlproleten of Dittmann AG, the fabric of the Lower Rhine, who were on strike for weeks standing Metalworkers of Schwelmer ironworks and Düsseldorf sugar factory, etc. As 300 uniformed tramway workers in the hall dressed when the small farmers marched with their flags Sense, as Delegations of Christian and Social Democratic trade unionists entered the huge hall, still burning another storm to thunderous applause.

We are fighting on two fronts!

Comrade Thalmann, greeted by several minutes of roaring applause and "Rot Front!" Recalls the introduction to the great revolutionary traditions of the Lower Rhine proletariat, together with the Ruhr proletariat 1919 was in the forefront in the struggle for the nationalization of enterprises and the Kapp Putsch. After the general strike in the Kapp Putsch the armed workers blew up in bold attack armed Noske-Freiikorps apart. The victorious battles against the Freikorps Lichtschlag and Schulz in Dusseldorf, the concentric attack the Hagen and Wuppertal worker at Remscheid and Destruction of Freikorps Lutzow were acts that never in the history of revolutionary Workers' movement in the Lower Rhine can be extinguished.

Comrade Thalmann recalled against the heroic struggles of the low- and middle Rhine proletariat the uprising of the bribed by France Rhenish separatists who were trying with the support of Center leaders to build a France devoted vassal am Rhein.

With great revolutionary pride today stated nor the Communist International that low- and Middle Rhine workers and peasants this plan of French imperialism by revolutionary Combat actions undid. Comrade Thalmann noted:

Here am Rhein we Communists nine years ago the revolutionary struggle conducted on two fronts: against the exploiters and traitors in their own country, as against the foreign oppressors. And in this struggle was our Communist Youth, Side by side with the French Young Communists, in the forefront.

Revolutionary internationalism against Versailles

Comrade Thalmann went to the announced in Essen and Dortmund manifesto of German and French Communists and the applications in the coming Reichstag and in the French Chamber whose reading sparked enthusiastic applause.

Our German Reichstag resolution provides that the billion spending on the Army, be for the police, for the prince and so completely removed and that the funds the Unemployed, the working youth, the social pensioners, war-disabled, farmers, Settlers, farmers and the impoverished urban middle class, for children feeding and Learning material for children of the working parents are provided.

For the Social Democratic workers, it is necessary to some historical facts about remember. Yet on October 30, 1918 declared Scheidemann in Essen on behalf of the SPD: the Workers must never carry out the revolution. You should never the emperor chase, but must endure until victory. He recommended you workers So, you continue to tear the genocides so Wilhelm II. was to remain in power. The is the party that three days after the current general election the botched wants to celebrate "November Revolution" - when they still found the courage.

A second historical fact is: 1920, the workers on the Rhine and Ruhr verübergend the power in their hands. She wanted the Soviet Republic, the victory of socialism.

Since Severing came and beat them by the Bielefeld Agreement the weapons from the Hand. Then the arrival of the white soldiers and the massacre was followed by the
Ruhr workers.
When Ruhr French troops in 1923 the SPD ended with fascism
and nationalism an alliance and issued common chauvinistic views. And
after July 20 of this year demonstrated the Severing, Grzesinski & Co. again their
close association with fascism and counter-revolution. Before the State Court
Severing declared that he was ready to form an alliance with Papen and Bracht well, and that
he merely held the lieutenant with ten men the "observance of the legal path" through
Papen had expected.

Will you force your conscious!

We have in recent weeks in Germany, and particularly in the Lower Rhine, powerful
Economic struggles experienced at the same time a higher stage of the revolutionary movement
signal. We speak to our orders of "the end of the capitalist
Stabilization". This means that we are approaching the end of social reforms. in the
fastest speed and the most draconian means all the social
Achievements that you have fought for you, successively degraded. We Communists
have called therefore together with the RGO for united front action.
It is of utmost importance that we did here in the Lower Rhine region together
with the working youth and the staff went out fighting, they ensure the
expressed to her knees and forced them to withdraw the reward robbery. We look for
the first time an enhanced broad activity of the workers in the factories. The proles
be back to her strength and power conscious!
We can do more if you still bolder, more daring over the heads of
Bureaucracy away leads your battles!

Scabs Severing insulted the unemployed

Comrade Thalmann then goes to the speech Severing in the Dortmund Westfalenhalle, in this be
rose the honorary title of a brakeman and explained: When a general strike would 6 million unemployed in the
vacant posts engage and make the general strike illusory.

Severing dares so to you berate the unemployed as strikebreakers. It is one
Buseness million unemployed to abuse than Dolchstoßler. The arrow, the
Severing shoots against the unemployed, it does not apply, but Severing himself because he
the scabs policy has practiced most fiercely.

A Front: Leipart - Stegerwald - Strasser

The working class, particularly the union colleagues have with the greatest
Attention guided behind the scenes negotiations between the Leipart
ADGB and Strasser from the Nazi party through the intermediary of Stegerwald Watch. Here
a united front of leaders of fascism and social fascism forms for
Toleration of certain measures of the Papen Cabinet and the fascist dictatorship
ever.
has Leipart in the Union School in Bernau a speech that is not only a
Punching is the face of millions of working people and Freigewerkschaftler but the

represents attempt completely extradite unions fascism. What Leipart
said?
1. The unions are national.
As far as I know the class-conscious workers in the trade unions, it is the pride of every
Trade unionist, to profess to proletarian internationalism.

2. Leipart says: Unions are neutral. This means that they are not as before only the SPD, but in the future also the NSDAP should be subordinated. Leipart also has open for the imperialist German Upgrade plans used, and his speech was welcomed by the Minister Schleicher warm. This is the same path that the reformist trade union leaders of Italy, and d'Aragona Co., brutally trodden, as they march after Mussolini in Rome the free Unions Mussolini surrendered.

Hitler, the second Daubmann has lied million

To a devastating reckoning with the Nazi Party itself Thalmann discussion of the designed Politics of the NSDAP, as he went down particularly on the Düsseldorf Industry Club Conference and the demagogy the Nazi leaders unmasked. The Economic Adviser of Hitler, Walter Funk had explains: "We will set the lowest wages and smash the Marxist system of wage rates."

We say at this point: Hitler has not only betrayed his followers, but he also has capitalism demonstrated a new barbarian ways by which methods and measures suppressed deceit millions of people anew and intensified exploitation can be. Hitler is a tribute performance and does not fight against Versailles. Hitler promised the toiling voters the Revolution! In reality he kuhhandelt to Ministerial posts. He is just such a miserable coalition politicians, ministers and Post Schacherer Mangers hunters like the leaders of the SPD and the Centre. The Hitlerite party is a "System Party". The NSDAP is a follower of the toll policy and capitalist Bondage and has revealed as a tool of the dictatorship of finance capital. Today, hundreds of thousands of SMEs, officials, SA and SS men disappointed.

We know that socialism is not a gift that falls without a fight into our lap. He must in self-sacrificing struggle of the proletarian class, in alliance with the impoverished Middle class and poor peasants, to be fought against the propertied class. Only like that we are the freedom pave a lane and open the way to socialism can. Only in daily guerrilla warfare to each piece of bread to every penny wage we develop our forces, we gather our experiences, we gather in tough, patient work the still standing in the camp of the SPD, the center and the Nazis toilers for the Freedom struggle.

Look to the Soviet Union!

There is the land there are forests and natural resources, factories and Transportation and banks owned by the workers and peasants. Our Socialism means Expropriating owners. Our socialism means that the exploitation of man picked up by other people and for the workers and poor peasants full freedom
If the workers' power ruled, the word "dole" is to only in dictionaries be found. If the workers' power ruled, can not smallholders and farmers is more harvest pledge from the tap. We communists want from Germany, including the Rhine-Westphalian industrial area a free socialist Germany make. It's our will and way to socialism. Therefore, fight with us in our proud freedom armies under the red banner of proletarian internationalism! Kneel down to our program by voting for the list 3 on November 6! Wear our slogans into the farms, stamp offices and villages! Creates such Front that will make true the last sentence of the "International", which is called:

"... *The loafers brushing aside!*  
*This world must be ours!*"

*The Red flag,*  
10/30/1932
Down with Versailles!

On Monday, 31 October 1932 took place in Paris a large mass meeting of the Communist Party held on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. No sooner had the rally opened when the leader the German Communist Party, Ernst Thalmann, appeared to the front of the Paris workers on Issues of joint Franco-German fraternization action in the struggle against imperialist Threat of war, against the Versailles system and against the nationalist propaganda of the bourgeoisie of both countries to speak. Comrade Ernst Thalmann, of the Paris workers with stormy, several minutes of applause welcomes, made the following points:

Ernst Thalmann speech before the workers of Paris

Comrades!
I convey to you - those who are gathered here and beyond the whole revolutionary workers of Paris and France - the hot, fraternal, Greetings revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat and its revolutionary Vanguard, the Communist Party of Germany!
Comrades, these few words here in Paris, in the French capital, where the Gendarme of the Versailles system in Europe, French imperialism, its State power has centralized the purpose to raise flaming indictment have on behalf of millions of workers and peasants of Germany against the accursed Versailles system, against predatory Treaty of Versailles.
We indict the II. International, against the social democracy as the great Accomplices in the adoption and recent implementation of Versailles Schandvertrages! The Social Democratic leaders Hermann Müller and Vandervelde In addition to the imperialists of capitalist governments put their signatures to the humiliating and degrading Versailles Treaty set.
Comrades, my brief remarks serve the large international task here in lay the city of Jean Jaures, testimony to the proletarian internationalism, for the steadfast solidarity and the close, fraternal, comradely solidarity the French and German workers in their common struggle against the capitalist exploiters in their own country, against the German and French Bourgeoisie, for workers' power and socialism!
Comrades, I'm here to Paris, come to here from the city of municipality 1871 this luminous Fanals the revolutionary workers' movement, to press charges against the capitalist governments of our two countries, the Papen government Schleicher in Germany and the Herriot government in France. Against the nationalist warmongering against the military buildup, against imperialist Policy of war preparations, as the German and French bourgeoisie operate, we Communists in Germany and France are in the sign of proletarian internationalism under the banner of the Communist International teamed up to our international action in the fight against the imperialist War, against chauvinism and militarism and against the Versailles system perform.
A few days ago on behalf of the Central Committee of the KPD, the common Proclamation of our two parties, the German and French Communists in Ruhr, the land of the Poincaré occupation of 1923, the public in Germany passed. Today, here in Paris, I will jointly earned the Fighters and comrades Thores and Marcel Cachin, jointly with you, the Do revolutionary workers of Paris a further step to the masses of Working people in Germany and France to mobilize for our international action.
Just remembering the days of the Paris Commune have any proletarians in the spirit of 
strengthen class solidarity and class struggle against the enemy in their own country. 
Back when the heroic Communards here in the streets of Paris against the 
challenged Versailles troops of the counterrevolution, closed the French bourgeoisie her 
Alliance with Bismarck and the Prussian occupation troops to the revolutionary 
to stifle movement in Paris easily in the blood. The ruling class in both 
Countries included martial alliance - a few weeks after the war - against 
Insurgent proletariat. With flaming enthusiasm that time Marx Paris 
Commune as the first historical example of the dictatorship of the proletariat in. 
At that time there were also the pioneers of the German working class, and August Bebel 
Wilhelm Liebknecht, the intrepid and bold under the German workers 
Banner of proletarian solidarity with the Paris Commune unfurled. 
Today there are between the bourgeoisie of Germany and France violent contrasts. 
German imperialism demands equality, fighting for the right to equal 
Armor as the victors of last World War, sought the lost 
regain imperialist privileges. French imperialism insists on the 
created by the Versailles system dominance throughout Europe, insists on the 
Conditions of the Versailles Treaty, to push Germany to the ground, and unfolds 
its vast military preparations, his monstrous upgrade to with 
military superiority to break any resistance. The fascist Pilsudski Government 
in Poland tightened in the league with the French 
Occupation intentions towards Danzig, Memel and so on. 
On both sides of the border tried the bourgeoisie pretend the crowds that 
the enemy of the worker is not the capitalist class in their own country with their support and 
Agents, but the working people beyond the border posts was. We Communists tell you 
French workers and working masses: your suffering companion in Germany, 
the local workers and farmers is not your enemy, but your natural 
Aliy! We also tell the German workers that the French workers 
and laborers never her enemy, but her class mate and comrade! 
Nothing, nothing connects us, the representatives of the working class of Germany, with the German 
Bourgeoisie, with the German capitalists. The German capitalists oppress us. 
Take the masses what they can accept them. Contact the intolerable 
Methods brutal dictatorship against the masses. Try the people the last 
political rights, every trace of freedom, even the smallest social achievement to 
rob. The German capitalists are our sworn enemies! 
Everything unites us, the representatives of the working class in Germany, with you, the workers, 
the working people, the exploited masses of the French people. 
Only together can we - you with us and we with you - the barbaric capitalist 
System and the brutal class rule wrestle. 
Only together can we, joined by proletarian internationalism, by 
the victory over the capitalists, by the successful struggle for the social liberation of 
Workers also fight for national liberation from the yoke of Versailles. 
Only together can we successfully battling the preparation of a new 
imperialist war and carry through the victory of the working class, the scourge of 
accept imperialist war of the masses! 

The Versailles system must fall!

The working masses of Germany groan under the twofold plundering by the 
German bourgeoisie and the imperialist victors of Versailles. millions of 
Germans by the Versailles Treaty under the domination of the French
Imperialism and its client states advised or they languish in the chains of Italian fascism, as the hundreds of thousands of German in South Tyrol. You all the whole Austrian working people, and not least the population of Alsace-Lorraine want we Communists the full and unrestricted fight self-determination for their social and national liberation. Here in Paris we want - jointly French and German Communists - the requirement Pronounce that the working people, the people of Alsace-Lorraine, their own destiny to determine by law the separation from France!

We Communists can make such a demand quite rightly, because we defend the legacy of Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, the old socialist Champion in Germany, the legacy of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who in the Years before the war always against the then suppression of Alsace-Lorraine People by German imperialism, by Wilhelmine Germany, protested and fought.

Our fight, our international action against the Versailles system, does not have the least to do with the imperialist claims and the nationalist propaganda the German bourgeoisie and the Nazis.

We do not want to restore the imperial power in Germany. On the contrary! We carry the hottest and most merciless struggle against the imperialist and militaristic aspirations of the German bourgeoisie. But we want - as we the want to eliminate social bondage of the working people by the capitalist profit system - While battered and cancel the national oppression of Versailles.

Together we break the chains

Therefore, French comrades, I want, on behalf of the revolutionary German workers and working people, here in Paris, at the headquarters of the present imperialist government of French bourgeoisie, say again what we already Communists have repeatedly solemnly pronounced presence of all peoples and all governments of the earth: We as the next winner in the struggle of the classes are never the imperialist recognize contracts other the German bourgeoisie with the French or Capitalists and imperialists completed. Together with you, with the workers and working people of France and the world, we will, at our seizure the Versailles Treaty, the predatory Young Plan and the Pact of Lausanne null and annulled. This is the great historical meaning of our joint application in Parliaments of France and Germany for the annullment of the Versailles Treaty.

We are under no illusions that the bourgeoisie the Versailles system will liquidate. This is excluded.

We know that only the victory of the working class, in alliance with the other working people, This end of the Versailles system simultaneously with the end of capitalist exploitation can bring.

But we want to inspire the masses for this goal. We want to show the masses, what is at stake, what they have to fight.

The German workers, to the German bourgeoisie in its nationalist propaganda tried blinded, start today slow to recognize that the chauvinism not can bring relief from the Versailles oppression. The masses begin to understand that the policy of the bourgeoisie bringing only more bondage for them. We have in Germany a huge nationalist movement, the Hitler movement. We have a so-called national concentration government, a right-wing government. But the lack of freedom, the oppressive chains of the Versailles system are not easily but become heavier.

If the German bourgeoisie fights for upgrade, so we say to the Communists
Masses: weapons in the hands of the ruling class are weapons against the toiling people!
We fight wholeheartedly for in Germany as in France, that the vast
Billion amounts and the bourgeoisie for their military purposes, for the army, navy
the state repressive apparatus outputs, not these anti-popular purposes,
but to the needs of the poorest of the poor benefit.

_The billions for the German Reichswehr from the tax dollars of working people who_
_Billion for the French army should we desire for war victims, for the_
_Unemployment, and for retirees, for poor farmers, settlers, farmers, fishermen_
_SMEs are used to alleviate their distress! So we fight communists in_
_Germany as in France for the day interests of the masses and at the same time for their_
socialist future. Because one can not be separated from the other._

Today you celebrate the 15th anniversary of Soviet power! Now Where the Soviets rule, there
no crisis, no unemployment, no decline, but rise, though often
under difficulties and great sacrifices. There in the Land of the Soviets there is no national
Oppression! There is no system of Versailles! There, the old czarist debt
torn and slave contracts and void! There prevail freedom and real
Socialism! There exists the real democracy, proletarian democracy, the only
by the rule of the working class, based on an alliance with the working peasants
has been fought under the banner of socialism!
Comrades, we Communists are German outposts in the cause of
World proletariat against fascism! Our struggle against the fascist dictatorship
also your struggle!
The solidary alliance that we face as communists our international action
imperialist war and the Versailles system have forged solid than ever, means
you French comrades, at the same time a great historical responsibility. If the
German working class will emerge as the winner of the class struggle, is the
French imperialism against a German Workers' and Peasants Republic
the thought of the bloody imperialist intervention deal. Then it's your thing,
such intervention plans of our common enemies to put a stop to.

With heroic courage German and French Communists fought already during
Ruhr war in 1923 under the banner of proletarian internationalism together against
Poincaré and French imperialism and against then Chancellor Cuno and
the German bourgeoisie.

Let us for the present and future, in view of again stronger than ever
growing danger of imperialist war, to which the imperialists
France and Germany to prepare, always the great word of Karl Liebknecht
keep in mind:

"The enemy is at home!"

Marx and Engels called the "Communist Manifesto" from: "Workers of the world,
unite! "And from here is in this historic hour of the call by
Germany and France go:
"Workers of Germany and France, unite!"

_Included in the brochure "Paris-Berlin"
published by the KPD,
Berlin 1932_
Internationalism fact

Thalmann campaign speech at the Berlin Sports Palace after his return from Paris
on November 1, 1932

Comrades, laboring women, laboring youth!
On behalf of the great revolutionary mass rally of the Parisian proletariat in the name
the revolutionary working class of France, on behalf of its leader, the PCF about bring,
I hereby you the most revolutionary struggle greetings.
The appearance of a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Paris, in the land of
French imperialism, in that city, in which close the Versailles
brewed Schanddokument, and the answers of the leader of the Communist Party
France, Comrade Maurice Thores, and the venerable old comrades
Cachin to the remarks of the representative of the German revolutionary workers
have a formidable international and historical significance.
The contrasts between the German and French imperialism pointed down on
sharpest to. For years, the chauvinistic wave in Germany has grown. With
insidious subtlety it has understood the bourgeoisie, masses of
Working people from the struggle against the decaying capitalist system, this root of
Mass poverty, the fight against the "external enemy" divert. the German
Workers were persuaded that not the German capitalists were their enemies, but
French fellow who oppressed proletarians and poor peasants.
The French class comrades spoke the local bourgeoisie, the German
Working people have to blame for her by war, war devastation and crisis
inflicted misery. But who the Paris working people, the poor peasants of France
we clearly said they would not benefit from the Treaty of Versailles, but only the French
Capitalists only international finance capital.
At present, where the nationalist propaganda of the imperialists in France and Germany
undergoes a new monstrous increase where the scams disarmament conferences
always apparent is where in both countries on both sides of the borders
Militarism increasingly rears its head, we currently have with great pride to the
huge international significant fact of turning our French Communists
just as we German Communists from the first day against the predatory Versailles
Dictation, have fought against the Dawes and Young Plan.
The Paris mass rally the revolutionary proletariat against the Versailles
Schanddokument demonstrated to the world proletariat the fraternal struggle Community
unbreakable solidarity between the French and German workers, they
shows our tremendous strength, there, together combative occur in Paris, whither
the Nazis have never before ventured.

Answer to the SPD

The wave of our international combat action going on Germany and France. And
because it dares the Social Democrats, with the utmost meanness and baseness of us
"Chauvinism" and "National Bolshevism" to accuse! Our answer is:
We are even bolder, more courageous our fighting comrades in France
the frontier posts across in fraternal solidarity to fight against the alliance
War criminals and their accomplices shake hands.
We can say the war criminals of the II. International also that after this
joint international action in the immediate future new international
will follow combat actions against the Versailles crime.
We agree with the French working people, and that came in the giant Mass rally in Paris to express that the final struggle against Versailles not is decided at international conferences as the Social Democratic leaders and also the Nazis pretend the masses. We declare: Only the Mass struggle, only the revolutionary international action, only the victorious struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Germany is from the Versailles Treaty robbery a rag Paper making!

The war billion the hungry!

Nevertheless, the applications, are we in the German Reichstag and the French Chamber submit together against Versailles, of the utmost importance! We demand and fight outside parliament to ensure that the billions that the for the Army, the policeman, Militarisation of Youth will be distributed by the war cripples, of the millions People who are now unemployed and for many years been in vain for bread and Employment call, be given.

Our entire heroic past, our revolutionary history, the entire Life of our party is inextricably linked to the struggle against the Versailles Pact tribute. Stronger than ever, we charge just today our proud red flags for the struggle against the Bourgeoisie in its own country and against their accomplices, because the risk of imperialist war is particularly large because the living conditions of the proletariat, the wage, the support, the life rights of the proletariat and the laboring Middle class and the poor peasants are threatened to the utmost. We drove our struggle against national servitude as a struggle for social Liberation of the working masses. As honest, courageous, brave internationalists when Internationalists fact we storm under the proud banner of the Communist International forward.

We have not in vain our proclamation against Versailles, which was signed by the KPD, the PCF and our Communist youth organizations, as well as the Communist Party of Alsace-Lorraine, in the two huge rallies of Ruhr adopted. There is historic ground. There the proletariat has in 1920 fought the Kappists and for the great idea of socialism and for the mean that drives Republic led a heroic struggle. There already was in 1923 our international banner raised to the joint struggle against the bourgeoisie in their own Land and against French imperialism. There in the Rhine and Ruhr has our revolutionary youth courageously fought against the separatist mercenaries. Our present struggle against Versailles is a struggle to earn a living, a struggle for Freedom, a struggle for socialism!

Today's struggle against Versailles is a struggle for the nine million people who as unemployed are on the streets, starving in their burrows, a struggle that these to bring millions of work and bread. Our fight against Versailles is deployed in the Towns and villages on a higher basis, with other, larger perspectives. Comrade Manuilsky said at the 12th Plenum of the ECCI, inter alia, that in addition to the Soviet Union Germany is the country that most worries the imperialists that Germany in Europe the main fire the intensification of imperialist conflicts is. The German bourgeoisie already recognizes the growing danger of the German revolution and trembles before its onset. And in these, loaded with so strong explosive situation we raise the storm banner of proletarian internationalism, transform our common front in all capitalist countries, both in the creditor countries as well in the oppressed countries. We attribute this to our struggle against fascism, against the imperialist war, against hunger, for freedom and for socialism!
Precisely why we hate the propertied class so because they know that our fight against Versailles, is our struggle against imperialist war danger inextricably linked the question of the German revolution.
Brest-Litovsk would in 1918 never by the revolutionary working class of Russia, together with the oppressed peasants, become paper to shreds, would not proletarian power the imperialist "peace treaties" null and void.

Worst chauvinism of the SPD

Social democracy has in the few days since the announcement of the anti-Versailles-Proclamations of the KPD and PCF deployed a stupid and vile propaganda against us. They told us as traitors. People who to the principles of Marx and Engels' long on have thrown heaps, have no right to be indignant if we in a campaign run interests of our great teachers who taught us that the struggle for the liberation the nation to the constitution of the nation is intimately linked to and Presupposes the elimination of the exploiting bourgeois rule.
The Social Democrats, now all forms of further development of the fascist Dictatorship supports, has no right to Versailles and to our international Freedom struggle aufzuspielen. from The Hermann Müller from Germany that Vandervelde Belgium, these celebrities of the II. International have Schanddokument of Versailles signed.
Social democracy it was that in 1919, under the leadership of Noske a bloody fight unfolded against the proletariat who had shot down the workers and the mass struggle the revolutionary army of liberation against their own bourgeoisie and the Versailles system in Blood suffocated.
The Social Democrats made it to 13 years, that the German working masses not only by one's own bourgeoisie, but also from the international financial capital were plundered. Now, if you, workers and poor peasants, today your battle flag rises, yells the rabble of "betrayal" and accuses you of chauvinism!
The ADGB leader Grassmann, who spoke in Munich two days before me, said: "The KPD is not a German party.". Well, comrades, is not that worst chauvinism, is the not worst nationalism ?! Should not a sign of the German bourgeoisie be to ban in view of our anti-Versailles-action our Party?

SPD for Versailles!
The Social Democrat Savelsberg declared on the occasion of the Ruhr invasion of French Troops in January 1923, "The blood runs through the veins back as 1914. Everything happened, it was forgotten. "
And the Reichstag deputy Schöpflin of the SPD said in 1927: "The SPD is proud in building the Reichswehr will be involved "- And Fritz Ebert explained at the time: "Together with our French and Belgian comrades we urge the Fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty, the production of military equality." but the battle cry of the French and German Communists against Versailles states:

"Long live the unbreakable solidarity of the working people of France with the revolutionary Freedom struggle of the German proletariat against all intervention plans of the French Imperialism! Long live international solidarity with the land of socialism, with the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace! Down with Versailles, down with the imperialist War!"

Here the fronts are clearly shown: worst case of social democracy
Chauvinism, advocacy of Versailles! Our price international fight against any kind of Repression, against the tribute disgrace!
We Communists have been under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg during prevented last world war that the international proletarian banner pulped and was trampled. A few days before hand again told the party leaders German social democracy, Herr Wels, in Kottbus: "We let us patriotism also by not surpass people who fatherland and patriotism constantly on the tongue have. We are always there when we need to defend the fatherland." That's meanest, dirtiest chauvinism! This is the grimace of 1914. - but I imagine at the same time the question:
Can that be a country, when in Germany a few capitalists million workers suppress and laborers, gag and exploit? Can that be a country if Thousands of technicians, engineers and other intellectuals unemployed with Million mass of proletarians are on the road?
As Social Democrats can work together with the fascists this capitalist country of Bondage and oppression called their country.
But we Communists know: millions still "Fatherland shakers" will be our Connect revolutionary struggle, our struggle for freedom, for a real and socialist fatherland, in which there will be neither tribute nor reproach exploitation!

Approaching end war thunder

A few days ago, the French Prime Minister Herriot has before the representatives of the French press explained with enthusiasm the capitalist Sold Schreiber when the Note war between Germany and France do not lead, and when the objectives Germany is not going to heel, would speak other weapons.
This is clearly too much. The proof of the willingness of the French military, on the new upgrade requirements under all circumstances with warlike actions reply. So the situation is thundery and very seriously! The Germans Chauvinists strengthen their kriegsprovokatorischen measures and increase the Aggressiveness of French imperialism.
For us it is still interesting that the Nazis in the interests of their mangers and policy for Concealing their dependence on financial capital, to deceive their million followers let the stupid chatter about our proclamation against Versailles launched. As we gave out 1930 our national and social liberation program, they said, we had stolen their slogans and slogans! Today they no longer speak so openly, but they speak of "political differences" in the leadership of the KPD, of which the wool KPD distracted by their anti-Versailles-action!
The proletarian SA and SS men, we want to say is that already in 1919 our revolutionary freedom army against Versailles was on the field, when there were no National Socialist Party was. Our teacher Lenin already in May Day of Comintern the First World Congress in 1919 said:

"The first and most important lesson for the destruction of the Versailles Treaty is to win the battle of Victory of the proletarian dictatorship in all capitalist countries."

Clear and unambiguous so was the opinion of the Communist International Versailles. But I want to point out the following: As Wilson in 1918 his famous 14 points formulated, as the Social Democrats and the II. International in most incredible way illusions of impending era of "glory and the Freedom "spread, Lenin sent in the same year already an open letter to the American workers, in which he set out the position of the Bolsheviks on the
Liquidation of the war.
Lenin wrote on August 20, 1918

"When in October 1917 the workers of Russia had overthrown their imperialist government, suggested the Soviet government, that is the government of the revolutionary workers and peasants, open a just peace without annexations or indemnities ago, a peace which to complete should be based equality. With this offer of peace, the Soviet Union turned to all belligerent countries."

So Lenin wrote literally in his letter. In the same letter to the workers of America could Lenin already triumphant over the method adopted by the Bolsheviks way of revolutionary termination of the imperialist war report. Lenin wrote:

"We are outside the imperialist commitments, we deploy to the whole world the Banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism."

No wonder, then, that French imperialism from the first day of the Versailles of wrestling an ally for his freedom "peace" from the Soviet Union toiling German people saw. The NSDAP starts in recent times to influence to lose. We, the sole and real opponents of Versailles, penetrate with our revolutionary idea of freedom one already in the ranks of the supporters of the NSDAP. The Hitler's party political arguments are becoming weaker, because their dependence by finance capital, of the Papen government, the entire state machinery always becomes clearer and because it in turn is no longer able largest demagogy recent trailer masses to deceive the same extent as in the past. The rebellious SA and SS men we call our historic struggle against the blood dictation of Versailles in memory! We call them: If you still your guns on your revolutionary brothers and sisters, to the real fighters against Versailles, on our proletarian army of liberation depends, if you to command your fascist leader the honest fighter strikes down for socialism, we say: The Hour will come, where you realize that you were lied to and cheated by your leaders that you hath abused to countrymen and tribute servants.

But we also tell you: We are fearless and courageous our international continue fight for freedom against the shame of Versailles with the greatest audacity. We tear the Nazi leaders the mask from his face, entering the German imperialist rearmament demands for the suppression of the proletarian youth by compulsory labor service, which by unleashing chauvinist passions want to divert millions of its followers from the struggle against the capitalist oppressors in their own country, against the German financial magnates. The Nazi leaders agree to fulfill the tribute burdens for the payment of Private debt, for the removal of pressure from the annual 1.8 billion from a thousand Wounds bleeding body of the working German people.

When the Nazi press for the removal of Comrade Neumann from our Party leadership of chatters, this measure means an altered course of the party and a weakening of our struggle against Versailles, so we can the Nazis report: Conversely, the situation.

The large, unbreakable unit and the firm determination of our Party, of the Guide to the lowest party organization, demanded rightfully gain our mass struggle against Versailles, against the fascist dictatorship in Germany, an amplified wave of mass struggles against social distress! That's why we had with Comrade Neumann political differences. - The outcome of this confrontation but only shows our great political strength, the discipline of our Party; she shows,
that we even more strongly than before in the line of our national and social freedom struggle will march. But for the rest we forbid us that our class enemies in the Questions of our internal party affairs meddle.

**Historical significance of the Paris rally**

Comrades! Now still a lot to our trip to Paris:
We drove past tens of thousands of warriors graves from the time of Weltkriegsgemetzels of 1914/18. Especially yesterday, the day before the so-called Saints, we saw in the Catholic French regions thousands of People walking by the graves of the war dead, to where their wreaths resign. This fact gives me reason to the chauvinists and the accuse Social Democratic leaders. You have during the World War the German and French workers sons and family men in military uniform, the mass graves shoveled.
We communists want the proletarian youth who for the most part, the suffering and the has not experienced Not the last world war, we want the whole laboring youth Germany and France under the red banner of our international struggle collect! It is of utmost importance that the Young Communist Leagues France and Germany have also signed our manifesto against Versailles. Active youth at us! Only under our Soviet flags marched the Freedom Army against capitalism, fascism, hunger and imperialist war!

**Without a visa to Versailles**

The French Embassy had denied us the visa to enter France. We are still down and come to Paris. We overcome all difficulties to make our revolutionary class struggle in the way.
The German bourgeoisie refuses understandably also to give us a visa for the revolutionary way out of the crisis! But we say in this historic hour, we said in yesterday's rally in Paris:
We will support our struggle for freedom, for our road to socialism but our Visa force! We march stormy continue in the major international action, without the visa of the warmongers, without the visa of Papen-Schleicher and without a visa Herriot and Poincaré!

*We say the proletarian masses of both countries, we only need a visa, which is your faith, the strength and power of the broad masses of the working people.*

Three stages shows our mass struggle in Germany:
1. the development of the Anti-Fascist Action;
2. our united front action against the Papensche Notverordnungsdiktatur;
3. the development of our struggle against the Versailles diktat robbery at a higher level.
We want that our anti-Versailles campaign especially on the occasion of the tenth Anniversary of the occupation of the Ruhr (1923 - 1933) peaked.
We said yesterday in Paris, among other things: "Workers of Germany and France, unite!"
We add here today in Berlin added: Your Social Democratic, Christian, non-party Workers and their working masses, unite! Team up for common struggle! If we beat together our enemies, we will also together win!
On the orders of the German bourgeoisie the towns and villages in the last world war in Argonne Forest and shot up in Flanders. On the orders of the French Bourgeoisie were the German workers to bear the burdens of tribute slavery. And
the rulers of both countries has helped the Social Democracy!
We Communists tell you German and French workers: If we in the power
have hands, we are the exploiters Pack from the Vistula to the to the Danube, from
Spree of chasing up the Seine and up to the channel!
We are the German and French workers never fratricide
to today rush! We call upon the toiling youth on both sides of the borders
under our socialist flags!
We are in our two countries after the seizure of power the earth creative
develop forces of the proletariat and the poor peasants and side by side with the
Soviet Union begin socialist construction.
In this sense, we proclaim the deepest international solidarity between the
German and French revolutionary workers and poor peasants.

Fraternal greetings fight the French and Russian proletariat!

I think to act in your behalf, if I of this point from the French
Workers over the border posts across the most fraternal greetings struggle of Berlin
Proletariat transmit.
We send even from this point our brothers and sisters of the Soviet Union,
working under the leadership of the CPSU heroically at building socialism, to
15th anniversary of the victorious October Revolution our revolutionary struggle greetings.
On November 6, next Sunday already, find in Germany the Reichstag elections
instead of. We are convinced that new hundreds of thousands of working people to our
will encounter revolutionary freedom army. But we see with a clear head of
upcoming development contrary! If the bourgeoisie in boundless exuberance
"Great success" of the KPD prophesied on November 6, so has its special significance.
This exuberance, these exaggerated prophecies have only the purpose of the
Days after the election, so already on November 7, from a "defeat of the German Communist Party"., of the
"Not incurred but expected success of the KPD" chattering. We go to. 6
November triumphantly, but also sober contrary. We know what it means, a
new fighters to conquer for our communist army.
We also know that the working people, who already from the Nazi
Moving away, not by jumping off of the NSDAP
will make the Communist Party. But the overall development of our party is a
Winning run, an irresistible urge to press forward, yet in our rise even small
can alternate defeats with great victories.
November 6th is only a small portion of the revolutionary advance of
The proletariat under the leadership of the KPD. But we have higher duties, higher goals.
Nevertheless, we do not call, on November 6 by voter apathy of Papen dictatorship to
help, but in closed, revolutionary front the will to revolutionary
Struggle to make known by the choice of the Communist Party, by selecting the list
3!
Comrades! Recent events terminate ever sharper tensions
announce new class clashes also in Germany! Monster big are our
Tasks!
Next, their masses, with us, with the Communists! Marching in our red
Divisions!
We want the German Workers' and Peasants Republic! It is the corporate giants alone
Germany put back on track, will bring the feed wheels moving again, is
the unemployed unlock the factory gates again.

Only the German Workers and Peasants Republic is the shameful, humiliating and dishonorable dictates of Versailles and all other predatory treaties of the imperialists in a thousand Shreds tear!

We Communists stand beside you,
we fight for working class power,
for socialism! Fight even you with us!
We are ready to conquer with you!

*Included in the brochure "Paris-Berlin"
published by the KPD,
Berlin 1932*
The importance of the XII. Plenum for KJVD

*Speech of Comrade Thalmann at the plenary session of the Central Committee of KJVD*

*(14./15.11.1932)*

Youth comrades and youth comrades!
The revolutionary youth is at this stage of development for the
world communist movement of the utmost importance. In our present
Plenary are serious problems for discussion, so especially the decisions of the
XII. Plenum of the ECCI, the assessment of the present situation, the tasks of
Communist Youth League and finally a thorough opinion on the
intraparty problems in connection with the struggle of the whole party against the
party-damaging activity of the group Neumann-Müller.
The XII. Plenum of the ECCI has our entire world communist movement and also
the KJV demonstrated the general line of its policy. This general line it applies to the
German Youth League to concretize by positive practical suggestions and
Decisions. I am convinced that the German KJV is in the process of implementation of this
Decisions and to overcome its sectarian seclusion, as by
the policy of Comrade Neumann-Müller became so accomplished, Bolshevik
grow, strengthen his squad and an energetic and decisive step
go forward on the way to development of a wide Bolshevik mass policy
under the young proletariat and the other working youth masses.
The XII. Plenum of the ECCI speaks of the end of capitalist stabilization. in the
This context, we speak of an end of the social reforms that by
the decline of capitalism is conditioned. The facts of the profound
Youth impoverishment, the massive unemployment among the young proletariat, the
increasing efforts of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the toiling youth and
for obtaining the same, the fact of the impending electoral robbery, the threat
fascist constitutional reform and the growing aggressiveness of imperialism
Unleashing a new world war, imagine the Communist Youth League a
whole range of special and specific tasks that fixed it by moving to a
sound mass revolutionary politics need to be solved.
The capitalist crisis corrodes the foundations of the capitalist system. At the same
Time we see a great progress in the growth of socialism in the
Soviet Union. We provide a higher maturity of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in
all countries of the world finds itself at the same time carries out the development of the communist
Parties to a higher Bolshevik clarity, strength and Schlagkräftigkeit.

The revolutionary upsurge in Germany

We be stated particularly in Germany, where, and in recent weeks
Months the capitalist crisis by increase in unemployment, the unsuccessful
Papensche "boost" and the new wage robbery wave more acute
discloses an in pace more rapidly growing revolutionary upsurge and always
clearly nascent emergence of contrasts and contradictions in the camp of
Bourgeoisie.
We can not just clear and sharp enough the growth of our revolutionary
Entrepreneurship with redundancies so largely against the will of reformist trade union bureaucracy triggered. This shows the growing combat power and fighting capacity of the proletariat.

The BVG strike - biggest struggle of the proletariat Berlin

The Berlin transport workers' strike is the biggest struggle of the German Proletariat in 1932. He was thrown against the will of the reformist bureaucracy, against the will of the reformist coordinators, it was a strike against the bourgeois state violence against the fascist dictatorship regime, a strike under the leadership of the RGO. The strike has indeed failed to produce any tangible results, but he was a great moral victory for us. - If we were deeper into the working masses of other Berlin invaded large farms, our solidarity campaign would have a greater extent. The Berlin transport strike has clearly shown that the struggle of the bourgeoisie for the capitalist way out of the crisis more and more to a fight is about preserving the capitalist state power, as the crucial means of maintaining capitalist oppression. - The economic struggles beat today increasingly and faster and faster in political struggles. Today, almost all take economic fights already a political character. The larger the class and the pressure Class force of the proletariat, the more the resistance against attack and the proletariat grows, the sharper the civil power methods, the fascist terror against the rebelling masses million. - It has us succeed, with the growth of our revolutionary repartee. With the growth of our revolutionary fighting Offensive, such millions Front of adult workers to build and the young proletariat that the further development of the fascist dictatorship a much wider of granite dam is opposed. The elections of 6 November were already visible signs of revolutionary Upswing. Through our Antifascist Action, through our united front action, against our offensive against Versailles in connection with the fight Notverordnungsdiktatur and wage robbery, we reached a number of votes of 6 million. Without falling prey to integer arithmetic, we can already say that every Voice that has been done for us, and that above all the hundreds of thousands of Voices of the working youth of the KPD a much more thoughtful sympathy and Fight explanation for communism was when we recorded it earlier.

Clarity about the basic problems and basic tasks

We can from us XII. Plenum of the ECCI stated object, the masses Economic struggles, sub-actions and so introduce them to mass actions, to the Mass strikes, the political general strike and to the key positions of the Struggle for power zoom out, only meet when in the party and in Communist Youth League prevails the necessary basic, theoretical clarity
Learn from July 20

On July 20, we gave the slogan of the general strike against the fascist coup out. This slogan was absolutely right. But we were not strong enough in practice to bring the general strike to trigger. Overcoming our weaknesses in the Operation work and on the internal union front, the need for self revolutionary reacting to such events are important lessons that we from the have drawn July 20th. but July 20 also forces us, an energetic struggle to lead to certain, in individual members of our party still present and defeatist fatalistic moods. These sentiments are in KJV more present than in the party, nevertheless the working youth is animated by a revolutionary will to fight. Not least these dangerous tendencies in the Communist Youth League due the false and erroneous policies of the previous leadership of KJVD. If we look at the perspective of the development of fascism in Germany, we have to take, especially on the previous development of fascism in general. In Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia and in Spain had the development of the fascist Dictatorship in the period of relative stabilization of capitalism a different basis than Today fascism in Germany.

Development of fascism in Germany

Said fascist dictatorships developed in most countries after a Defeat of the proletariat, showing particularly the Italian example. The fascist Dictatorship in Germany unfolds today contrast with a growing revolutionary Upturn and under constant revolutionary rise of the working class. In the these countries still appeared in the establishment of a fascist dictatorship certain concentration of the forces of counterrevolution. - In Germany, we see serious in the unfolding of the fascist dictatorship and more expectant Decomposition phenomena in the camp of fascism, caused by the growing Class pressure of the proletariat by the capitalist crisis, by the decay of Monopoly capitalism. - All these facts are for the policy of the Communist Youth League is crucial.
The tenth and eleventh. Plenum of the ECCI have after the 6th World Congress of the questions outlined fascism especially clear and sharp and the development of fascism and Socialism Marxist analyzes. The XII. House has a number of other highly significant conclusions for practical tasks drawn.

SPD remains the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie

In Germany, it was found that after the period of capitalist stabilization Social Democracy more involved in the management and capitalist state apparatus was, now, with entry of the end of capitalist stabilization in tightening the capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie will be more apparent to the fascist Elements, based on the support of fascist terror and the Social Democrats in increasing extent from the administrative and state positions displaced.
This development does not mean, however, that the character of social democracy as the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie has changed something fundamental. On the contrary, the further development of the fascist dictatorship is taking place and a higher phase the fascist takeover of German social democracy. Just as the bourgeoisie tightening their methods of rule makes to the revolutionary power of the proletariat and the SPD to suppress working youth and to smash, so must as a party that

the capitalist system supports and defends a more intensified development make a higher phase of social fascism.

The 1st of May 1929 already a visible turning point in the policy of the Social Democracy. The abysmal scabbing betrayal of the SPD on the occasion of the Berlin transport workers' strike in November 1932 is another, lying in the same line of July 20, decisive turning point as to a higher phase of fascist SPD policy.

The social fascism is the moderate wing of fascism, and Comrade Stalin said once rightly said that fascism and social fascism twin brothers were. But equally, as not always see natural twins similarly, as exists between Fascism and social fascism absolute similarity. The structure of the Social Democracy, their base and their tactics are others, such as the National Socialists. We may therefore not in our tactics in the struggle against fascism and social fascism apply the same methods and struggle forms; we have different types Select struggle forms; especially the Communist Youth League must on the Areas clear shell out the differences to the masses from the enemy camp for to win us.

It is for the German KJV of the utmost importance and does not demonstrate a sufficient solid foundation of general political line of our Party in the youth association that after the rise of the Nazis in the spring, and that after the coup of 20 July Were present in Prussia in KJVD conceptions that social democracy was no longer the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. A proliferation of such views would have if the party and the CYI had not intervened, of course, a great deal of confusion in KJVD can cause.

If we determine that changed the social base of the SPD and detracts arises Of course for us the great task that increasingly migrating from the SPD and SAJ Masses for us to win in the struggle for the revolutionary way out. This is a great Task that, when met, we must not tolerate any ambiguity and loss of speed.

Smash the left maneuver

Our members have masses for great vigilance, the largest principal Resistance to the "left" maneuvers of social fascism ( "united front" - Proposal Loebes, speech Otto Bauer, etc.) are trained. We Communists are for Battling proletarian front, real for the united front from below, for Combat actions against capitalism and fascism, for wages and bread and freedom. But we are not for a unit on the paper, not a unity of Luges and Fraud. By creating facts in the production of a real united front Factory workers, the unemployed, employees, etc., we best smash Maneuver the SPD and SAJ-leader.

Antifascist mass politics of KJVD

For the Communist Youth League is particularly important tasks recovering the effluent from Nazism masses of young workers. We
can also then just the SAJ Youth and the young members of the SPD mass organizations, especially the youth sections of ADGB, win if we as the only antifascist factor among the masses of young workers leader in Publication occur. - Our Antifascist Action is not a solution of Past, but it has contemporary significance in daily revolutionary struggle. In such cases, for example, as in the Felseneck process, in the judgments of the special courts, such as furthermore the death sentence against the young workers Bartl, must boldly and resolutely Front

be erected the Antifascist Action. - We can in KJVD so approach more quickly and decisively to the solution of these combat duties, because the Eliminating major limiting factors, by the liquidation of the Neumann-Müller Group KJVD, the way was cleared for a comprehensive revolutionary Mass politics of KJVD.
We can mass politics again but then only operate if we just study life of working youth, exactly the moods of the young know Trailer masses of SVJ and the NSDAP and accordingly the right give solutions and provide the relevant problems.

I. Led by the party wins the toiling youth for communism

We have on the last realm caucus and at the plenary session of Central Committee of our party more acute the great importance of this huge emphasizes revolutionary youth policy to the whole party of the support adjust Youth League. Our struggle for the recovery of the working youth is an important part of the conquest of the majority of the working class. Party and Youth League must jointly tackle this huge problem. The squad of our youth organization must be clear about the magnitude of the problem in its full extent.
Statistical surveys have shown that young to 1910 about 10 to 12 million have grown up people, a generation, which is a post-war generation. These Generation has been through neither the war nor the revolution, or was this experienced events in childhood. This young generation is already uprooted economically, before it enters the life. This youth is in their majority from the classroom to Stempelstelle or from apprenticeship to stamp office. This fermenting radicalizing Youth investigated socialist objectives, studied revolutionary ideals, it is in the highest degree sensitive to the tremendous idea of our socialist struggle for freedom. We can this Youth generation not leave the demagogy of National Socialism!
But we must see that it is Nazism succeeded in a certain part absorb these youth. - We Communists have to contrive this , For communism to win youth masses for us and for the revolutionary to mobilize out of the crisis.
We need the fermenting and examined working youth socialist goals and ideals give us their must have a future that is only in the struggle for the revolutionary can win way.
We also have the best chance to develop mass discussions on the Marxism and Leninism, we can then use the "socialist" demagogy of Social Democracy and the NSDAP debunk. We win the toiling youth only daily struggle, through tireless legwork, through tenacious education about the Essence of fascism and social fascism and widest popularization of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, through the awakening of Kampfes- and
Defense will for our socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union.
In this struggle for the conquest of the majority of the young proletariat of KJVD side must at
Side with the party and led the latter to go to work! Only in this way we solve
the task of creating a youth cell at each party cell, the Communist
to anchor youth organization in the large companies and our youth positions in the
union organizations to consolidate.

United front policy, the chief form
to obtain the majority of the working youth

Much more seriously our youth organization has to carry out a real
United front policy approach. In the struggle against wage-robbery and for
Protection of minors, it is necessary to create real united front organs and
to choose youth stewards.
Why do we have so little youth committees of the unemployed? Why is our
Activities in the youth commissions of trade unions still so unsatisfactory?
Because in many layers of KJVD a sectarian attitude still exists because
in some layers of the petty-bourgeois and even KJVD Socialist
Views proliferate, and because of the need for development of mass actions
under the young proletariat still a big ambiguity.

In any Labor Service camp a cell of KJVD
We need to provide clarity in the Youth League, the necessity and importance of
Unleashing of partial struggles as main lever to take great mass struggles
get hold. Therefore it is more than ever in the compulsory labor service camps
such requirements to put, as: creation from Kitchen commissions,
Wage Commissions, young workers committees, ie by partial demands youth
mobilize. We need more in the camps, the issues of tariff wages,
social Freedom, of free Sunday and of the creation one
Stewards body roll. In any Labor Service camp of a cell must KJVD
to be founded.

Fight the political disenfranchisement of youth

Before Youth League is the great task, together with the party a
Mass campaign against the looming electoral robbery initiate! Almost 5½ million
Adolescents aged 20 to 25 years will deprive the right to vote the bourgeoisie! On
Army of 5½ million young working people want to disenfranchise and socially
degrade. Similarly, as, on the occasion of electoral demonstrations in prewar
must we be able to unleash a million fight, which is under our management
and the demagogy of the SPD and the NSDAP smashes. If the dictation of
Suffrage robbery in a coup, an emergency decree by means of Section 48,
or actually done by other fascist arbitrary act, then we have
the masses, especially the toiling youth, call for a general strike, - and this applies
to mobilize the vast masses of young people today. We need to
take this fight at all costs the lead and now already this
burning question among all layers of young workers roll.
Another crucial issue for the activities of our youth organization constitutes our revolutionary anti-war struggle. We shall in no case the pressure of the bourgeoisie give way to capture wider layers of youth with our solutions, deeper into the establishments and youth sections of ADGB, in close conjunction with the Daily tasks, roll up the problem of our anti-war struggle. We need both before pacifist derailment guard, as well as in front of a renunciation which in many Layers of SAJ directing existing antiwar sentiment in revolutionary paths. Right here we have the greatest ways to get at the SAJ members.

In vocational schools, it is, more to promote the election of student committees, kindle concrete combat actions against reactionary teachers and the material

Demands of vocational students. - For the apprentices we have our campaigns strengthen. Here it is important to mobilize our red works to the young workers to help. - Straight through close Community cooperation our adult Comrades with the youth comrades for the interests of apprentices, vocational schools and all Layers of young working people, it will also be possible for us, the parents of these young people enthusiasm for the broad support of the struggle of their children and so in our Battlefront involve.

Before today's plenary session of the Youth Central Committee as well as the question must be rolled up, which the KJVD taking to the young peasants who still Stahlhelm, Bund in Bismarck and are organized with the Nazis to win. What we do next to the young Farmers' sons who eke out a servant existence and be expelled early from Hof and plaice, for the revolutionary way to win? We have in the youth sections of Farm worker organizations go, and we have the young farmer sons our revolutionary slogans closer bring.

I want to ask another question before today's plenary, one question with which the KJVD has almost no still busy: This is revolutionary work among the Students. I ask you: Are these young students, who very often as a student the need to earn money to study tedious because readily in the front of the Nazis? Not at all! The socialism is the future, and also the young students we must win for us, for our struggle! Already have we are committed to their social concerns and it and in our struggle for social front national liberation classified.

An end to the neglect of work among the children

Our youth organization has activities under the workers' children, has the support our pioneering movement neglected. The problem of obtaining the Workers' children is a very serious! Party and Youth League must, together with the employ these issues. We must not with the naked presence settle a pioneer movement! We have channels and communication paths to all creating layers of the working children in order to develop our pioneering move wider. We have next to the party special mass organizations, we have next to KJVD Mass organizations; but why we do without such a transmission belt to the broad layers of the working children? Even the pioneer association has from its isolation put out. It is not acceptable that some pioneering director, the members of the group of pioneers to educate themselves off in pomposity and arrogance and perhaps the to disgusted Children of the Red Hawks groups and even the Hitler Youth and to swear. A lot of even more so must also the pioneer association, the question of the united front of all workers' children put. We must see that we are, in many cases on the path of recovery of the workers' children this latest generation of proletarian class struggle also among the adult.
Workers can promote the urge to prepare the proletarian united powerful.

Inviolable trust between Youth League and party

It applies both in the party and in the Youth League, where even a mutual
is a lack of understanding exists to eliminate this drawback, the Bolshevik principle
enforce the cooperation and the relationship between KJVD and KPD to
fixed to make unswerving trust.
Right now, the best opportunity of a Bolshevik cooperation: -
The Reichsbanner for example, has decided on the fascist Hindenburg
Trustees to participate to fascism and militarization of the working youth. Also

the union bureaucracy is openly advocating participation in this institution. The
SAJ leadership has decided against it, supposedly not the Hindenburg Trustees to
participate. The whole thing is a game with different roles and at the same time showing serious conflicts in
Camp of reformism, the one hand and due to the fascist takeover of the tips
on the other hand resulted primarily due to the growing mass pressure from below.
We must aggressively, the revolutionary spirit of anti-fascism and anti-militarism
worn, and the evaluation of these facts for obtaining the SAJ, Reichsbanner
ADGB young comrades approach.

Ideological ground offensive breaks Nazi influence among the working youth

One of the most serious and important problems of the youth organization admits it, on the occasion
the beginning and increasingly strong crumbling broad sections of the Nazi youth
of the NSDAP, to develop a broad ideological ground offensive, for obtaining
This fascism turning away young masses. I say, this task can be solved
a historically significant problem. Not only by proletarian valor, but in
this stage particularly by widest ideological mass struggle under our
Antifascist Action we have the influence of the Nazis among young workers
break.
The wrong solution, which defended Comrade Neumann for a long time, the slogan
"Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" Has especially our youth organization it
prevented an effective and successful policy of attracting mass of young Nazi
unfold trailers. Here it is important to eliminate the errors and make up for lost!
The bourgeoisie sees in the extent that the Hitler movement losing mass influence,
as the Nazi Party for special "responsibility" in the suppression broadest
Masses is taken by finance capital, growing in our
Million movement of anti-fascism and especially in the activities of the Communist
Youth League a growing danger. The bourgeoisie also fears that the
militarily trained young activists of National Socialism, the communism
encounter, the queue at the front of the revolutionary struggle, thus the largest
can be hazardous.
But we must examine what attracts many young people to the Nazi movement. We
see that Nazism these young working people the ideal of the "Third
Empire "conjured that he through sport," discipline "and feigned
Comradeship bound, and that Nazism a "fight against
Versailles pretended. We have made the working methods of our enemies serious teachings
pull.
We need a broad campaign for the revolutionary exercise our youth
unfold! Why we do not organize field exercises and Ausmärsche for our young
Membership? In the struggle against Versailles, against chauvinism and nationalism in
Struggle against the moods created by the Nazis and the SPD leadership we need
the martial energies of working youth in the tracks of the proletarian
steer internationalism.

Why do not tie in with the romantic-revolutionary sentiments of broad sections
of young workers? Why are we so dry and sober in our work? More
belongs vitality, more enthusiasm, more momentum, more movement, more passion
in our working methods! We need to create magnets to the proletarian youth
the KJVD zoom pull!

But just in the fight against Nazism and in the struggle against
chauvinistic and militaristic aspirations of SAJ- and Reichsbanner guide
we need much more the question of our struggle in class terms, class-conscious, Marxist

put. Without this class even, social issue in the workplace, to the
Unemployment offices, in the villages and among the staff is no way to
Creation of a genuinely revolutionary front yet.

Cheered by the deeds of the pioneers of proletarian internationalism, the youth

Nazism has also served an agent, his youthful
Trailer masses to inspire: this was the glorification of certain persons who are as
Heroes celebrated. I ask you: Why do not we celebrate our revolutionary hero? The
Nazis as their Leo Schlageter. Why do not we celebrate our
revolutionary heroes who have fallen in the struggle for freedom?
Why do not we celebrate our youth comrades Demaré and the other by the French
Imperialism during the Rhein-Ruhr occupation assassinated young proletarians? The role model
this young fighter who brave risked their lives for the cause of proletarian
Freedom struggle, these are facts that every young communists and the young proletarians
can inspire and inflame. Here is a big task for the Communist
Youth League. Here are also great choices available, the spirit of proletarian
Internationalism to anchor in the hearts and minds of our class fighters.

Our youth organization must among working youth masses much broader question of our
social and national freedom struggle roll. Do not you think that we, the young, the
entrain working people, when we tell them: No one other than communism
Germany from the shame of inner bondage and from the chains of Versailles
free system? Do not you think that we will inflame the toiling youth for
when we given the due to the Franco-German and German-Polish

Tensions growing danger of war are the chauvinist and nationalist
Incitement against throwing and call the youth to fight, the yoke of
shake off war criminals on both sides of the borders?
We Communists do not want this generation of youth is the for finance capital in
Barbed wire and bled to death in the gunfire. Only for a fight we want this
Youth win: for the liberation of the toiling humanity!

On the occasion of the ten-year anniversary of the occupation of the Ruhr in January 1933 will the KJVD
a major campaign for the promotion of our national and social freedom struggle
and develop the revolutionary anti-capitalism. In this struggle against the
chauvinist incitement and against the Treaty of Versailles must with the greatest passion of
Proletarian internationalism be placed in the foreground. The campaign
KJVD must not be a simplistic moderate anniversary event, but must in conjunction
with the daily struggles and the mass action of the working class into a living
and rousing offensive shirts.
The proletarian brotherhood is a serious revolutionary factor. Particularly at this time we see how in Switzerland, in Geneva, fraternize with the workers and the soldiers sing the "Internationale". Our appearance together with the leadership of the PCF in Paris, our joint proclamation against Versailles were no demonstrations! No, it are real revolutionary Examples of solid, inviolable international revolutionary Cooperation in the struggle against imperialism, against Versailles. This international brotherhood has in the power struggles of the German working class the future the greatest importance. Gets you some historical facts in mind:

no national liberation without social!

In 1920-21 attempted 27 White Guard armies the power of the Soviets, to overthrow Russian Soviet Republic. We note with pride that the imperialists at

granite wall of Bolshevism einrannten the skull and broken heads were sent home. But we also say: Had time in European countries not strong revolutionary upheavals that massive class clashes, would in the world is not broken out the attacks of the oppressed against capitalism, then the defense of the October Revolution would have been made considerably more difficult. - This Example shows us what grandiose importance of proletarian internationalism straight for the conquest of power by the German proletariat will have. We need to see: In Prussia and in Upper Silesia has the chauvinist wave a special height achieved. The chauvinism and nationalism among the local Working people, particularly among the youth exerted a much stronger influence than in the rest Germany. This showed, among other things also the outcome of the elections on November 6: Our local voting results are quite satisfactory. - The elections teach us that we much stronger in the border areas with the weapon of proletarian internationalism our position on the national question in Upper Silesia, in Danzig, the Polish Corridor etc. must roll. But always we ask the questions in the sense in which Marx and Engels taught us: that only the national liberation can become a reality, when the capitalist exploiters power is eliminated, ie, if the social question by Overthrow of capitalist domination is achieved. The Youth League has in this sphere of our great political struggle a lot operate more specific youth policies. He is not abstract the national and social Repeat relief program should not schematically our Declaration and our Repeat manifesto against Versailles, - our youth organization has an own initiative develop, must take its own measures, it must submit its own views to work out together with the party's special slogans and methods of conquest the vast masses of young workers.

Revolutionary comradeship in KJVD

The question of our working methods is a crucial problem, the KJVD from his Isolation lead out to a concrete mass revolutionary politics - I ask you: we do not punish them sometimes in KJVD our youth comrades weeks and months with long debates about the "twist" to the mass work and who else knows otherwise what? Almost two years young members were tortured with "Phrasebook 'debates. All the time was "Reversed", but it was always turned upside down, there was no change to the masses out, but the KJVD has mainly through the fault of its former leadership the Masses turned their backs. One should not talk so much of "twist", but to concrete and new methods in...
our mass work show aims to create the practical facts. Only in this way raises
you also the political level and the revolutionary vitality of our
intra-associational life.
In our association's work is one more revolutionary comradeship! Of the
Commanding has to disappear, the KJV is not a parade ground. The smallest and
the smallest batches of bureaucracy must be cut ruthlessly.
Comrades, I am right when I notice, for example, that many senior functionary
already cocky and head held high with a portfolio under his arm in the cells
or official meetings comes and abstract and detail terms of the decisions and
Click announces that instead of the psyche of the youth Comrades
study, instead of comradely and collectively to discuss where the
proletarian youth the shoe pinches, rather than think about how we the young workers
and -arbeiterinnen in their struggle for material benefits can help and how we
can educate for the great revolutionary class struggle for socialism?

The still commonly usual dry and monotonous voice, the impersonal,
dispassionate, unworlthy Discuss must disappear. Anyone here does not change
our methods anerstrebt, because he is already suffering from political arteriosclerosis,
must simply be removed from his position. Youth comrades, it makes you to
Task: From the simplest member up to the highest functionary must at all
conceive Young Communist its activities in the Communist Youth League as
revolutionary military service, as disciplined, comradely helpfulness, always
endeavor of the revolutionary cause to serve.

Lenin The youth will decide the outcome of the whole campaign

The youth has a tremendous importance for our world revolutionary movement. I want
now to the recall Lenin in 1905 already wrote in a letter to Bogdanov:

"We need young forces - - - There are a ton of people, you just have more liberal and
bold, broad-minded and broad-minded and again advertise again bolder among the youth,
without fear. It's wartime. The youth is the outcome of the whole campaign
decide. Let the old habits of slowness, of respect for the judicial officer.
Founds from the Youth hundreds circle ... and encourages them to work with all our strength. "
"One must" - as Lenin wrote further - "an unbelievable speed all people with revolutionary
Unite initiative and set in motion. Do not be afraid of their unpreparedness, trembles
not because of their inexperience and immaturity ... Either all new, young, fresh, energetic
Fighting organizations for our work, of all forms, of all kinds and in all layers, or their
will perish ... "

You see, with what momentum the passion with which Lenin, the major role and
Importance of youth in the foreground. No anxiety, no fear of the
Zoom Drag inexperienced, young fellow! Great deal depends on our work from!
Our party work can only be promoted if fresh, young blood in the veins
our party is pumped!
Except for the Communist there is no movement, the youth one such place
is granted. This shows in particular the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. -
"The youth will decide the outcome of the entire battle" said Lenin as early as
1905. Hammering a the all of our young communists! Goes with boldness and energy to
the fulfillment of your revolutionary tasks zoom! Blacksmith such battle armies of young
revolutionary fighter that the freedom struggle of the proletarian class in Germany
is decided by the heroic efforts of the Army Corps of young soldiers our
Youth comrades and youth comrades! I go now to the questions of our intra-associational life over. I believe that if we our today's plenary session the Compare previous meetings of our youth-ZK, we can have a tremendous Progress notice. The entire issue and the discussion on the political Problems of KJVD are much more concrete and positive, much camaraderie than on the previous sessions of the case was. Why could not be lodged as clearly and unequivocally been the problems? We looking at the impact of party-damaging activity that group Neumann Müller, who had particularly chosen the youth wing to there by their decomposing activity to try, the youth wing of one of the General line of the party, the Comintern and the Communist Youth International opposite way to lead. The aspirations of the Neumann-Müller and comrades went by, the necessary relationship between Bolshevik Party and Youth League to reverse into its opposite. This led to that policy to which the Youth League was suffering, and one to a sectarian seclusion to Inability led to fulfill the tasks of KJVD.

From the history of the Communist youth

We must look at the history of the revolutionary youth movement, the tremendous Role the revolutionary youth has already played in the past. At the time of World War II, a brave, proletarian youth crowd gathered around Karl Liebknecht. She led the later occurring historical facts. The Demonstration on May 1, 1916 in Berlin, the munitions workers' strike in 1918, the various revolutionary youth conferences, the heroic struggles of the Brunswick Youth - the all were extremely important revolutionary struggle actions in which the revolutionary Jung proletariat decisive role had, and for the situation of November 1918 were of paramount importance. A second example: After the defeat of the German workers in 1920 and in the party after the March Action in 1921 had a profound depression that by the Levites, were nourished by despair Right opportunist moods. At that time it was the young member of the party, the zusammenriß our squad, the idea of Unit strengthened and fought against the still strong existing USP ideology. also in Struggle against Brandlerismus won the young element in our revolutionary movement his man confessed. Or take a third example: During the Ruth Fischer period has the Youth League courageously fought against the opportunist "people block" theory. Of the KJVD was the first in the line of the Comintern against this policy and against the ultra-left sectarianism occurred. After in 1928 the KJVD the battle of rights and conciliators against the General line of the party and already serious against the decisions of the 6th World Congress has experienced fluctuations, must be stated, with greater focus now that the Communist Youth Association of Germany in recent times by its present management in wrong Railways has directed and committed serious omissions in its entire policy.
The Bolshevik principle of the relationship between KJVD and party
The decisions of the 12th Plenary force us straight, in KJVD these questions with particular
to ask Ernst and with special force.
I tell you, the omissions and errors of KJVD would not have arisen if the
necessary, strong, solid, revolutionary trust between party and
Youth League would have been available. I want in this context recall that,
what Comrade Stalin about the relationship between the Party and Youth League in his
Reply to the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" on a request of the editors
This youth sheet wrote. It states, inter alia:
"But it follows that the Communist Youth League this its general object only in
can meet the case if he is guided by the directives in all his work, from the
the Communist International and the Communist Party are given."

We see, then, as Comrade Stalin, the best pupil of Lenin, the question of the relationship
provides party and youth. The unbreakable unity that absolute agreement
between party and youth league in all political and tactical questions, in absolute

Consideration and largely art promoting individual life of the youth organization - the
are the absolute prerequisites for a successful mass politics of the KJV.
Stalin asks in his reply the creation of special youth cadre in the Communist
Youth League who through their unbreakable revolutionary collaboration with the party
must give the guarantees, "The youth in a spirit of trust with the Communist Party
bring up". (Stalin)
This opinion Stalin, born out of deep Leninist problem must,
therefore before today's plenary session of the Central Committee of the Youth League as sharp
will be provided, because in the latest development of KJVD not this Bolshevik
Relationship of trust and agreement of the youth organization of the party
was present. It must be said:

The unbolschewistischen views the group Neumann-Müller

The relationship, which existed until a few months ago, was an abnormal ratio. The
Group Neumann-Müller has anti-party tendencies and unbolschewistische
carried in views in the Youth League. But they were for the most part only in
ZK of KJVD, the central youth office, but hardly and hardly at all in the
District organizations exist. The healthy instinct of young communists in the lower
Organisations prevented already to a large extent the Weiterumsichgreifen such
harmful tendencies.
Nevertheless, this policy of recent youth leadership has led to the tremendous
neglecting revolutionary tasks of KJVD in the most irresponsible manner. -
Here there are not major causes of the sectarian deviations that can
can correct, if instead of a helping self-criticism a disorganizing criticism
knock down a method of Gegeneinanderausspielens, a cliques and group policy
leaves.
The endeavor of the Neumann-Müller Group has been to discredit the party leadership,
face the line of the youth organization of those of the party and an atmosphere
of mistrust to create. In this fundamental question of the relationship of
Youth League to the party showed the whole character of the group unbolschewistische
Müller-Neumann!
The youth organization must learn from the party because the party has much greater experience
features, and because the latter can help the KJV in carrying out its general line and further in achieving its tasks. We do not want to conceal the fact that the party sometimes can learn from the youth association.

But if one evokes a battle position against the party, then have the Questions of our mass policy are consequently neglected the most reprehensible, then have that retardation of KJVD behind the party and behind the objective revolutionary possibilities occur, as has been the case in the past.

The ratio of KJVD the Communist Youth International

A second serious problem is the ratio of the Young Communist League to Communist Youth International. One must compare it with the ratio of Party to the Comintern. You know that our by historical development Party organization, the KPD is closely bound up with the Comintern. You know, it is a matter of course, that our Russian sister party the leading party of the represents Comintern, and that the German party as the strongest KP among the parties in the is capitalist countries most intimately united and steadfast in a Fiduciary relationship is to the Communist International, with its general line and

General policy is closely bound up with their leadership, with Comrade Stalin the tip.

This relationship of trust which in the course of the historical development of our Party emerged that helped the German party in her past, a number of deviations to overcome and mistakes by the help of the Comintern, this ratio has resulted in a particularly close ties to our Russian sister party and its leadership out.

But how was the relationship between KJVD and Communist Youth International? The politics of the group Neumann-Müller was an alienation and a growing Differentiation made between the two. - Just as the Comintern, the leader of the KPD represents, as of course is the CYI the leader of KJVD. This is for every young Communists actually granted.

But, the group Neumann-Müller the question?

This group fantasized about the problem: Who is to be the leader of the CYI? one formulated, the Russian Youth League have no experience in the mass policy

Obtaining the working youth in the capitalist countries. And therefore had this People sad and simultaneously ridiculous illusion to conquer the leadership of the CYI. they wanted the millioned Leninist Young Communist League of Soviet Union, under most closely with the Bolshevik Party of the USSR leadership Comrade Stalin cooperates, make the leadership dispute.

These efforts pursued already Trotskyism and Brandlerismus. Both have years ago, when this counter-revolutionaries and opportunist still in our Rows were, a broad propaganda in the line of the Comintern and CYI-enemy and develops policy in the line of anti-Russian attitude. The same aspirations pursued the Müller u. Co. in the CYI, which had already succeeded, a number of Members of the German youth delegation at the KJI and the German students on the Lenin School for their party, the Comintern and win CYI-hostile policy.

has The Leninist, Communist Youth League of the USSR under the leadership of Comrade Tschemodanow great and mighty done and immense merits for purchased the policy of the Communist Youth International. - We ask you: Did you even those forces in the German youth organization, as Comrade Tschemodanow which, if he were not so sick, even more outstanding afford in the cause of revolution
would? But the fact that in KJVD Müller Group just against him and against German party leadership opened an unprecedented offensive, showing all unbolschewistischen character of this grouping.

We just about our present plenary these questions so sharp, because we an international struggle Community because the great danger of imminent World War the highest revolutionary discipline, the consistent recognition and requires implementation of the general line of the CYI. We'd given the growing Violence by the bourgeoisie against the communist movement tremendous few surprises, we would not be members of an international revolutionary Fighting organization these questions so fundamentally and basically the entire front of the Membership roll.

Of course, the meaning of this basic question is not that the given the wealth not occur in front of us standing tasks and tactical disagreements can. Why not? Of course, sometimes disagreements be over yet, as the general line of the Comintern and CYI concretized and their Implementation can be improved. Furthermore we will always discuss. But who is it, to shake the fundamental principles of Bolshevism, the Performing to the level specified in our international conferences decisions sabotage, who is hindering the development of our movement and puts her obstacles in the way, must feel the whole rigor and intransigence of our party. We say: If the party would not be so strong if it had to fear these people about, it had experienced the factionalists and parteizersetzenden group Politicians, from the to be excluded party. You know that the Party member Bertram already by the Located decision of the Political Commission of the ECCI and the German party from the party was because he a deliberate in particularly provocative way, disorganizing, has deployed factional and group even work. We have these measures naturally not applied to all comrades of this group, we apply a differentiated tactics to and wish those comrades who are willing honestly to admit their mistakes through practical work redress that are cured of their organization and injurious group assimilate unprincipled factional struggles and their Bolshevik the way to a Do not block the mass work.

The political differences the group Neumann-Müller

What political differences existed between the German party leadership, the Comintern and CYI one hand and the group Neumann Miller on the other hand? I want to advance notice that it is these differences to very serious political Disagreement concerns. It is significant that the Neumann-Müller people deliberately spread the opinion especially in the youth league, as if it were in these ask personal differences between Comrade Thalmann and Neumann. This is an old tactic that has been used in the past. Each example if in the Russian party appeared any difference questions, and anti-Party Opposition group appeared on the scene, this group initially claimed, if it were to be personal differences with Comrade Stalin. They turned others against the alleged "Personal dictatorship of Stalin". Of course, there may be situations where temporary escalations between may enter individual comrades. But if such severe political facts are present, such as, in the dispute with Comrade Neumann and Müller if the part of this group an unprecedented alienation from the party, a KJI-enemy line was developed, then the situation is still very serious and demonstrate the
I want to move on to some of these political points of difference:

a) in the assessment of fascism

As for the first time in December 1930 Brüning with his emergency decree with stringent pushed forward fascist methods against the proletariat, Comrade Neumann: "The fascist dictatorship is here! " - That was an absolutely incorrect characterization of the situation. A such an assessment leads among other things to the underestimation of partial struggles. They stop us in Characterization of further stages of stringent implementation of the fascist dictatorship. It leads to a misunderstanding of a number of important factors of fascism. Worse still is the view of the comrades of the Neumann-Müller Group, as a go the way to the victory of the proletarian revolution only on the path of fascist Dictatorship. This is a theory that very large relationship has with the ready 6th World Congress rejected considers Comrade Bukharin and the Right and conciliators who took the view that the proletarian revolution only in History of imperialist war would be born. - Bukharin was of the opinion that only through the process of intensification of the contradictions of imperialism among themselves will develop and revolution could be victorious. Bukharin misunderstood completely the Class role of the proletariat and the fact that with the tightening of external develop contrasts the internal contradictions in the capitalist countries and need to strengthen, with simultaneous stabilization and with simultaneous growth of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.
The theory of a number of comrades of the Neumann-Müller Group, as if the fascist Dictatorship the midwife of the proletarian revolution arises, a dangerous defeatist and fatalistic mood that particularly sharp at the 12th Plenum of the Comrade Manuilsky, Kuusinen and Knorin was rejected. Such a line of Fatalism, as defended by Neumann and Müller, particularly hindered our Youth League at the development of a broad struggle mobilization against the other Deployment of the fascist dictatorship. Extremely disastrous for the Youth League was also those considered the Neumann Müller Group, after the winter 1931/32 readily the "most revolutionary since winter would be 100 years. " Unfortunately, it was not like that. The question was referred by the Group also provided purely fatalistic, ie without the role of the party and the show Youth League, was prophetically claiming the winter would, on its own lead to revolutionary clashes. - How disastrous this view impact, was particularly evident during the emergency decree in December / January. We saw there not those mass resistance, as we eg from him when Pape's emergency decree Mid September 1932 * . On the contrary: the Brüning of time dictated wage robbery was in be carried out in most cases.
If, as Neumann and Müller, so phlegmatic and irresponsible, without question to provide the sub-actions and the broad mass struggle mobilization to this zoom is crucial problems, it is no wonder that in view of the non-occurrence the prophecies of the "revolutionary Winter" certain moods in Depression could enter some sections of our Party and the youth organization that henceforth bring about a revolutionary situation in the spring of 1932, certain parts of the unemployed imaginary by Hitler gave voice to in this way the "revolutionary Spring "bring.
Comrade Neumann also represented the misconception that the main strategic slogan of Party is the people's revolution. It was politically incorrect and contradicted the decisions
of the 11th plenary, the German as a main strategic task of the German party and the Youth Association presented the task of conquering the majority of the working class. - The false conception of Comrade Neumann was also based on an erroneous conception, which also represented in the Youth League by the policies of Comrade Müller, Hiller, etc. was, according to which the decisive sections of the proletariat were already conquered and you already due to this fact, as the main strategic task of the people's revolution could provide. This is in connection incorrect assessment of the Neumann-Müller-group it was expressed that one already spoke of a "crisis of the SPD", and which especially when Comrade Neumann put in the view as if to Last summer the National Socialist movement peaked exceeded. The presidential elections in March / April 1932 proved particularly clearly the falsity of this assessment. This erroneous assessment resulted because to wrong tactical measures by which the Youth League was prevented, a successful policy of conquest influenced by fascism masses of Young working people to lead. A special hobbyhorse in the entire network of political deviations of the group Neumann-Müller was the question of "regime change". It stiffened forward to claiming the constitution of Papen dictatorship mean a "regime change". The mentioned group led to "prove" a quote from Lenin, where the system change was spoken. Lenin said in this connection, but the change of method. - In our Marxist-Leninist view there are only two systems in today Company: the capitalist and the socialist system. Whether the bourgeoisie with bourgeois-democratic or fascist forms of rule governs whether the dictatorship of finance capital unmängt with "democratic" Plunder, or whether the fascist nature of this dictatorship overt occurs: the class content of a such a government remains the same: it is a dictatorship of finance capital. Only the methods change. The comrades in overthrowing the Brüning government and in setting up the Papen Government spoke of "regime change", came with their view very close to the Socialist ideology. Just the Social Democrats spoke on the occasion of Papen Dictatorship of "regime change" to their tolerance policy in favor of the Brüning dictatorship To defend. And if in the "Young Guard" Comrade Helmuth Remmele the same Confusion of "regime change" represented, then you know who it was fertilized, and then we can see what dangerous situation, especially in the youth organization already by the adverse working group of these people had formed. b) in the assessment of the Social Democracy and Socialist influence youth The activities of the up fractionally operated group led by Comrade Kurt Müller draws in particular by from schematism and bureaucracy. When the party very correctly the question of liquidating the mass influence of social democracy presented, Fabricated said group from the slogan "liquidation of the SAJ as Mass organization ".

So these comrades saw only the 50,000 members of the SAJ and not large masses of the Social Democracy, the reformist trade union federations and sports affected youth. They did not see the need for a serious wide
Opposition work within youth sections of ADGB. This led to a ideological isolation and a serious political isolation of the youth organization.

An extremely serious matter is the fact of penetration of Trotskyism in some places of our youth organization. The case of Comrade Oschi is not an isolated case. Oschi was just only the hare, who was killed by the other, which has a similar policy continue to operate. He had to believe it by absägte him politically. But the political Orientation, emanated from Comrade Oschi, was still also in a number been other comrades present.

c) discredit the leadership of the party

That Trotskyist tendencies especially also occurred at the Neumann-Müller Group, many young comrades are not yet know. - We have not only the fact that the Comrade Müller with his people in the youth association created a CYI-hostility, that he asked the question of the leadership of the CYI in Trotskyist sense that it with complete Incomprehension of Bolshevik self-criticism faced, - No: in addition to a philistine arrogance and irresponsible glossing we see in this Group a systematically applied policy of discrediting the Party Central Committee and particularly Comrade Thalmann. In factional bottom of the Neumann-Müller Group every opportunity to reduce the authority of the party leadership was used. Members of the group, especially comrades of the German delegation at the KJI were, even sunk to such a level, the newspapers and literary products

Trotskyists, and other Brandleristen Renagatengräppchen in which the party leadership was insulted, slandered and discredited, not with a critical eye, no longer to see with the eyes implacable enemies of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyism!

No, these comrades went from man to man, whispering joyfully moves "Latest news" of counterrevolutionary Trotsky in their ears and brought no Struggle more against the villainous slanders the Trotskyists, but stood in a front with them, when it was necessary to tear down the German party leadership and of the general line of the Comintern to develop different line of their group.

Of course, all had certain implications for the work of the youth organization have. That had to inhibit the confidence of many young cadres to the party and undermine. You see how far things had taken root, and that it was high time, access to make this group harmless.

There now arises the legitimate question: Why almost defeated the entire Youth Bureau of the CC the wrong policy considers the group Neumann-Müller? was with us in the party the thing conversely: there tried now and again some comrades, incorrect in carry believes in collective leadership. In youth league but was in the Leadership already a solid core available, which already the party leadership in some things not only foreign, but in many ways even hostile to.

All this could happen only because no clarity was given about the Bolshevik Basic principles of the relationship between party and youth league, because the largest political ignorance of the role of KJVD prevailed and because generally the political Level, according to the requirements was seriously flawed.

The leadership of the party and the youth organization can not only grow alone with the Masses and with the objective development, but - and this is particularly true for the KJV - it must at the comrades of the leadership a thorough general education and a thorough Bolshevik self-education are developed. Who does not try, the political events, in particular the strategy and tactics of the class struggle to
check and study the decisions taken in the Comintern party. In the

to educate - which is the development of the organization and with the requirements of
made him not able to keep up!

We must note that the the by the group and clique struggle in the top

German youth organization has been carried in, a certain theoretical debauchery,
superficiality and levity in some political problem
was torn. Good functionaries were corrupted. Comrades in a good tradition
Youth League had behind him, were in the morass of the principal group struggle
dragged and stunted.

The now behind us stage of development of the youth organization teaches us that we the
theoretical monopoly is not one or two people or par a club of "wreath binders"
may leave that are not connected to the user experience. The theoretical work is
a (matter of the entire management and the entire organization. Every manager must
know how to develop the most experienced executives and responsible ones work
consulted. Such correct policy of developing new forces was of course
the comrades of the Neumann-Müller Group fights in the strongest terms.

d) rejection of self-criticism, family exemplary philistinism

The comrades of this group is a petty bourgeois family exemplary philistinism had
developed. This philistinism was already on February Plenum of the Central Committee
our party. As is known, appeared in the previous two books that are not entirely
were immaculate and contained major mistakes. That is once the brochure of Comrade

Langner on the political mass strike and the second book of Comrade David
about the bankruptcy of reformism. - If we as a party leadership with such literary
Products arising from the Bolshevik standpoint, any theoretical work with
to measure the maximum Leninist criticism, if we are willing, the
giving party membership flawless literary works for their self-training,
then we do not ask the question of human or social connections with
the authors of such books, but we ask the question of politically Bolshevik
Responsibility for the whole party.

But what position the group took a to Comrade Neumann?
Comrade Langner was defended by them, because people in familienhaftem philistinism
associated with him felt. Comrade David was not defended by them, although the
Error Comrade Langner were to condemn just as the Comrade David. In
the work of Comrade Langner we saw at times a dangerous ideological
Approaching Trotskyism. Such questions, it would have been worth, in the Central Committee
to be treated. But the comrades to Neumann were around to treatment
such questions. Because of these and similar questions arose in a bidding war
Central Committee.

Many a comrade, the question arises, why not earlier within the party and the
Youth League before the entire membership of the fight against the group of
Neumann, Müller and Co. was started. The answer is: It can in the
give developing our party situations where the unity of the leadership among all
Circumstances must be maintained and also the host of political differences
must have priority. The date for the beginning of open conflict with
wrong political views often depends on what the bourgeoisie in the struggle
has against our Party before. We are not so stupid, the bourgeoisie in pointed
Situations, the chance of an intraparty struggle to offer. We roll the questions only
then within the party or the KJV when we have the guarantee that the Total Party or the total youth organization can endure these conflicts, without suffering damage. Of course, this Bolshevik strength, is one of them Foresight and a Bolshevik backbone. 
I will now say a few words about the "explanations", the here of the various comrades the group of comrades Müller yet. Generally - with only a few Exceptions - one can only say that it is all of these statements about nothing further than the silent continuation of the wrong policies of the past is.
The interesting thing about today's meeting of the Central Committee of the YCL is include the following fact: There is no Comrade Hiller, the previous association chairman, there is a lack of Comrade Helmuth Remmele; Comrade Voss, the former head of the Berlin organization is lacking; it lacks the Comrade Anni and it also lacks the Comrade Fischer, this great "hero". I ask you, Comrades: Is it a coincidence that all of these five members of the previous youth offices that serious this main representative of the Neumann-Müller Group today on this so extraordinarily Meeting are not published? We can not take lightly this question! I tell all open: The absence of these five comrades is not only a continuation of their petit bourgeois family-like philistines, not just a continuation of the wrong policies, but it is a provocation of the Central Committee.
Especially bad is the situation when Comrade Hiller. He was Secretary General of KJVD and would have to answer here today. Such excuses that he is ill, but at the same time is seen on the street, do not apply to us. He discredited even his own Group. - Here was required of a comrade, one should Hiller from the KJVD exclude. For this, I would say: it is a decision of the Comintern, after which the recalled Comrade Hiller as general secretary of KJVD and asked the party available becomes. The party is therefore about the extra features and the further activity or over his membership to decide party organization.
The KJVD are liquidating the group Neumann-Müller Helmuth Remmele etc. the youth organization of a dozen officials of the party from. In front of them is us no worries! However, we believe that no communist youth will be proud of these comrades, that are passed to this type of party. We can this whole dozen course not just let sink into the political morass. We can not and must instantly ask the question of exclusion. Of course we satisfy such "explanations " as here yet, not.
Here is the question of political education, of honest correction of their previous Views by the candidate comrades. - And in fulfilling the appropriate conditions, we will ask the question of assimilation. - Comrade Reuter, I already at that time heard speak in the youth office, has in relation to its former speech already made a huge political progress! Comrade Reuter says he is willing, his remaining misconceptions in practice by the eliminate party work and unconditionally responsible for carrying out the decisions Comintern and the Empire Caucus use. I think we can give him faith Smart and have him ask the question differently as with Comrade Hiller. - Allen but comrades who adhere to the group moderate and factional activities of people Neumann, Helmuth Remmele, millers, etc. involved was, said that the party and also youth leadership in continuation of the policy of the group moderate and the decomposition work any companions will be upheld with Bolshevik severity and sharpness. We do not want lip service, we do not require humiliating and degrading Explanations! We only want that the comrades who have made mistakes with real put a line under the past activities of their inner conviction and honestly endeavor to make up by the practical work their mistakes.
But if Comrade Bertram as before that the CCC's observation allowed that he was not come here to stand trial, then we say: This contemporary, the very up has actively participated in the group work of Müller, Remmele, Neumann, etc., would all Cause to take a serious self-criticism! Of course, he stands before the Youth league to court. The principles of the party and the KJVD require us that We focus on the activity of our leading comrades and the staff that we wake on the implementation of the correct line of the Party and the Comintern. If we did not do that, we would be cowards and would by a conciliatory Attitude towards the misconceptions commit fatal errors.

The liquidation of the Neumann-Müller Group in Party and Youth: A political and ideological victory

If we consider the question of the relationship between the party and youth organization, the question of Guiding the KJVD by the party today provide much sharper than in the past, then this means at the same time the development of the strongest self-life of the Youth League. We do not want a family-explanatory philistinism, but lively, enthusiastic Mass work of our young communists! The Comintern took the decision to oblige Comrade Thalmann, the work of catching German youth organization and support. I tell you, comrades: We will make our whole party mobile, we are with all the Polsektären Party districts speak, we will spark a discussion in all party cells and everything do to support the KJVD to him from his sectarian seclusion rip out and him of a broad revolutionary mass organization Jung proletariat to make. Youth comrades and youth comrades! With the liquidation of the group led by Comrade Müller in German KJV, with the departure of such comrades from the leadership of the party and the youth organization that deliberately smashing a course, the party difficulties make and wait for a defeat to improve their own positions, with the Smashing a group to the question of our slogans against ADGB, against Fascism, on the question of state capitalism and other important problems a represented by the general line of the party and the CYI divergent view, the party a major political and ideological victory is won. The liquidation of this group in the Youth League is a strong success of the Comintern, the KJI, the German party and the German youth organization. Through this successful completion of an intra-party and intra-associational confrontation, not least through the healthy instinct and by the strength of our lower Party and youth squad has been achieved, especially the unity of the youth organization has been saved and the KJV saved from a crisis. The Youth League must now do everything possible to the KJV really make the best helper of the Party! You must understand it, the political to raise ideological level of our squad in the youth organization, the Marxist strengthen Leninist consciousness and to harden, then the entire association to a higher revolutionary maturity to develop. Schult in the fire of the class struggle new revolutionary cadre of youth zoom! Holt that in the last two years after missed! With the party forward together for the conquest of the majority of the young proletariat!

III. The main tasks of the KJV

Now some of our tasks: The 12th plenary noted that in in Germany accelerated pace ripen the conditions for revolutionary crisis. Of the
revolutionary upsurge takes place in much faster pace than before. In recent months, the German party has three successful major campaigns performed: The Antifascist Action, through which it succeeded broad masses of the detach social-fascist front in the struggle against fascism to steel, and to strengthen and repulse the fascist terror. The second successful campaign was our united front action against hunger, fascism and imperialist war. It succeeded d.Js. for the first time in Pape's emergency decree in September, a unleash large wave of strikes and to a large extent the implementation of the to prevent fascist Papen program. - We have a third successful out campaign, not about completed, but as the fight against Wage robbery must be significantly increased: This is the action of the proletarian Internationalism against the ignominy Versailles Treaty.

Before Youth League today are following proletarian main tasks:
1. defend the fundamental rights of the young workers, unleashing of partial struggles, Partial strikes and mass actions of the young proletariat against wage-robbery, labor conscription, for the demand of the young unemployed, unleashing a mass movement against hunger and Frost.
2. mass struggle mobilization against the planned electoral robbery at 5½ million Adolescents, in the implementation of the fascist Reich and constitutional "reform" against the threat of prohibition of the youth organization, the Party and the revolutionary Mass organizations.
3. Enhanced performance of our mass campaign among young workers against the imperialist war preparations, for the defense of the Soviet Union, against the militarist rearmament and against the Versailles system.

These three important tasks require, of course, a particular concretization.

After our election victory on 6 November, the Party has to a large united front Offer the social democratic, free union and Christian workers made. Also

the youth association has in the implementation of an improved united front policy much more to the broad sections of the trade union youth sections, the reformist Sports federations, the Socialist Workers' Youth and the mass organizations approach to the struggle against the new wage predatory attacks against the stricter fascist dictatorship, against the threat of electoral robbery a broad mass front of Jung proletariat raise.

In a much greater extent we must succeed, which in some places already beginning Blowdown of certain layers of the camp of the Nazi youth to a broad campaign for evaluate the recovery key parts by these layers.

The 12th plenary has already stated in its decisions that an accelerated Intensification of class antagonisms and with stronger sharpening of antagonisms of capitalist states themselves accelerated, unstoppable rise of Socialism in the Soviet Union takes place. Germany was the next to the the Soviet Union called imperialists around the world the most worrying country. As a result of that Germany has become a major fire new imperialist conflicts in Europe is, in that furthermore the range of in Germany until the occurrence shortened revolutionary crisis, the German Youth Association is a particularly large and provided historically significant responsibility.

In overcoming its weaknesses and its sectarian isolation has the Leadership of the General Association KJVD especially the problem of organizing and Implementation of partial struggles and partial actions with the aim of integrating the Young working masses to greater mass struggles and the political general strike as concrete task set.
The KJV at the forefront of the struggle for the daily interests of the working youth

The masses of the young proletariat must be clearly demonstrated that our Young Communists with them and at their head to every penny wage to every economic improvement, for every piece of bread fight to have a heroic struggle lead to support the young unemployed that they and in the struggle against hunger Frost, for clothing, footwear, food and shelter to the hundreds of thousands on the road pounded young proletarians use all their strength. Only then will the 'KJVD the can gain vast masses of the needy and impoverished youth.

With the manufacture of a closer relationship with the party must also simultaneously a wider done and thorough support our pioneering movement. About the way of Recovery of the workers' children, we can achieve very strong success in the Establishment of the unity of the working parents. A bold Leninist pioneering education is of invaluable for our entire revolutionary mass struggle. Also the Pioneer Association has to overcome its isolation. Party and KJVD need to help him, new To search for methods and to find. We can not our youngest class comrades alone impose the heavy work. The guidelines of our pioneering movement require Check.

If the Youth League, the question of the overhaul of the party, so must the no empty his talk. It is important to ask this question but not only numerically. It is not a only to a higher number of members, but with the growth in numbers of Youth League must go hand in hand to increase the revolutionary repartee the KJVD.

The decisions of the 12th Plenary Assembly were specified on the Reich Party Conference. The Central Committee of KJVD must not of course schematically as decision-making on transfer the Youth League. It must proceeding rather special from this foundation Tasks and provide a particular concretization of the tasks for the KJVD

make.
The youth leadership must deal with it as a special revolutionary develop utility for working youth. Here is a revolutionary Escape for the millions of young working people are identified. Here must next the concrete daily demands strongly the question of revolutionary Ausweges, the socialist future are in the foreground.

Creates a real mass organization

Comrades, go with courage and fortitude to the development of a broad mass work, creates a real mass organization, the revolutionary and bold, together with the party, victoriously forward has a fantastic seizure of power of the proletarian class!

Lenin said on 22 January 1917 in a lecture he before the Zurich youth workers held, inter alia:

"We, the elderly, perhaps the decisive battles of this coming revolution will not experience. But I think I may express the hope with the utmost confidence that the Young people who so honored in the socialist movement of Switzerland and around World occur are that they have the good fortune not only to fight, but also to win in coming proletarian revolution."

Our great teacher Lenin was speaking then in modest revolutionary
We ring the tocsin

*Comrade Thalmann battle cry for the mass army of starving unemployed*

Berlin, November 21, 1932. The leader of our Party, Comrade Ernst Thalmann adopted, on the yesterday District Congress of the Communist Party, welcomed by several minutes of applause, from thundering red front-Call, the word for Martial Appeal of Empire unemployed Committee and the unit committee of Antifascist Action.

Comrade Thalmann stated, inter alia:

Our entire party has to solve the daunting task at the top of 9 million Unemployed, which make up more than a quarter of the entire nation with their families, a broad million to fight the impending crisis Winter against famine unleash. This fight is not just a battle of the unemployed, but also a fight the factory workers and the entire working masses. Our party, as the einzigste Labour Party is only willing to help the needy in their struggle and they to support.

The maneuvers of the bourgeoisie on the question of job creation, which up to the last two three years were staged, were nothing but desolate dumbing maneuver to keep the jobless vast masses firmly in capitalist pliers.

We, the Communist Party, have 6 million workers in the last election their given voice. This fact increases the tremendous responsibility that the party
Needy bears. We provide our Communists fight for the unemployed not to parliamentary Base. We put the question of the extra-parliamentary struggle within the large revolutionary class struggle of the working class, in alliance with all working people, against the bourgeoisie. We Communists have taken the initiative, together with the Erwerbslosen-Committees and the Antifascist unity committees a large frontal offensive against Hunger and frost, against the Ausplünderungs- and Aushungerungsmethoden the bourgeoisie initiate.

We demand that the burst food stores that crowded Kohlhalden not more remain in the possession of the capitalists, but that they open and the starving and freezing the unemployed that their families the tremendous excesses of bread, potatoes and coals are delivered. We demand that the unemployed who no longer rent can pay, remain in their homes without paying rent. 9 million unemployed starve in Germany, more than 2 million youth Unemployed with no future, no job prospects and existence! pull beggar droves about the country! Only 600,000 youths vegetate as vagabonds, rolling brothers Tramps, etc. on the highways of misery. be even childcare places dissolved. Thousands of young proletarians are homeless, homeless, destitute and without future hunted in the country beyond. What Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the "Communist Manifest "said satisfied especially today when the crisis of capitalism:

"And here it becomes open show that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer the ruling class of Company to stay and the living conditions of their class of society as an overriding impose law. It is unfit to rule because it is incapable of their slaves the existence even to secure within his slavery, because it is forced to sink it into a position to blank, where they must .ernähren him, instead of being fed by him. The Company may not live under her, that is, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

Papen government, NSDAP and SPD promised you unemployed a Economic upswing, you promised classification in the production process. The Economy to be "boosted". One has the reverse performed.

It has given you the economic recovery of hunger. One has the misery cranked. Deeper still and greater the plight of millions of people suffering from hunger is in Germany has become. Lies and deceit were the "holy" promises of the bourgeoisie and their accomplices. Only the Communists have the hungry told the truth. During World War had millions of workers not only go to the human slaughterhouse, had to not only lacerate the money bag, but millions of families starved. Today, when the horrors of a new war again stands before us by the worsening of the crisis, where at the intensification of the German-French, German-Polish contrasts danger more threatening is, today we Communists call the million hungry people on the struggle against the haves, against war criminals and their Socialist and Nazi helpers.

We say the army of millions of impoverished, where the bread and salt to the mouth wegsteuert, which one by nagging "means testing" every day Starvation rations steals that you evicted, which one the with terrible Mietwucher makes life hell, which you granted a penny more to support millions, all we call for: Do not despair, not the gas hose, not the knitting or the aquatic decease are the Way out of a class-conscious proletariat. Our way is the revolutionary way out
the crisis and hardship! Your starving belongs into it against our freedom army to fight
the bourgeoisie and all their accomplices.

We ring the tocsin to fight for the most minimal demands of life
Million needy in Germany.
We tell you: Only if you do, in a united front, their social democratic
free union, Christian and kampfgewillten Nazi and
nonparty proletarians together ends with your communist fellow sufferers, only
if you courageously raises the banner of struggle, only then we will be bread, potatoes and
Coal for our families, for our boys and girls, clothes and milk for our

can fight for starving children.

Say you and your families the bourgeoisie: "Let them go begging when hungry
are "- so we tell you: you must brave fight against the Lord and his pack
Socialist and Nazi servants, when you are hungry and live
want!

Karl Marx has already taught us: "One element of success have the workers: their large number!"
And we say that the unemployed must take their numbers to bear, they must
realize what enormous masses they represent with its nine million, you have courage,
Bravery and boldness muster to fight for their life existence. The
successful implementation of the strikes in the new strike period which in recent months
started in Germany, is only possible in the common struggle of establishments with the
Battle of unemployed. Nine million people are not begging and pleading
are at the gates of the bourgeoisie, but these millions are struggling to the

Bourgeoisie defy! You need to in an organized class struggle under our leadership
her unemployed committees of the bourgeoisie show their great awesome power! We
raise these demands of starving the strongest extraparliamentary
Mass struggle also on 24 November and 6 December in the Reichstag. We are the
same time all over the country, the flag of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and all its
Support on behalf of millions unroll!

We must realize that every struggle for life demands of the toiling masses,
that any struggle of the unemployed masses to secure the minimal life rights
must expand in today's stage of capitalist crisis to fight for the
Socialism!

We say all unemployed: A sixth of the world belongs to us! On a sixth of the earth
there is no crisis, there is no hunger, there is no mercy! No freezing
Children, wailing families!
Only when we have socialism in Germany, only then will we be in Germany
final defeat hunger, only Germany is not Siechen- and House of the Dead
be more, only then will the millions mouths our tuberculous and scrofulous
Children are fed, only the needy and the oppressed are a country
have a country that belongs to us, only then they will have a socialist homeland!
We say the union colleagues, the class brothers in all unions: Take
in all union meetings and members meetings of the
Mass organizations to fight our receivables position!

Formed broad, uniform, closed, unbreakable battlefront of
Factory workers and the unemployed.

We call on this point: Choose ye fight and unit committees founded everywhere your
Organs of struggle makes the existing combat and unit committees capable of fighting for the
Interests of the unemployed and all the exploited.

In this sense: Forward to the bold offensive against hunger and frost, for opening
food storage and Kohlhalden! - Forward to the fight for work, bread, for
Freedom, for victory!
I propose that the District Congress prior to the unwavering solidarity of our Party
documenting the millions of unemployed, that here a struggle for appeal
Vote and adoption is made, the Meeting of Empire unemployed Committee
and the unit committee of Antifascist Action will be presented.

The Red flag,
11/22/1932

Berlin - red outpost!

The pioneering campaign speech of our leader Ernst Thalmann
on the District Congress of Berlin-Brandenburg

In a lengthy discussion took speech at the Berlin District Congress of the Communist Party, of mins prolonged
Applause of delegates welcomed Comrade Thalmann the word used to treat a number of current political
and especially for the Berlin party organization particularly important issues and facts. comrade
Thalmann stated inter alia:

Comrades! Our district Party meeting in the German "city residence" where
the threads capitalist government policies converge, where the contradictions and
Contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie particularly clearly appear. We meet
but at the same time - and this is emphasized with special pride, with special revolutionary joy
- In the stronghold of the Communist Party, in red Berlin!
We must in the strongest among the broadest revolutionary mass mobilization
attention to the alarming facts of reshuffle! We need to alert
beat in the factories and on the punch points against the threat of Hitler coalition
of the open military dictatorship of generals, against the impending tightening of
fascist rule. We must succeed, such a mood among the masses
rekindle that the whole seriousness of the danger is detected. Bills sewing the Nazis into the
Government or the continuation of the Papen-Schleicher-course with a state of emergency and
Military dictatorship - both mean a tightening of the methods of fascism with the
Objectives perfect political disenfranchisement and oppression of the proletariat and
working classes. The Berlin party organization must understand immediately that
Berlin proletariat awaken!
Since the last district Congress in May 1930, the class struggle has a stormy
made development in the ascending line. In the former resolution that the
took 10th Plenum of the ECCI position, we still spoke of the increasing
Vibration of capitalist stabilization and the growth of the elements of a
new revolutionary upsurge. Today, in much more pointed and tighter situation,
we speak of the end of capitalist stabilization, of the accelerated
Maturation of the conditions of the revolutionary crisis. Today the party is, and
particularly the Berlin organization, before much larger tasks!

Our struggle against Versailles and the threat of war

The Versailles problem today from new perspectives, in a different situation to
treat, when it was still the time when our opinion on the Young Plan of the case. The
German bourgeoisie tries by their upgrade requirements, by their forays into the
Issue of border regulation, through their entire foreign policy, driven by the
Aggravation of the situation in the interior, always more aggressively in the imperialist purposes.
We can indeed already speak of a crumbling of the foundations of Versailles
System, but still far from its collapse. The by Versailles
created knots of contradictions is at the same time getting closer and stronger
pursued. The difficulties of the imperialists among themselves to find solutions to the
Problem are getting bigger.
The fact of the conflict between Germany and Poland in the question of Danzig, Memel
and the Polish Corridor shows the increasing tension of these two States
among themselves. In Gdansk, the Polish imperialism goes to on, instead of the Gulden
introduce the zloty and Polish warships demonstratively in the Port of Gdansk to
send. These are crucial facts for the growth of the threat of war. The

Polish press speaks today of the inevitability of a German-Polish
War.
At the 12th plenary these things have already been announced, such as, above all, that the
Danger of imperialist war between Germany and France growing
becomes. Grow With tightening its imperialist action against Germany
However, attempts by the French imperialists, with the German bourgeoisie
together plunder the toiling millions masses of Germany and
suppress
Our struggle against the imperialist threat of war, against Versailles and against
German capitalism is at the same time one day fight for the legitimate
Life demands of the proletariat. This battle, which already for the chauvinist wave
has brought a halt and the nationalism and militarism offset heavy blows,
this struggle of proletarian internationalism has lifted to a higher level
be and to another decisive blow against the Nazis, against all
Fascist parties and the Versailles tribute powers lead. When the 12th plenum
Germany as the main hub in the Versailles system, as the main source of the fire of
Marked imperialist conflicts in Europe, we have just the fact point out that the Berlin-Brandenburg-Lausitz goes to the Polish border. In Given the growing threat of war provides that before the Berlin-Brandenburg Party organization specific tasks, which requires a special focus on the Border areas. We must not this territory the Nazis, the helmet or the SPD leave.

The significance of the Berlin organization

In our resolution at this congress is the importance of the Berlin party organization equated with the meaning of the Leningrad and Moscow organization before victorious Russian October. This presents our party in Berlin-Brandenburg formidable historical tasks. With the greatest revolutionary sobriety, coolness and same time with tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm must our Berlin party to the Fulfillment of these tasks go. The comparison with the Moscow and Leningrad Party organization requires at the same time by the Berlin Party that they average the Growth of the entire party in Germany for miles must be expected. Berlin is a revolutionary outposts, a revolutionary vanguard! Berlin is also the Hegemon of the whole party, the all districts of the KPD visible in the realm of large characters must be proletarian achievements. Why have the Berlin transport workers' strike and the shiny Berliner election victory a special meaning on 6 November. Why are Weaknesses to criticize shortcomings and mistakes of our Berlin organization much sharper. On the 12th Plenum of the ECCI was the sharpest criticism of the German party, in particular on Berlin practiced, because we do not known how to lead strikes widely despite the massive escalation of the crisis. There was a certain lag behind the lens favorable conditions stated. We therefore measure our Berlin party organization with a sharper Bolshevik Scale!
The failure on July 20, our lack of opposition in the work Local government elections in DMV and the totally insufficient activity of our Unit Association of metalworkers in Berlin - these are not trifles, but extremely significant matters with even in today's district Congress as well as the entire conducted all focus of criticism is totally insufficient internal union work must be provided for the treatment. The issues of youth and women, who at the 12th plenary particularly acute were asked, must be treated much wider at the present Congress. Comrade Kuusinen criticized rightly our insufficient and defective work among working women. Nevertheless, we already made progress in this field have, these advances are in proportion to the overall progress of the party completely unsatisfactory. These weaknesses retreat behind the great and brilliant revolutionary achievements of Party: On November 6, we have won a huge election victory! We were again the strongest party! We arrived in Berlin-Brandenburg a votes of 1100000 Be right. Power you realize the full implications of this fact: In Berlin we already inspect a revolutionary army of more than 860,000 followers of Communism. We need to get this army firmly in the hand and activate it! We have a second fact: the initiation and implementation of the five days ongoing transport strike. This is a tremendous plus for our party! We have the Monopoly of reformists broken, with our mighty force thrown scabbing politicians on the wall, we created a fighting unit with the
SPD and party workers and, moreover, in the common front with the class Nazi proletarians in the struggle against class conciliation and class peace, the struggle for wages and bread! The intensification of the class struggle requires of us the sharpest revolutionary discipline. Revolutionary discipline is not blind obedience, it is no dictatorial military rule! But in view of the forthcoming sharp attacks the bourgeoisie we have the important factor of revolutionary discipline point. - In the Berlin party organization at the same time, the question of better joint cooperation of the squad, the joint elaboration of Problems and policies are made stronger and more positive. In this Area is in the Berlin organization places still many sick, although we already in lately seen some good progress. Our meetings should not command reception, no schematic routing instructions be, but they must his comradely consultations on the concrete treatment of struggle questions. - Only then we can demand of Lenin satisfy that of the vanguard of the proletariat close unshakeable bond with the mass of the exploited and oppressed Calls.

No resting on laurels!

After the Berlin transport strike and after the big election victory it must for Berlin give party organization does not rest on the laurels. The self-critical study of past struggles draws our attention especially to the serious shortcomings in the internal union front. But we also recognize at the same time tough, bold mass revolutionary work our comrades have done the BVG strike! The many comrades who her during strike fulfilled revolutionary duties, we are committed to our deep revolutionary Thanks speak. The fact that the BVG strike drew up a civil service similar workers, must in our propaganda be specifically under the postal learning and railwaymen. With the victory over the SPD, we have not yet reached the mass influence of the SPD and the ADGB eradicated in large companies and in the unions. We have therefore carried iron tackling and strong concentration of our work on the large farms, Key enterprises and expand our positions on the internal union work, same anchor organizationally and strengthen. He brought a tremendous revolutionary strengthen the power consciousness of the working class and also our own party.

The BVG strike was the highest form of struggle against the fascist Rule.

The main tenets of Transport Workers' strikes

And now a few words about the main teachings of the BVG strike. What he shows us? Think about all the seriousness of the situation at the time of the strike: if in addition to the kicked transport workers other large enterprises in the strike, then would be the front of the Transport workers have been strengthened enormously, we would have the bourgeoisie in an extremely serious and threatening situation added. The BVG strike was also the strongest success of our turn to revolutionary Mass work, the independent struggle triggering and warfare. This time stood SPD and ADGB open from the outset in the scabs front. Nevertheless, we succeeded in closed tripping and nearly closed execution of the strike for 5 days,
despite furious counterattacks of SNB Directorate and in spite of the state apparatus of power, despite the threats of martial law and military dictatorship.

So the BVG strike was the strongest positive revolutionary power of our Party and, under our leadership, the RGO. Of course, this also appeared to higher Level the remaining serious shortcomings and weaknesses.

What were the main weaknesses?
First: Our Party organization must be only the experiences in the initiation and Management of actions and struggles to acquire at such a high level, has only the lead Strike struggles, learn especially the mass strike struggles. Therefore, showed a insufficient use of the whole party organization to support, strengthen and Extension of the strike. We had some good concentration the entire force of the Organization to the strike, which was also the best form of the campaign. Partially but there was also a lack of commitment and a substantial diversion of forces the strike by the so-called election work. This shows the different stages of maturation of the Organization and demands of the Berlin comrades the most accurate study to anywhere specifically to draw the conclusions for the improvement of working.

A second deficiency was found partially in the connection between the line and the bottom Cadres of the party. While between the central management on the one hand and the lower on strike depots, train stations, etc. on the other hand usually was a good connection, was the Conjunction with the lower party organizations partially inadequate. This conveys among other things, the bad after-effects of the wrong reorganization with oversized Subdistricts from which we had to change now.

A third issue, also the biggest weakness was the aftereffect of the total Prostration chaise longue our internal union work. This revealed that despite us magnificent achievements not succeed to a sufficient extent, the strike-breaking Union bureaucracy under the reformist functionaries and free union organized workers isolate. The successes of the bureaucracy in mobilizing free trade union colleagues to break the strike were not very big, but in the long run they could yet break the strike front.

A fourth issue was the lack of use of our forces to maintain and increase the general mass sympathy for the transport strike. The glossy solidarity entire working population of the red Berlin left after a few days for something. The result for the future of the teaching that we in such strikes of the masses Population have much more gain for broad solidarity movements.

Another serious mistake was the lack of ideological fight against the Nazis. We must expose a priori the demagogic policy of Goebbels, Angel and Co. and the National Socialist Workers who mitstreikten honest, in contrast to them must bring. Here stood against the Nazis perform the same task as we over ask the reformists in such strikes in which the reformist bureaucracy of Reasons of maneuver for later strangling the fighting participates. Just as we here who fought against the Brandleristen the principle that the reformist show betrayal policy from the outset during the fight and their forthcoming must indicate strike betrayal, not only after they performed the betrayal already open have, just as we have to do it against the Nazis. That was in Berlin Transport strike neglected. Thus, the Nazi Party not lost in Berlin on November 6 as much votes as it was partly elsewhere in the case.

The last fact our weak to sail for the broadening of the strike front. We have this slogan Although championed on Friday and Saturday in leaflets, but here showed once again the Waiting our operating cells for instructions from above,
lack of self-initiative, the still existing weakness in the role of our cells.

In summary, one can say: Just because the BVG strike such a tremendous revolutionary fact is, it is necessary, with total openness to hand this strikes the identify remaining weaknesses. This is just the best method for raising the party in order to further improve the work and to even higher achievements to reach.

Such a positive-minded self-criticism of the great Fort Very activities, from the large emanates success of the BVG strike for our revolutionary activities, especially for the represents Berlin organization, also requires the sharp struggle against any tendency a sob opposition that the size of the revolutionary advance of the party and extraordinary importance of the BVG strike by a petty Hervorkehrung only weak places trying to deny.

Our line:

We have successes. Our struggle to change the party to revolutionary Mass politics going forward. This shows the Antifascist Action. This demonstrates the Strike wave. This shows the BVG strike. The show the election victories of 31 July and 6 November.

But we do not put us to be lazy, but let us through each success only to even greater demands on our own work as a revolutionary party, as leader of Masses inspire.

We need to see that the two classes, the proletariat and capitalism, always rugged face, and that their opposes collide getting sharper. Of the Fight is always fierce, and the bourgeoise leads this fight always stronger than a naked struggle for the preservation of state power and the defense of capitalist system at all.

No underestimating the struggle will of the working

The most dangerous in this situation would be an underestimation of the will to fight and the Fighting capacity of the working class. Also at BVG strike there were many comrades who it impossible held that the BVG workforce for two penny a total strike would perform. Much more than before, we have therefore the question of the brave Combativity of the proletariat roll. We have the issues in this area so questions, as put on the 12th plenary Comrade Manuilsky when he including it said that we in almost all plants, a series of missed opportunities, a chain of may find missed situations. - It's our job, after the BVG strike the gathering masses to new battles and mobilize! The forthcoming Implementation of a comprehensive wage degradation in many of Berlin's large farms must already show that we have learned from the BVG strike significant and crucial lessons.

The hoax of the SPD leadership

We need to set our entire party capable of fighting and offensive in the highest degree against social democracy and especially against their "left" hoax. - After November 6, said the SPD of a "victory of the Marxists", of a "victory Left "by pointing out that the KPD and SPD had won together. The SPD wants the masses vorschwindeln as if it were a Marxist party! Because of this
Deception wants the SPD blur the face of their own policies and our Election victory weaken.

Mr. target man explained in a narrow district board meeting in Cologne on November 7: "One must adopt the tactics to carry out an approach to the communist workers, to better solve the Communist leaders.

We must recognize that the Löbesche "united front" -Gerede that the remarks Otto Bauers "Amsterdam and Moscow would go together" and the other "Einheitsfron" - Projects of SPD are cheating maneuver in certain sections of the proletariat new to create illusions. It is nurtured that illusion that both parties KPD and SPD, to "Some" might as parties. We must see this issue seriously. We think always because it year before a three-quarters of the SPD been possible millions of followers for Hindenburg to mobilize!

We have under our revolutionary offensive, by our united front policy Angle approach of the principal side of the issues. Comrade Florin has to already said a lot. We must say the SPD-class comrades, that the unity of Proletariat no question of the unity of party to party. The bonds of the SPD to the Center, the compounds of Leipart over Stegerwald to Strasser with the objective of Producing the so-called "third front", commit ourselves to the SPD-workers show that we this fascist social-fascist united front of the leader, the must oppose the united front of the bottom of the class struggle. In World Wars already has the SPD, the working class split in the interests of the bourgeoisie and its war policy. Today the SPD marched with the police and the employers in order to wage robbery to perform, it is taking over in the factories and in the unions split Cleavage. These facts, it is the "united front" -Gerede the SPD leaders to face.

We need to pursue the "Left" maneuvers the SPD very seriously and every argument dissect. The in our own ranks provide occurring opportunistic Deviations, the Right opportunist main danger and that "left" sectarianism, further Such phenomena as the underestimation of partial actions are capable of certain to facilitate "radical" hoax of the reformists. - Particularly in connection with Partial struggles with actions for partial demands, in common class front with the SPD and ADGB workers we will be able easily to expose the fraud game the SPD.

In the struggle against the fraudulent theories of the SPD on the "state capitalism", in the Struggle against the demagogic slogan of "socialist action" and the "reconstruction of the Economic "We are using the findings and decisions of the 12th Plenary in Implementation of our general line the apparent opposition of the SPD and their fraudulent "Socialist" slogans can unmask. In the struggle against the fascist rule shall always be emphasized that the policy of the SPD leaders brought about the present misery and has paved the way for fascism.

On rewarding political field wants the SPD in recent days new fraudulent Illusions breed by reports such as the "forward", a large part of Entrepreneurs renounce voluntarily to the implementation of the wage degradation. The facts but we, for example, Krupp, Hoesch and in the steel industry of the Ruhr see prove them wrong and show that entrepreneurs target a 10 to 15 per cent reduction perform the piece rates.

In the struggle against the criminal SPD and ADGB fraud must us the RGO be particularly serious helper. We need to understand the thousands in the last
to anchor strike struggles developed new proletarian forces in the RGO and
the RGO to make a million proletarian movement. - Just because in
Future well maintained the union bureaucracy in some cases, the tactic
is to stand at the head of the strike in order to then strangle, for that very reason must
the struggle of the RGO with the largest fundamental sharpness are performed.
Exactly 40 years ago, in the period from 14 to 21 November 1892, found here in Berlin
Nazi Party instead of the SPD. If the protocols of this Congress and in particular
the speeches of Vollmar, Auer etc. checked, one finds even then the beginnings of those
Policy, later to World War politics, the civil peace with capitalism and
Coalition politics of the SPD led. Among others, for example, then in a
Resolution authorities asked (!), To obtain work opportunities for the unemployed.
The youth issue was settled in a single sentence. A former request for surrender
of youth literature, was how the protocol noted, "Without debate (!) Accepted."

To liquidate the Neumann group

Now some on the meaning of our struggle against the party-damaging work of the group
Neumann. I think this fight has our to high internal consolidation
out party, has the strength and power of our party against the class enemy
elevated. The outcome of the struggle against the Neumann Group represents a large, Politico
ideological victory represents the party. It was a victory of the Bolshevik Party leadership over
the deviations and errors of deviating from the general line of the Party Group,
that tried to act desorganisatorisch.
In February Plenum of the Central Committee, we signaled the misconceptions and errors
this group. In the struggle of the party against the Group activity and the anti-Party
Work of the Neumann Group has stood the party as a whole like a giant to its
mighty to fulfill their tasks Bolshevik.
The party has learned from the Wittorf case where rights and conciliators in the party to
wanted to go to make an opportunistic policy of general line of the party. We
then beat the rights and conciliators. We now have the Neumann group
smash that took off as a scout in the mountains to seek "new" way, the
right way but did not find, and then crashed.
The fight for the implacable fulfillment of our general line, it 11 on and
12. Plenum of the ECCI was set, has strengthened, consolidated and steeled our Party. This
Fight was a fight for the higher maturity of our party, a fight for a higher phase
Bolshevisation our squad.
Particularly reprehensible was the work of the Neumann Group in Communist
Youth League. The Plenum of the Central Committee of Youth has unanimously and closed at its last
Meeting his undying commitment to the party and the present leadership
pronounced. We have the KJV is the object of a large mass organization
be and to overtake the party. At the same time, the question of rejuvenation

Total cadres of our party. We go with revolutionary optimism with courage
Enthusiasm and passion to fight for the interests of the young proletariat and for
Bolshevisation of KJVD zoom.

Conquered the young proletariat!

We have seen that today more than 600,000 young people homeless and destitute in the
Highways are wandering. We just need the plundered proletarian youth in
the factories, in the towns, villages and on the roads our revolutionary goals
identify and give them socialist ideals. We need to show them under what
Conditions the youth living in the liberated Soviet country, we need to show them that our
Party the revolutionary way out of the crisis has, that the party is willing to work with the
proletarian youth to fight together against fascism and capitalism and
Win. More than once, our great teacher Lenin on the role and importance of
Youth pointed. we thought but only because, like during the war
revolutionary youth under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, together with a group of older
Class comrades from the Social Democratic movement at the head of the revolutionary
Fights stood and by their anti-war actions during Weltgemetzels
revolutionary struggles of 1918 preceded rushed.
A fortiori it is today, under which millions of young proletarians, the revolutionary fervor that
to rekindle revolutionary fervor to gather the youth under our banner
in the struggle against imperialist war and for socialism.
In the struggle against the fascist dictatorship are just in the next few days, weeks
and months before our party the biggest tasks. The "Red Flag" has full
said law that basically by our revolutionary offensive the cabinet Papen
Schleicher was blown up. Under our leadership prevented the fighting and
Strike action of the proletariat in large parts of the implementation of Papen
Emergency decree. was Our offensive reactionary plan, the factory workers
off against the unemployed, nullified. It failed the Papen Cabinet,
the proletarian offensive push back, he did not succeed, a consolidation of its
to achieve foreign policy. We Communists are against it marched forward and have
Millions of people who have not yet stood with us, and revolutionized in the fight out.
After the resignation of the Papen Cabinet show the attempts to recharge the
Government the efforts of the bourgeoisie, a tightening of the fascist dictatorship
perform.
Was the time of the Brüning government, the center the leading party of the German
Bourgeoisie, so now tries the bourgeoisie, the German National People's Party more
Even more than in the past few months, with their goal of higher development of
fascist dictatorship, turn. In our struggle against fascism, against the
Fascist rule must therefore fight against Hugenberg party that still have
certain followers layers in the circles of the petty bourgeoisie, the employee and
Civil service has to be tightened.

Our offensive against Hitlerism

We must above all in the biggest fascist party, the NSDAP, with the greatest
Attention pursue the development of new "left" Draped groupings.
The doubt in the near future-increasing decomposition process in the Hitler party
likely to lead to an attempt similar to the time when the "left" SPD, even when
Nazi special "radical" and "left" Draped groupings with "oppositional"
sounding highlight slogans and slogans. All such processes, we have the
to pay great attention and with the utmost seriousness by a tough, ideological
Mass campaign to unmask the social deceptions of the Nazis and the toiling
Trailer masses of the Hitler party for communism to win.
We have seen that in the Nazi Party the possibility of developing into a crisis
is available. It is, by our mass offensive this development to a crisis
accelerate.
"They will beat a path to the skull!"

has the danger of banning our party in recent days and weeks extremely aggravated. Papen has already stated during the campaign that he wanted the "Eradicate false prophets of Bolshevism in Germany, root and branch," We say Mr. Papen, however, that at the fire of Bolshevism already many a finger burned and that on the granite hard wall of communism itself many the has eingerannt head.

The bourgeoisie may remember that the imperialists at that time a total of 25 imperialist armies, with Wrangel, Kolchak, Denikin and Jew Nitsch at the top, sent forth to "eradicate root and branch" Russian Bolshevism. The But Bolsheviks counterrevolutionaries and White Guards with bloody heads sent home and their gangs broken up and destroyed. - We German Communists must recognize that our stronger anchoring in the large companies and within the Unions, the broadest deployment of mass and strike struggles, the closest Contact with the masses, the best security, the best response to the threat of ban the party is.

Course on the large farms!

The development of our Berlin party has some serious features: On May 31, 1930 we had a percentage of operating workers in the total membership of 43.5 percent. However, on September 1, 1932 this figure was only 23.7 percent. Since the 1930 but the Berlin Communist Party almost doubled its membership. But there were established at the same time only 77 new factory cells. Our influence is in the last two years, especially in Berlin grown enormously. One in three Berlin wants the Communism! I say why: We must succeed our party, a generous twist making in the field of orientation on the Betriebe- and large enterprises. We have a large-scale advertising under the operating workers and operating workers carry out. We must rely on the current fourth floor of our party a fifth floor and much of the 860,000 voters anchor organizationally! If we fail that, then it can happen to us that we fall from the fourth to the third floor. Without a solid, revolutionary foundation is the close link with the vast masses of the Berlin proletariat impossible and we are unable, our revolutionary to fulfill tasks.

With our 860,000 voters the circulation figures of our "Red Flag" is absolutely insufficient. - The "Red Flag" has evolved to a higher level. Workers Questions are already different set than in the past, the editors endeavor to inform the work experience to study, and all political questions with the general questions of working class life in bringing compound. Such sheet belongs in the hands of all working people in Berlin, belongs to the factories, such a sheet is an important ideological armor in battle against our class enemies. Holt lost time after in the field of advertising, overcomes the loss of speed! This also means strengthening our revolutionary Offensive against the bourgeoisie.

The Berlin-Brandenburg party organization must have its positions on the land much improve! The farm workers, we must not the agitation of the Nazis, the Stahlhelm or the SPD left. We must push forward vigorously on the estates and in the villages to the Pace of revolutionary upswing also in the country even more speed!

Bolshevik offensive!
The offensive of our party must be in the near future mainly on the following three main points focus:

First, mobilization of the masses against the fascist reaction, fight each intensification of the fascist dictatorship in all its forms, mass struggle against the in Education nascent Nazi coalition against impending party prohibition against threat Suffrage predatory and reactionary "constitutional reform".

Second, defending the vital interests of the workers and all working people, mass struggle against wage robbery, against busting of the Social insurance, Millions offensive of unemployed against hunger and frost.

Third mass offensive against imperialist war policy and against the Versailles System.

The broadest deployment of proletarian internationalism is of utmost importance for our struggle for the socialist way. The October of 1917 turned out to be not least also about victory, because especially in the mass proletarian struggles European countries, because by this practical proletarian internationalism the combined imperialists were weakened in the struggle against the Soviet Union.

Our international fight decisions, our manifesto against Versailles are of utmost importance. But it is to the implementation of these decisions. The old Social Democracy in Copenhagen, Stuttgart and Basel before the war resolutions taken "against the war". But where was the implementation thereof in practice?

We must therefore in the broadest extent the passions of the revolutionary Internationalism and antifascism kindle for implementing our decisions.

We have to fulfill Large and Giant Matters! The German bourgeoisie views with the greatest concern the growing revolutionary upsurge in Germany. Therefore her suppression and interdiction activities against our party! Yesterday here said an SPD Working with law: The ghost of communism propagated more and more in the minds of the working class. That's right, and of course increases our tasks!

The red Berlin at the top!

Before the Berlin party organization is a particularly large and daunting responsibility: This is where the political nerves and the political bloodstream of the bourgeoisie together. Here show with special crudity the internal difficulties and conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

We can say that the German party is based on three major pillars: your main foundations resting in the Ruhr area, by the water and, above all, in the main, on the red Berlin!

Thus, as indicated by the BVG strike, by the brilliant victory of our party of Berlin Total Party and the German workers gave new strength and new impetus, so must by strengthening and improving their revolutionary activity to a much greater extent the red Berlin throughout the German party precede!

Forward comrades, fulfill your duties, then the red Berlin will be the Leader in Struggle against the fascist rule. Then the red Berlin is the first and best his shock brigade of the revolutionary German army of liberation in the struggle for the sole Way, in the struggle for socialism!

The Red flag,

11/24/1932
Next, red Freedom Army
for more stringent anti-imperialist mass offensive

For 10th anniversary of the occupation of the Ruhr by Poincaré
On the eve of the battle in 1933, in the face of ten-year anniversary of Ruhr occupation by the armies of the Entente imperialism (11 January 1923), which provide Communist parties of Western Europe a renewed formidable manifestation of their implacable international offensive against the imperialist war policy Bourgeoisie and the imperialist Versklavungspakt of Versailles. The front on the few days in Essen took place, by the communist parties of Western Europe charged conference decisions taken - witness our incorruptible proletarian Internationalism, rapprochement and struggle brotherhood of workers, peasants and all Toilers of the capitalist countries of Europe against the Versailles system - be and need for propaganda and upcoming promotions of our party is of the utmost his direction vital.

New torrents chauvinist incitement, a new wave of nationalist Passions will unleash the fascist bourgeoisie in Germany to their upcoming foreign policy defeat, the Canossa in Geneva and the fiasco of disguise "Equal Rights" deceit and their new upgrade plans Militarization and Faschisierungsbestrebungen inside ("Reich Trustees for Youth exercise"), the militia and compulsory labor service plans, etc., the better can perform. The bourgeoisie wants social policy from the oppression and the fascist terror inside the country and divert the attention of the working masses more turn her into the "external enemy".

Tightening of Versailles crisis

On the economic basis of growth and intensification of the capitalist crisis We see in all capitalist countries an increase autarkischer aspirations that the promote fomenting a nationalist wave, and on the basis of which, in turn, both develop fascism and the chauvinistic war passions. - With the established by the 12th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International End of capitalist stabilization and in view of the growing revolutionary Upswing grow the efforts of the imperialists, to violent means to her to conquer economic body missing sales, raw materials or transport territories to tighten existing suppression ratios (Versailles, St. Germain) or on Due to changes in positions of power and alliance combinations so-called "new rules" the boundaries - in fact imperialist annexations and a redivision of the world - make. Behind all operations diplomatic or military forms of this type lurks more or less openly the intention of the extensions of these attacks to open military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The increasingly Balkanized Europe is now in a position which in various having regard certain similarities with the situation of the 1923rd - Rugged Changes in the foreign and the domestic political situation may occur because of the degree the crisis and the extreme fragility of the situation at any time enter.

The policy of Versailles robber powers is determined by the course of the war debt settlement, due to payment refusal of France and Belgium against America, by having a new aggressive imperialist course associated formation of the Paul-Boncour-
Cabinet in France, etc. again and exacerbates the problem of Tributversklavung Germany roll.
The not yet ratified the Lausanne Agreement, an attempt "Revision" of geratenen with the Dawes and Young Plan in the deadlock.
Tribute problem posed, is by paying US demands, by refusing the moratorium and by the refusal of France and Belgium to pay the Rate on Wall Street have been practically canceled. - The once leading to a tightening of Economic crisis, increasing vibrations of the capitalist financial system, particularly the creditor powers, and secondly new heavy toll expense for the German working people to new dishonoring imperialist agreements against the German proletariat and the working classes. 
With its chosen from Schleicher Cabinet foreign policy, with its stronger front against France (radio address) treading the Schleicher Government in large measure the configured by the Nazis for years way of Alliance experiment with Italy, England and some Danube States. The other foreign policy entanglements and the tightening of the German-French Opposition have given the deepening economic crisis and the growing revolutionary upsurge lead to a further tightening of Versailles crisis. With Schleicher's rearmament plans tried the German bourgeoisie - as well as the Paul Boncour in France and the imperialists of England - the chauvinist giving passions another lift and the war psychosis more food. 
With the help of Geneva "Five Powers" conference that once a smokescreen of "Peace" - built protestations and "disarmament" and mountains of waste from "Friendship" produced declarations, the imperialists intensify their war measures the armed host the contradictions among themselves. - The Polish imperialism, the more threatening rattles the Danzig Corridor with the saber, and more clearly his Occupation intentions towards Danzig, Memel, etc. expression there that German minorities suppressed tightened, just in the last days of December in the Port of Gdansk again not be misunderstood war maneuvers and aggressive imperialist threats against Germany performed. - In the Far East, the Japanese Imperialism has a bloody War offensive for further dismemberment of China and to consolidate its stolen started Manchurian positions. 
Thus, the international situation, the tightening of Versailles crisis, in Germany increasingly clear herauskristallisierende fire new war conflicts in the European continent, as well, the result of increased whipping up nationalist passions growing danger of military conflicts between Germany on the one hand and France and of Poland, the German Communist Party before a number of serious, highly responsible tasks to meet the German Communist Party as the strongest of all communist parties in the capitalist countries is particularly committed. 
The 12th plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has just in view of the "As they take the transition to a new series of major collisions between classes and states to a new series of revolutions and wars " and In view of the fact that "The periods short dimensioned to maturation of the revolutionary crisis are ", The particular responsibility of the German party before the international Proletariat found.
If we therefore, at the beginning of the battle in 1933 - on the occasion of the ten-year recurrence of the Ruhr occupation - from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism in a closer examination of the Ruhr war occur, we treat the Ruhr war not only as a historical object, but as an event of far-reaching international importance, the wealth of serious and extremely contemporary problems of proletarian class struggle, the great struggle for social and national liberation of the toilers contains within itself. - We undergo so conscientious these heroic stages of the proletarian struggle for freedom a serious Bolshevik studies to on as broad-based and to learn at the personal experiences, the world not only to interpret correctly, but in order to change the quicker revolutionary. The Ruhr War has the international proletariat valuable enrichment of his experience brought about the causes of imperialist wars, on the need of struggle against the enemy in their own country, about the traitorous role of Bourgeoisie in a war on the social-role of Social Democracy and focusing particularly on the successful anti-militarist actions of the German, French and Belgian communist youth organizations under the leadership of Communist Youth International. The brilliant revolutionary activity of Young Communists among the occupation forces, which are already partially open with the Rhein-Ruhr-workers fraternized, their officers refused to obey, and with the combined working masses to common struggles, glorious chapters in the history of the international working class youth. The Ruhr war and which have been made in Saxony in 1923 events cast about addition within the party and in the German working class a number of problems which are of crucial importance for the proletarian struggle for freedom (role of "Left" SP - Communism and national question - the united front policy - the issue of Allies, etc.).

Our battle cry a decade ago

The taken place around the turn of 1932-33 International Conference Western European communist parties and communist youth organizations in Essen wakes with their offensive combat decisions the memory of that on the eve of Ruhr occupation in Essen took place on 6 and 7 January 1923 meeting at which the Representatives of the communist parties of Germany, France, Belgium, England, etc. participated and - of great historical significance - an enthusiastic echo among German, French and Belgian workers found. From the German party were among others Comrades Hölein and from the French of grizzled fighter Comrade Cachin, further Comrade Mont-Mousseau appeared. While at this international conference - on the eve of the Poincaré Ruhr war the revolutionary weapon forged against the Versailles robber powers, marched SPD and ADGB - as now under Schleicher's command - the under the banner "Truce" in the army of chauvinism together with the Nazis. The SP France declared itself then open to the occupation of the Ruhr, and the Belgian King Socialist Vandervelde overturned in justification explanations for the participation of Belgium to the occupation of the Ruhr coal basin. The International Conference of communists a decade ago "aroused such a large Stir among the imperialist powers that even the French War Ministry of the matter concerned and in a comprehensive indictment the political decisions of this conference took up to them as evidence of
Attorney General of the French Republic submitted in its prosecution document our French comrades things to load from the international proletariat as forever glorious revolutionary deeds are celebrated. It was said, among other things, for example:

"The Essen Conference adopted a number of resolutions. This declared against for the fight the Treaty of Versailles, for the sabotage of military operations of the French Bourgeoisie and for the preparation of a general strike in France in case of war or a permanent occupation of the Ruhr. The conference concluded its work with the Drafting of a manifesto. In this manifesto we find the incitement to civil war, the Calling on the soldiers, the obligation not to do ... "etc.

About that time decided manifesto says in the indictment of the French Attorney General:

"But this manifesto is the long fierce indictment of the Treaty of Versailles and against the plan of the occupation of the Ruhr ... "

The French bourgeoisie had particular our venerable old comrades Cachin chalked very keen that he already in 1922 at the 4th World Congress Communist International had declared:

"For us in France the class struggle brings the duty to be most decisively against Treaty of Versailles to fight to show his pernicious consequences, to always noted the growing influence of the military in our country, the immediate evacuation of the left to require bank of the Rhine, to demand the immediate liberation of the 6 million Rhinelander, under the Yoke our militants are ... "

This heroic evidence of our fraternal, international fight against the Treaty of Versailles, this bold declaration of war of our French comrades against chauvinist power for more than a decade to fight courageously, we hurl especially now the Social Democratic War Patriots of all countries and the warmongering fascists face.

Could a decade ago, the German, French and Belgian communists also Ruhr invasion of the Inter-Allied troops not prevent were also no Mass struggles and mass strikes the Entente troops access to Ruhr coal basin deny, so we can now, after ten years of unstoppable Advance of communism in Germany, after the revolutionary upswing point in France on strong, well-established Communist parties that every effort strive to fulfill their revolutionary tasks.

Not fatherland, but profits

As "peaceful Engineering Commission" the troops marched into the Ruhr Poincaré on. It was, Ruhrkohle, this powerful weapon of Germany, and part of the chemical industry (Offenburg, Appenweier, Baden) to monopolize. Of the French capitalism used the provoked by the Ruhr heavy industry Denial of reparations for annexation of this crucial industrial Terrains, to produce an economic concentration between the basin and Briey Longwy, the Lorraine Minette and Ruhrkohle.

The French capitalism handle these projects an old plan of the Ruhr-Montan Great ones that especially in the years 1914-15 the permanent annexation of French and Belgian ore and coal areas in the east of these countries called. The
Creation of a European giant trusts should the planned German hegemony in Europe, Yes, the German world supremacy underpin economically.

Behind the occurring in January 1923 Ruhr invasion was mainly the French "Comité des Forges" (the Syndicate of the French iron and steel industry), in which Monsieur Cutter, France greatest Steel magnate, of the Main partners of Mammoth arms factory Schneider-Creusot, occupied the main square. In interest this "Comité des Forges" was also of the Ruhr coal and steel kings, the Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp and Co. planned link the Lorraine Minette with the coal and coke the Ruhr.

So not to honor and nation, not about homeland it was the Patriots the Ruhr war: It was about sounding profits to the highest possible proportion to the highest profit Percentage in the plunder of the Rhine and Ruhr proletariat it came to business, to profit!

Country Revealing bourgeoisie

It must all working people just today in the face of resurging chauvinistic -talking German bourgeoisie to recall how at that time the German capitalists the Poincaré, Degoutte Tirard, the French Warlords, threw to the neck, to participate in the business of war can. In the spotlight is only a remark today so nationalistic puffed and Nazis protegierenden "Berliner Börsen-Zeitung" wrote on January 23, 1923

"It may be recalled that the German side, the idea of an economic Cooperation based on a Austauschet of Ruhrkoks against Lorraine Minette never has been rejected from the outset ... "

The dirty traitorous pandering of the German bourgeoisie to the French imperialism is a prime example of nationalist conceptions of terms such as "Fatherland", "home", "nation", etc. - We experienced not so long ago, as the "Vestag" Corporation", the Ruhr, Germany's largest steel Trust, under the leadership the percentage Patriots Flick million subsidy by the government from the pockets the taxpayer received that the Group mighty this patriotic mammoth operation threatened to move the blocks of shares of their company in France!

Particularly at this time, since the fascist Schleicher government since the Nazis, since the social-fascists and all bourgeois parties vying with each other in order to be true "representatives of the nation" to praise, was the traitorous role of German Bourgeoisie, under the servile submission of the bourgeois parties and leaders the dictates of the imperialist occupiers Ruhr-out:

No one other than the then Chancellor Cuno declared himself in complete Accordance with the criminal plan of heavy industry, under the leadership of Business patriots Stinnes willing to surrender to French imperialism and to submit the following suggestions.

The German heavy industry, agriculture and trade agree to annually 500 to pay million gold marks in reparations, with the French Occupation authority helps them
a) to liquidate the eight-hour day,
b) the German railway, also the local, the so-called "state enterprises" and activities including big industry to deliver as collateral.

So the German heavy capitalists implored the protection of bayonets Poincaré reduced to an immoderate plundering of the German proletariat to the toll policy, and to the Clearance of Germany perform.
As in the Rhine-Ruhr factories in spring 1923, the workforce in combat and
entered strike action against the inflationary wage robbery to things happened that the
toiling German people who never forget especially our toiling youth
is and must be forgotten.
The official German government officials, Mr. Lutter Beck, turned then personally
the commanding general of the French army of occupation to Mr. Degoutte
and asked him earnestly, with the help of its military impending uprising of the Rhine-Ruhr
Workers put down! - This crime is like a hair's breadth of infamy of Thiers
and Galifet during the Paris Commune, as these counter-revolutionary executioners 1871
joined in the struggle against the revolutionary Communards with Bismarck and with the
Prussia joined an alliance against the insurgent Paris proletariat. - Mr Lutterbeck,
1923 on behalf of Cuno and the German bourgeoisie Mr Poincaré for help
its machine guns begging in the struggle against the metals, mining, textile and
Chemistry workforces of the Rhine and Ruhr area, so only asked for the redemption of that
Exchange, the Bismarck the executioners Thiers and Galifet in 1871 was when the Prussians
the Versaillese (counterrevolutionaries) permitted, on the northern and eastern forts
from Paris to march against the struggling Communards.
When, by the imperialist occupation authorities with the approval of Stinnes, Krupp
Lutterbeck, Chancellor Cuno etc. planned suppression of the Rhine-Ruhr proletariat
failed, the official German bourgeoisie the Rhine-Ruhr area was willing his
to leave their own destiny, to let sink it to the separatists, the
Rhine, under French protectorate Sonderbündlern, the field free to
provide for the implementation of their traitorous policy. - Large parts of the bourgeoisie,
particularly the Centre, have - as proven on hundreds of documents
can be - the secession aspirations of Dr. Dorten, the Orbis, Matthes and Co.
supported.
Alongside the Ruhr War was then still sounding, profitable business for the German
Entrepreneurs, especially the Ruhr capitalists. So was the German bourgeoisie, in addition
their inflationary raid on the pockets of starving people, from Empire resources
(Ie labor tax dollars!) More than 200 billion paper marks (which are 200
Million gold marks!) To finance the "Ruhr struggle", through the path of
Discounting of commercial bills of much of German enterprises.

Social Democracy as a tool of nationalist rulers

It must be determined before the entire international working class that the
Social Democracy from the beginning of the Ruhr war on the criminal game of
Patriots percent and the folly chauvinist incitement exactly like the
has been through imperialist war crimes of 1914- 1918th The SPD signed
together with the German National People's Party and learning, together with the Centre the
nationalist calls for "patriotic unity".
The SPD closed the "truce" with the mortal enemies of the proletariat strengthened to
Time when the most ruthless war castle was the order of the day. - The SPD denounced
many places Communists in the occupation authorities, they organized with the German
Authorities jointly hunts against revolutionary workers, while Leon Blum and
Paul Boncour in France Mr Poincaré, Degoutte and Tirard as
social-helper promptly as war expenditure for the implementation of
Ruhr occupation approved. - In the Ruhr coal district celebrated the Social Democratic
Union leaders of the occupation authorities "arrested" Mine directors as
"National heroes" and fought - together with the mountain men - against any strike
Miners. - For example, the "hero" of the Second International proved on both sides of
Frontier posts as faithful Fridoline the imperialists, as willing tools of
nationalist rulers.

Heroism of our youth

Was the flaming protest the Soviet Union, the protest of the single state of the earth against
the Ruhr occupation, a widely luminous signal the class solidarity of the country of
Workers and peasants with the oppressed Germany, thus forming the joint
mass revolutionary struggle of the German, French and Belgian Communist
Parties against the rape of the working people in the Rhine and Ruhr one big
Glorious page in the history of the proletariat. Already during the invasion of the Inter-Allied
Troops appealed revolutionary posters in two languages to the class solidarity of the
Proletarians in uniform.

In a few weeks, then thanks to the tireless work of the French
Youth League, in close cooperation with the German Young Communists, in the
main barracks of the occupation forces created revolutionary soldiers cells. Whole
Bales of revolutionary soldiers newspaper "La Caserne" flew through doors, windows and
the barracks walls in the soldiers Stuben the Franco-Belgian occupation army. It
not long - and all the companies of the Poincaré Army were in some
Ask already infected by the communist "bacillus". Often rang at her
punishment have transportation from the stations revolutionary songs. In the forests of the Rhine
and the Ruhr were seen more frequently whole columns and companies of revolutionary
Occupation soldiers during punitive.

Million francs threw the French general command from the corruption of
Population to buy Judases, informers, spies and Eight Grosch boys and to
Communist propaganda to areas under the occupation armies stop. But
vain! Always close was in many places the relationship between forces and
the Rhine-Ruhr proletariat ... indescribable jubilation it provoked eg, as in 1923 when
Youth Days in Dusseldorf in mass deployment of the Young Communists a squad of 150
Soldiers in uniform, revolutionary singing songs mitmarschierte.

The revolutionary anti-militarist activity of our Communist Youth League
during the Ruhr war is one of its most glorious eras, one of the most heroic
Sections in its development and history. - More than 100 young communists from
Rhine and the Ruhr and the 27 in Mainz Central Prison by the French
Imperialism imprisoned revolutionary young workers in uniform - they are young
Hero, cheering examples of heroic vigor and fighting proletarian
Internationalism.

The German bourgeoisie celebrates those Leo Schlageter, the by the French in
Golzheimer Heide was shot as their national hero. Leo Schlageter died for those
German bourgeoisie, the pact with the French imperialism! During the occasion
the ten-year anniversary of his death anniversary tribute fascist politicians Rally
be a coup at his grave new war crimes, while well-known
will vibrate Versackungspolitiker nationalist speeches, we will not forget,
that he as Baltic troops once against the Russian workers and peasants the deadly lead
fired that he and during the Kapp Putsch as White Guard at the side of the iron
Kohl kings his lead bullets chased against those Ruhr proletarians, against the 1923 Mr. Degoutte
the machine guns of the Entente taught.
Martyrs our antimilitarist work!

We Communists are commemorating today especially our brave young revolutionary hero from the Ruhr wars that their loyalty to the proletarian class, their passionate battle for social and national liberation of the working people with her young passion paid!
We pray for our young and brave Hugo Demaré from food, to a ball French detectives met, we think of the Krupp-operation of the French soldiers shot dead comrades Zander, our comrades from the Seibach Ruhr, the one operating in a French cell death, we commemorate the Youth comrades Scherer, the French executioner after a German police officer him had handed over to the occupation authorities, tortured to death.
We remember more of the dozens of nameless heroes, the French in the Prisons in Ludwigshafen, Wiesbaden, in the Hunsrück, the Eiffel etc. unspeakably tortured, killed some of brutally, and we remember the many, many Proletarians who, by the French fire volleys on Holy Saturday 1923 Krupp-operation were struck down in Gelsenkirchen Train Station, Dusseldorf, Cologne, etc..
The name of our young revolutionary heroes, their brave actions during Ruhr struggle have as vivid examples revolutionary deep into the heart of our proletarian and the entire working youth are buried! Amid the kindling chauvinist Schlageter cult and nationalist "hero worship" we refer to our heroic fighters, the Federated-walls along the Rhine and Ruhr - the martyrs proletarian struggle for social and national liberation Germany. emulate the example of our best honor and serious needs his duty of every young communists.

With great pride today can still see the Communist Party on the actions of the revolutionary youth Hundreds how ever the proletarian hundreds to Time returns the Ruhr war. They were the ones who opposed fascism bold and on Aegidenberge at Honnef am Rhein and many other battles of France bribed and partly armed by the Centre Party mercenary breed of separatism in escape beat. Throughout the mass struggles of 1923, which in its peak Cuno strike found the great importance of the mass strike was before the masses as political weapon rolled. tore the chain of political strikes and mass strikes not from, it constitutes today a part of the most important experiences of struggle of the German Proletariat.

Against any distortion of Leninism

We were communists during the Ruhr war and are today - the transition to a new series of wars and revolutions - the only standard-bearer of the proletarian Internationalism, the only leader of the working masses in the fight against imperialist war policy and the Schanddiktat of Versailles. He went 10 years ago brave the revolutionary struggle of appeal contending internationalism so resounds today the sharper our battle cry against the fascist dictatorship Schleicher and against Raiders Versailles Treaty - against the "enemy within" and against Tribute shame.
In the fight against the proletarian class enemies our party leads at the same time a wide campaign for self-critical review of slogans, slogans and tactical Measures the KPD during the occupation of the Ruhr. For the purposes of our ideological offensive apply it in practice long since liquidated with the weapon of Leninism, the struggle against the misconceptions of brandleristichen party leadership during the occupation of the Ruhr,
our Bolshevik position on the problem of national liberation under the wearing masses.

It was as profound opportunism and a smooth distortion of the decisions of the Communist International when the Brandlerführung by the National Committee German works immediately after the occupation of the Ruhr in mass leaflets to position represented,

"The German nation could only be saved from destruction when the toiling masses succeed to overthrow the traitorous exploiters and the expense of to make reparation payments from their profits as long (!) ... "

to - wait for it now on -

"Until it is possible ... by a defensive block of the German, Austrian, Russian Workers and peasants, and with the aid of the oppressed workers and peasants in India and Egypt (!) A combat-capable defense against the arrogant peacemaker (!) Of Versailles to lead."

This thoroughly reformist conception of Brandleristen, as long as the to fulfill tribute until a - 'defensive unit "and a" combat-capable defense front " was achieved even with the Egyptian laborers, corresponded to a social democracy related ideology and expressed even in a quite serious appeal of Brandleristen

"The German bourgeoisie, apply at least as much patriotism to the cost of to take tribute so long in coming, until it had been possible ... "etc.

One must not be surprised today that reputation the German patriots percent at enjoyed our Brandleristen and which "patriotic sacrifice" them this profit and booty-hungry vultures on top of that were confident! Against all right opportunist distortions of our international decisions to fight on the line of our social and national liberty program and the Anti-Versailles proclamation will be an equally indispensable task, as against brandleristischen theses from the year 1923 to fight that the "victory of fascism faselten on the November Republic, further comprising a

"Block with the left SPD for the purpose of seizure of power (!) And in the meantime to democratic way "(!) (Brandler theses)

suggesting practical also conducted and at the October defeat of German were complicit proletariat. In the struggle against all these right opportunist views, against luxemburgistische remains (eg in of the question of Self-determination!') And against any Trotskyist tendencies, our party must grow and consolidate internally to their effectiveness in the coming battles to increase and strengthen.

Dictatorship of the proletariat beyond Versailles

According to the momentous decisions of the International Conference in Essen from January 1933, the German Communist Party a broad mass offensive against the Schleicher dictatorship against the new socially reactionary attacks (margarine-price increase, Customs usury, etc.), against the new predatory measures to support sets etc. lead and the most energetic struggle against the war, Faschisierungs-, militarization
and toll policy lead.
It is true that now especially with social trappings up worn chauvinist wave
crucial to break the nationalist Ruhr occupation Rummel, in particular the
to expose Nazi "anti-Versailles" scams, our offensive in the
Arms factories into carry a wide mass campaign against the intensifying
War actions of the imperialists in Gdansk, Memel, etc. perform!
We fight with the Polish Communist Party for the right of free
Self-determination of the population of Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor, for the
Legal population of Danzig to voluntary union with Germany. With big
We proudly refer to the decision of the International Conference from January 1933 to fight

"Against the enslavement of nations and national minorities in Czechoslovakia, against the
Deprivation of the Austrian people ... ", for the self-determination of the people of Alsace
Lorraine to secede from France, for the liberation of the Saar of
imperialist occupation ".

Our "treason"

We know that our struggle for the liberation of the working people is not easy! As the
to infamieren tsarist bandits Lenin as "German spy" and "traitor"
tried, as the German bourgeoisie brave during the last war our
Comrades to Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg as "traitors" and "Dolchstößler"
cursed - as the German bourgeoisie will step up their efforts, our party
to portray "foreign" than to infamieren our comrades as "traitors" and
it as "outlandish agents" to slander. -
We know this jargon well enough from the past struggles of the international
Proletariat. Recently still has a leading German industrial Ellen-Journal, the
"Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung", the arrest of leading German Communists
demands, because they - to the chagrin of the German business Patriots - abroad against (!)
the Versailles shameful occurred and the possibility - what a proletarian
Internationalists is obvious - the war policies of German
Bourgeoisie unmasked.
If we Communists just now again our battle flags unfurl against
Imperialists, against the Versailles bondage, then we want a word Lenin
indicate that written on the American working a on August 20, 1918
Letter is taken. Lenin said there about the Soviet Union, on the land which the
Tribute contracts tore:

"The first country that has torn the forced shackles of imperialist war was our country.
We have brought the worst victims, to break the bonds, but we have
blown up. We stand outside the imperialist commitments, we carry out before the whole
World the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism ".

In the spirit of Lenin!

And two years later, at a conference of the Chairman of the Executive Committee and Circle
the village soviet of Moscow province hurled Lenin again his battle cry
against the Versailles Treaty of prey "of assassins and robbers", but at the same time to hand the
the way the laceration of the Versailles Pact aufzeigend victorious Russian Revolution:

"The Versailles Treaty but is an agreement of murderers and robbers. As us the peace of Brest
Litovsk was imposed, under whose yoke we were as long as they shouted in
around the world, it was a robbery peace. When Germany was defeated because yelled the League of Nations, whose members had fought against Germany, which was a war of liberation, a Democratic war been.
It forced Germany to make peace, but this peace was a peace of usurers and Executioners, because Germany and Austria were plundered and dismembered. They took these Countries all means of life, let the children starve and die of hunger.
This is a monstrous predatory peace. So what is the Treaty of Versailles? A monstrous Predatory peace, the tens of millions of people, and among them the most civilized, enslaves. This is not a peace that are contrary conditions with a defenseless victim of robbers have dictated the knife in his hand.
Our army has shown the world that the Treaty of Versailles is not that power, as you hinsteadt him that hundreds of millions of people are now condemned to decades to pay themselves and force their grandchildren and great grandchildren to pay bonds to the French, English and enrich the other imperialists. The Red Army has proved that this Versailles Treaty has no very solid foundation. After completion of this Versailles Treaty has shown our army that ruined Soviet Russia in the summer of 1920 - thanks to this the Red Army - close to it was to gain complete victory. The whole world saw that there is a force of the Treaty of Versailles is not terrible, and that no Versailles treaties and the power of the working Farmers can break when thoroughly with the landowners and capitalists settle understand. 

So Lenin shows us the roadmap: The road to national liberation goes through the way the seizure of power by the proletariat, in alliance with the working classes, he goes only on the path of social liberation.
Communism is in Germany, this "gash Europe", already a Power factor of unprecedented real power become. - Every day again demonstrates the inability and the inability of the bourgeoisie, to avert the crisis avalanche and the reluctant to unite interests of individual groups. - The larger growing responsibility the Communist Party and of each of its members!
In fraternal fight alliance with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, in close Bonding with all German workers, in solidarity with the fight Bonding the proletarians of France, Poland, Belgium and Italy - over the rubble and scraps Raiders of the Versailles diktat away - forward for social and national liberation of German workers! Forward on the way to the workers 'and peasants' republic!

*The Red flag*,
01/11/1933
The Nazi provocation before Karl Liebknecht House
and some lessons

January 22 was primarily characterized by the overwhelming mass mobilization of red Berlin that the slogans of his party, the KPD, the slogans. Mass mobilization against the fascist provocation episode contributed. On January 22 showed the antifascist mass force of the Berlin proletariat that by no threats, whether of Nazi terror Garden, whether the organs of power bourgeois dictatorship, quenched and intimidated and, with proper policy of the KPD no longer paralyzed crucial by the cowardly surrender slogans of the SPD leaders can be. What took place in Berlin on 22 January, was over the fiasco of a major Nazi provocation of the government Schleicher-Bracht and her Police Commissioner Melcher through the full array of their whole police apparatus, through the use of armored cars, police snipers, Mounted policeman and by the de facto imposition of martial law its full support was granting. The rapid political reaction of the party, the rapid and brilliant mobilizing of Ranking employees who wore the Empörungssturm by Berlin and State with the wave of mass protest united to the punch bodies was, as it were a ordeal of red Berlin for the defense even more serious fascist provocations, Coup plans and other attacks against the working class, their party and their Mass organizations, which equips the bourgeoisie. Such actions in the line of other jerky intensification of fascist Dictatorship are these days with cynical frankness of the big capitalist press propagated. For such actions in the line of a new July 20 at a higher level has the Reichswehr-Chancellor Schleicher in the guise of "social general" the terrain prepared. The introduction of such actions should the filthy Nazi provocation From January 22 serve, the deployment of the fascist provocateurs front of the house, the name Karl Liebknecht bears and in which the party of the German working class, the strongest party in the red Berlin, has its headquarters.

The balance

So was January 22 for the whip and henchmen of fascist dictatorship a sample. And what was the result? Mr Schleicher, who replaced Papen to the fascist dictatorship a broader basis in the to gain mass, has the fascists the power apparatus of the police to support their provocation made available after the Hitler party by the postponement of Reichstag on 20 January tolerating policies for the Schleicher-Bracht-Government again continued in stark and unambiguous manner. He thus entered Papen footsteps of rise of the Hitler Garden in the saddle and let it with the lifting of the a cardboard ban the SA and SS columns paid. But the period of time from those of the passed weeks and months before July 20, 1932 to January 20, 1933 has been in the Formation of class forces a serious turnaround initiated. At that time came the Business of Papen and Hitler on the rising wave of Nazi Advance about, while now the pace of the revolutionary upsurge Fascist development in the masses surpassed and compared to incipient Decomposition phenomena in the camp of National Socialism unfolds.
In signs of turnaround of class forces

Also on January 22 was marked by this turnaround of class forces in favor of proletarian revolution. With the help of the entire police force could the Hitler namely to allow fascism march his Civil War Guard in the streets of Berlin, backed by 15,000 police carbine, truncheon, by armored cars and other Tools of the civil war, but the masses of the National Socialist voters were under the pressure of the protest storm the Berlin class-conscious workers to the reputation of Hitler's party not followed on the street. There can be no deeper shame for a mass party like the Hitler party in Berlin has many hundreds of thousands of followers as that picture last Sunday, where the SA and SS columns throughout Berlin under Contempt or active resistance of the masses behind the broad back of Bobby had accompanied draw without masses. Who is not pushed as crass counterpart the image of those marches of the Red Front Fighters' League to mind that, celebrated by the passionate sympathy and stormy enthusiasm of the masses, so often through the streets of the red Berlin marched before the Social Democrat Severing as a precursor of the Lord Bracht this antifascist mass organization robbed the legality and thus the main service contributed to today's provocations of fascist terror columns?

saved the revolutionary honor of Red Berlin

In cold-blooded determination and revolutionary discipline the red Berlin has led the Communist Party of the provocative plans of Hitlerism and its capitalist authority thwarted. The bold Elan proletarian Counter-demonstrators, the storm in the factories and work references, the superior Discipline of the masses in the face lause Direction police carbine, armored cars and police snipers with machine guns - which resulted in all those Mass resistance, with the Berlin proletariat the Nazi columns with an iron hand the Ring of isolation from the masses umlegte. Once again, as in the days of May 1929, - provocative then against the Plans, the workers have the right to 1 May as a world day of struggle of the proletariat rob - the Communists at the head of the masses, the revolutionary honor of the red Berlin safeguarded. At that time, 1929, it was the Social Democratic leaders Severing, Grzesinski, Zörgiebel that and the police carbine, armored cars, machine guns Wasserwagen against 1. May parade of the Berlin workers inserting. Today, in 1933, are it Schleicher, Bracht and Melcher, the Hitler civil war Garden of counterrevolution feedforward chicken against the workers and with all the instruments of power of the state apparatus equip. No Social Democratic workers can deny that today's provocations Fascist reaction and its Nazi terror organizations unthinkable would, if not the counterrevolutionary politics of the Socialist Coalition Minister and police chief opened the way for Hitler and Schleicher would. No social democratic or free union workers is the can close knowledge that crimes against the proletariat with the prohibition of main antifascist organization, the Red Front Fighters' League, through the SPD leaders were committed.

Surrender slogans of the SPD leaders
Leader of ADGB not again the same solution as issued on July 20, 1932 at fascist coup in Prussia? So as time against the invitation of KPD to participate in the general strike against the fascist dictatorship with deserts Insults the KPD and treacherous capitulation slogans for their own followers answered, so they gave this time the slogan, the call of the Communists Mass mobilization to make no award.

We know that this treacherous policies not the will of broad masses social democratic workers, free union organized colleagues and Reichsbanner comrades equivalent. The numerous Reichsbanner workers and SPD comrades under the counter-demonstrations against the Hitler-provocation the Singing was attended "International" last Sunday, the signal of a new its ascending wave of the proletarian united front movement, the zoom up like in Last summer, when the Communist Party of Germany for large United front movement of Antifascist Action called. Today, we are always greater successes achieved - far beyond the January 22 addition, if the cadres of our Officials the full understanding of the relation between individual and antifascist moods the masses develop and bring to evaluate.

It is the growing class consciousness and the healthy proletarian class instinct also Socialist Workers drives go, the slogans of the Communists for antifascist united front of struggle against the fascist dictatorship and Hitler recognize fascism as right and necessary, and to obey them.

The masses understand that the provocation against the Karl Liebknecht House not only a Stop against the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but a punch in the represents face every class-conscious worker. The masses realize that her party, the Party of the struggle for economic and political interests of the working Masses, the party of strikes against wage-robbery and the fight against fascist Suppression is attacked. The masses understand that it is here, determined and unreservedly the worker ownership, the workers' houses, the workers blood against the fascist terror defend, the attack on the Karl Liebknecht House only a higher form which is what we German workers with countless raids fascist counterrevolution on trade union offices, Public Housing, Local workers and all sorts of institutions of the labor movement have already experienced.

SPD-workers in the anti-fascist front

Just as in Frankfurt aO, in Itzehoe and elsewhere, yes, even during an attack of the Nazis the Reichsbanner workers in "forward" building, the Communists and the revolutionary workers always their honorable duty saw it, the hard-pressed to rush classmates to help so many Socialist Reichsbanner workers now recognized and union colleagues that the attacks of fascism them as good apply, as the party of the German working class, the leader of the revolutionary Proletariat, the Communist Party. The honest, combative, magnificent solidarity This social democratic classmates is the best answer to the propaganda of the SPD Editors and ADGB leader. When Socialist newspapers, such as the "Rheinische Zeitung" of Mr target man, not ashamed, side by side with the Nazis on the occasion of January 22 to play a direct role dirty provocateurs by the sense after about scoff that the KPD against the police occupation of Karl-Liebknecht House and the square Bülow had not complied with armed resistance, but the way of mass mobilization struck, the historical conditions
class-conscious workers and their purposeful in cold-blooded determination marching revolutionary way, has never and will never be the class enemy their Tactics or even make the appointment for the decisive battle prescribe. We are proud the iron discipline of the active and militant masses of red Berlin that the Slogans and slogans of the Communist Party and confidence show through no demagogy or provocation could be swayed in it. Still demagogic, but no less shameful is the attempt of the "forward", the with Phrases, like that of a "successful trial of strength" of the reaction, depression moods in the working class tries to wear. We Communists call the Social Democratic workers, the union colleagues Proletarians in Reichsbanner and the young proletarians "in the SAJ and Gewerkschaftsjugend the common fight against the fascist reaction. The Communist Party requires all its members and all their followers, given the rising wave of terrorism of Hitlerism at each raid the SA-columns on social democratic or nonparty class comrades to active, more determined and more vibrant solidarity. The Communist Party commits all its members and supporters, in every operating, on each stamp body, in any trade union or other mass organization, it may be athletes, freethinkers and other formations, especially among youth, in fraternal camaraderie the fight alliance with the Social Democratic, the Christian, the unorganized and all other class comrades against the common close class enemy. It calls the Christian masses of workers to struggle to break with the capitalistic center policy!

I ideological Offensive for obtaining the Nazi Workers

The Communist Party also appeals to the broad masses of Nazi supporters. There is a huge difference between those SA- and SS columns, attempting provocative break into the working-class neighborhood or Attacks on workers' houses and Workers Local companies, and between the broad Mass of those tormented by the misery of the crisis workers, employees, medium-sized, Artisans and small traders or even the toiling peasants in the village, Nazism allegiance rendered or afford because they demagogic the Shouting and the false promises of Hitler, Goebbels and Strasser faith gave. This difference occurred demonstratively on 22 January in Berlin in appearance than the Trailer masses of Nazism the street stayed away because large portions of them the provocation of Hitler and Goebbels did not approve. Here it is important for the Communist Party and the revolutionary working class, with all breaking false and harmful inhibitions and in accordance with decisions of the Party in the most generous way, in addition to the active mass struggle against the murder terror to ideological offensive, to proceed to mass work under these layers. We must these masses in patient educational work, the real role of the Hitler party in Services of financial capital, the Trust kings, big landowners, the officers and princes show. We must explain to the masses that the emergency decrees of Papen and Schleicher, that the anti-people policy of the Schleicher and Bracht that all attacks of bourgeois dictatorship are fully supported on the help NSDAP, "on their wide Buck "the Papen and Schleicher, the Junker and Barone, the industry kings and generals govern.
But not only the followers of Hitler, but also the active soldiers of the SA and SS must the revolutionary workers bring to consciousness, for whom and for what they deployed. Did all SA men who are members of the Hitler Youth, the behind on Sunday

Police carbines protected "demonstrate" were that they did as soldiers of Finance capital, as protecting their money bag, as auxiliary police for securing the Capitalism? Did they know that two days earlier the head of the Nazi Reichstag, Herr Frick, the meeting of the Reichstag and the vote of no confidence had prevented against Schleicher-Bracht-government, they knew that the Nazi Group had offered the Reichstag by Fricks mouth, the Schleicher-Bracht-Government tacitly until March and about to tolerate addition?

We need to tell them. We, the Communists and class-conscious workers, must in Town and country among the masses of the Nazis and their fellow Enlightenment create and storm drum of mass struggle, the mass strike and general strike stir against the fascist dictatorship.

Recovers an ally of the freedom struggle of the working class

Just as we relentlessly in sharpest struggle against the leaders of the SPD and the ADGB, in Defense of the revolutionary principles of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Lenin,

Principles of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship with the shining example of Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party in mind, struggling to the majority of Working class under our banner in the struggle against capitalist society,

to unite against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all its forms, we need to the strongest political and ideological offensive against the Nazis about fighting,

the toiling middle classes in urban and rural areas of the guide by the bourgeoisie tear and under proletarian hegemony as an ally of the freedom struggle of Working class to win.

Today the Landbund serving the Agrarian Party and the Hitler Party may with demagogic maneuvers broad peasant masses fraudulently a fight for their Interests pretend. Today the bourgeoisie can in this way is still the Hegemony over the peasant masses obtained, although it appears their interests underfoot, although their entire agricultural policy of corrupt, unscrupulous enrichment of Big landowners and East Elbe Junker with simultaneous displacement of poor farmers of the soil is. It is up to us to show those working classes that only under the Hegemony of the proletariat, only in the following industrial workers their struggle for Ground to make bread to a dignified existence, their struggle against lease usury, interest and Tax burdens can be led to success.

In the whole of Germany, in the city like a village, in the South and the North, the East and in the West we call communists the masses to resist the capitalist Ausplünderungspläne, to fight against the fascist coup plans against the Deprivation of rights and suppression of the masses against the yoke of the fascist dictatorship.

Way With Schleicher-Bracht! struggle the Hitler fascism! Against the class treacherous policies of the SPD and ADGB Guide! Long live the struggle for workers' and peasants' republic! This battle cry of proletarian battalions have millions resound throughout Germany. In the coal mines, the shipyards, the Metal factories, the chemical hells, the textile factories, in the workshops of the railway on Road railway stations, gas stations and power plants - everywhere upgraded to strike!

Anywhere carries out the reputation of the Communists: fight the system of exploitation and Terror! Mass struggle for bread and work! Mass struggle for freedom of the working class! Mass struggle for the elimination of the fascist dictatorship! Mass struggle for proletarian
Comrades

The importance of today’s conference it is clear from the fact that undoubtedly due to the formation of the Hitler government such intensification of Class struggle has occurred, as we had recorded little more since 1918 ...
The proletariat and the working people around the world look at us and (to) the German Proletariat. The Russian workers and peasants overlook us. The communist Brother parties in France, Czechoslovakia, Holland and all have glossy its solidarity announces the difficult struggle of the (German) proletariat. The German party has an important key to the revolutionary upsurge throughout Europe in her hand. We must lose no time. Now threatens the coup. threatens now the destruction of the party. Now are in the highest degree decisive weeks.
The race that is set before us, is the most difficult, the party has to exist. He can not are compared with the years since 1923. He gives each Communists even higher Responsibility as himself in that situation. Immediately we have the offensive take, then we have a chance for us.

To send us a clear picture of the new situation, their class-background and the to make further prospects, I will try to lead the first factors that have led to the current situation.

The other side of the process, these partial successes to the fraudulent schemes of the bourgeoisie facing, is the continuation and the further increase of the revolutionary upsurge, the Schleicher could not stop. Early January (1933) it was undoubtedly temporarily the bourgeoisie, the SPD and the Nazis succeeded us the offensive something to take out of his hand. Then, in connection with the Bülow Square-Provoking Hitler gangs 3 We were able to re-pass in the offensive. It showed what an intensification of the class struggle has occurred. Just as at the five to six days BVG strike 4 in November very quickly to a revolutionary condition worsening and zoom brought higher form of class struggle, as was shown with associated our counter-offensive against the SA-provocation end of January again and even increased, that the process of maturing of the revolutionary crisis in Germany already applicable is advanced that relatively minor events quickly a stormy acceleration of revolutionary development and an extraordinary intensification of the class struggle can bring ...

1 A manuscript or Transcript of Remarks has not been found. There are only those extracts condition of unknown origin that of the Nazi justice in the indictment against Ernst Thalmann have been included. Your - full - Playback is according to the transcript, the Ernst Thalmann from this Indictment anfertigte. Occurring ellipsis (...) are included in the source. At some places have not recorded the authors of the indictment remarks about the content of Parts of the unit inserted. The informative content of these comments was in comments reproduced, since it allows significant conclusions to the full content of the unit.
2 In his speech a presentation of changes during the government of General followed v. Schleicher
So much for the history of the Hitler government. This is also the most important said about their character and tasks. The Cabinet Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen is the open fascist dictatorship. As to the composition of the government, so it can in Germany, a further increase in the direction of open fascism hardly give. There is, however in the methods of this Government of the open fascist Dictatorship still a whole range of possibilities increase. Any doubt that this government before any Balkan methods 1 of extreme terror would stop, would be very dangerous.

It is the bourgeoisie in earnest, the party and the entire vanguard of the working class shatter. You will therefore leave no stone unturned to achieve this goal. So not only the destruction of the last meager rights of workers, not only party ban not only fascist class justice, but all forms of fascist terror; about that addition: Masseninternierung of communists in concentration camps, lynchings and Assassinations of our brave antifascist fighters, particularly at Communist leaders - all this is one of the weapons with the open fascist dictatorship will use against us.

Already the first acts of the Hitler government prove throughout the deep seriousness of the situation. It would be a crime not to tolerate any legalistic illusions in our ranks. We need to create in the whole working class about clarity, that it is likely can be no other kind of detachment this government as its revolutionary overthrow. That does not mean that the overthrow of the Hitler government and the victory of the proletarian Revolution necessarily one and the same must be. We put the question of the struggle for Overthrow of the Hitler government, the question of disposal of Hitler-Hugenberg government immediate task. We put in every hour and we'll put today and we'll put tomorrow, day after tomorrow, we put them in the coming weeks and months, without our under all circumstances can say 100 percent that if we overthrow the fascist dictatorship succeed in this directly even with the victory of the proletarian revolution connected is. We have to say so sharp, because we the most violent campaign of ideological lead type in the masses against any theory of "Abwirtschaftenlassens" the Hitler government have to. These statements include, but - and I stress this once again - no way out, that the struggle to overthrow the Hitler government simultaneously in the struggle for full power can turn the proletariat.

There must be no scheme, but only a dialectic approach. Neither place we forward determined to overthrow the Hitler government until the moment where the situation already is ripe for the complete victory of the proletarian revolution, yet we disregard that, as the decisions of the XII. plenary 2 clearly say that periods of revolutionary are recovery and for the full development of the revolutionary crisis today is much shorter than in the previous sections, the history of the proletarian class struggle.

The desert fascist terror in Germany, toward which we are now, will change nothing our revolutionary perspective. Just as we underestimating the Hitler government, terrible danger that the German working class from the open fascist Dictatorship threatens tolerate, any more than we let an overestimation of government, their Strength and resistance to the proletariat.

What is the balance of our recent struggle against the fascist dictatorship? We were
But conversely, we can say that we fascist course the bourgeoisie have significantly disrupted. We have stopped here, sometimes even thrown back, as in the blowing up of the Papen government. This positive assessment of our growing combat power and hence the growing combat power of German working class, we are entitled, without ignoring our weaknesses. A Such positive assessment must the starting point for our higher revolutionary his task.
If we could not reach, it is because we and the influence of the SPD ADGB leaders and the Christian Union leaders on broad working masses not in to liquidate the required dimensions were able. We inhibited in this fight Defects in our union work, operation work, the deficiencies in the application of United Front and principled struggle against the social democratic hoax.
We have in the past only in so far successes in the fight against the fascist can achieve dictatorship, as we managed to overcome these shortcomings and thus to The decisions of the XII. Plenum, our February plenary 1 and the 3rd Reich Party Conference 2 to get.
What is the situation today against the Hitler government? We called in to power in the strike, the mass strike, general strike. Simultaneously with the immediate mobilization of the masses from below for these slogans we set up a united front range of the SPD, the ADGB, (the) depreciation covenant and Christian Trade Unions in the line of concrete invitation to join us perform the general strike. So we led in this particular situation, a Combined united front from below and above through.
We had in the mobilization of the masses achievement toward conducting Demonstrations and militant mass struggle against the fascist murder terror. Strikes however we could trigger only to a lesser degree. We must therefore answer whether nevertheless our slogan was correct. The answer can only affirmative be. 3 Must we therefore due to the recent absence of larger strikes in a deep Pessimism expire? Not at all! If the expectations were higher than the Facts, so there are no depression moods larger scale in the masses, but a growing militant mood. What is currently in Germany happening, the daily demonstrations, clashes, fighting in all parts the Empire, is the best expression of how loaded as excited by revolutionary Energy is the whole atmosphere.
If in Germany is not a day where not a few places firefight held between fascist terror gangs and the working class, it was with Communists or Reichsbanner people, as are the specific elements of the civil war, we see and consider in our assessment of the situation and the tasks have to.

1 Ernst Thalmann here refers to the fascist regime in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
2 Meant that's XII. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which from August 27 to 15 September 1932. was held in Moscow.
3 In Unit a consideration to the advantages and disadvantages that arose for the Hitler government followed.
Elements of civil war - this is a very serious finding. Because we use
Such revolutionary words not in the way it once did Heinz Neumann, of his
disguised opportunist politics with exaggerated, pseudo-radical phrases. Especially the
Avoiding sham radical, overstated phraseology now gives us the more the
Opportunity, given the seriousness of the situation with full authority of the party in the
Masses clarify the extraordinary aggravation of the situation. We must all
overcome uncertainties and fluctuations in the party on this issue. If our
Squad would understand the political moments of the new phenomenon correctly, would the
Degree of revolutionary advance already much further than is now the case. The
Bourgeoisie to the proletariat declares the civil war. We are the seriousness of the
Situation and the whole responsibility severity of this finding for the party
deliberately.
But we have to see these things. Because in them expresses a very important
Release from: Once again we have strong symptoms of backwardness behind
the masses. You need these weaknesses of the party organization can not be seen to be black,
but you have to open your eyes to it liquidate in time.
What is important now, especially? We must ensure that the chain of
Mass actions and mass struggles against the fascist dictatorship in Germany
no longer interrupted. The revolutionary fire must always amplified elsewhere again
flare and ignite if he is temporarily nipped at another location,
until no more firefighters helps to delete this revolutionary fire. So we need to
come, organizing continuous mass action of the proletariat in all
Forms to lead in all spheres in the way. It would neglect the
Defending the economic interests of the workers and all other toiling
Layers an almost equally serious threat as mean especially any economism, the
is the neglect of the political struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.
That is what we all of Germany, but also for each district as a task
provide: a chain of continuous braided together and mutually
override function actions the development of all forms of mass resistance and
Mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship. That is the crucial task in
Struggle for proletarian majority as in the struggle for the achievement of hegemony
the proletariat over the rest of the laboring masses. I would like in this context
an extremely interesting quote Lenin from the period of revolutionary upswing
cite in Russia to 1912-13, which is very instructive for our situation. Lenin wrote in
January 1913:

"The workers are their whole attention to this process, the spontaneously growing revolutionary
to support strike to strengthen, to develop, consciously push him to the farmers and
prepare the troops to the uprising. If the strikes undermine the workers, must they
alternately perform by allowing the rest one, and those who have recovered, or
, Fresh 'forces into the fight. One must organize shorter strikes. Sometimes you have to strike
replace demonstrations. But the most important thing is that the strikes, the rallies, the
not tear demonstrations that the entire peasantry and the army of the
experienced persistent struggle of the workers that the village, even the remotest sees that in the
Cities disquiet that 'its people' have raised.

The use of such tactics of unremitting struggle, the continuous
Mass actions gives us precisely the task to do everything in order as quickly as possible the
many partial actions and partial struggles to large, comprehensive mass strike, even the
to increase general strike.

1 Lenin: The development of the revolutionary strikes and street demonstrations. In: Collected Works, Vol. 18,
5. 469/470.

In this connection, comrades, a serious consideration: If the Reichstag elections of
March 5 the Nazis, especially in the countryside and perhaps at the expense of
German Nationalists, would bring a more or less favorable result, it is very
likely that the Hitler party such mood for more fascist
Coup actions will exploit to consolidate and expand their power. We have
Knowledge of the plans of the Nazis, a march on Berlin following
March 5, perform. With such a concentration of their own military formations
the Nazis want more or less independent of the German national
make government colleagues and also by the Reichswehr and police to this legal
bring instruments of power of the state as well as completely under their influence.
One must see that necessarily resulting decomposition phenomena in the
Law enforcement agencies, especially in the police, while this is not from Hitler fascism
are penetrated and assimilated by him, a certain relief for our struggle
represent. Should the Nazis with the help of such a march on Berlin or other
Another fascist coup actions the implementation of such plans to clean up
and fascism of the executive bodies and to strengthen their positions of power, so
degrades the combat situation of the proletariat.
Such a consideration, comrades, must lead us to it go with all seriousness that
We earlier and in any case immediately against such other fascist actions
use all the power of the party to the revolutionary mass struggle against
bring fascism to its highest development.
Most important it is to bring the whole party to such a state that they
is on high alert at all times every appropriate occasion to
Increase of the struggle, for triggering mass strikes to general strike
exploit. So: Alertness, initiative, tact for life of the masses,
at any moment to be able to propagate the right militant slogan. unreserved
Unleashing all forms of political and economic daily struggles and actions,
Partial struggles, partial strikes, etc., solid, resolute course to the general political strike!
This line that we have in all previous calls of the Central Committee with the slogan: strike -
Mass strike - a general strike! have summarized concretely, it is, in practice,
enforce. This is the line of revolutionary mass struggle for the overthrow of
Hitler dictatorship.
With this line, we are at the same time the internal contradictions of the government, in their
bring itself accumulated explosive ignition.

Against such comrades who now think the party is perhaps even before the
Elections prohibited so you need to lead no more campaign, we must say,
that on the contrary we have to develop the very strongest activity. We must the
Hitler government before the masses as a regime of fascist terror, the capitalist
Starvation and the imperialist war, as government and the capitalists
Landowners debunk. We have the parliamentary, democratic and
legalistic illusions among the masses in the sharpest ideological struggle against the
eliminate fraudulent slogans of the SPD. We need to fight for the Social Democratic workers against to participate in joint operations and battles the fascist dictatorship most strongly increase. We need the common everywhere raise mass self-protection, a patrol service in the workers' quarters, the Possibility of quickly alerting the workers against fascist attacks, etc. to organize. We have the role of the occasion of the threatening upcoming party ban Party more clearly than the single party of a real, positive way out of the crisis, as the only party defending the interests of the toiling masses

1 In Unit now followed discussion of the united front policy.

work out. We have the activity for the protection of the party and the proletarian Guides take to develop and create such a mood among the masses that a answered ban the KPD of the masses with the deployment of the largest combat action becomes. We have to mark the forthcoming ban on strikes creating illegal finally implement operational strike funds into action. We have a sparkling mass work among the peasants, small farmers and Farmworkers unfold, because in the country the strongest basis for the fascist dictatorship and the Nazi movement is present. We must the peasant masses not the leave Nazis who are trying to produce a flush of victory among them. Many farmers believe despite their bleak and miserable condition present at the Hitler Hugenberg government. Here too it is for us, real actions of peasants in struggle enforce against the tax usury, mass demonstrations against the tax and further combat actions. We need among these masses of the poor peasants, the dwarf and small farmers and the middle peasants develop a broad propaganda by (before) them as a policy solely for the agricultural policy of the Hitler-Hugenberg government unmask benefit the big landowners, and also popularize the demand that at the large trusts and corporations stored huge stocks of goods of daily Life necessities, to agricultural equipment and machinery, of chemical Fertilizers to seize, etc. and distributed among the poor peasantry. We must the alliance between town and country, between the struggling workers and the forge toiling peasants. We must explain to the poor peasant masses that only in alliance with the proletariat, just under proletarian hegemony, only in the fight against Capitalists also the lot of farmers can be improved. We have the largest impact force unfold for the recovery of the proletarian and toiling Youth from the SAJ, but even from the Hitler Youth we have individual and whole masses across tear. We need against forced labor, against the prison camp and the Quartering the labor conscription \(^1\), Against the militarization of youth storm to run. Against the chauvinist and warmongering imperialist war policy of fascism we need the mass propaganda of proletarian internationalism, for our Freedom politics unfold. We have the masses of our program show as the program of the only way out of Poverty, misery and oppression, as a program of social and national liberation of German people. We must show them that we are the party represented by the exemption the working class, the unity of the nation realized by the capitalist system fought until its destruction. But the main thing is that all our action the line like a red Thread passeth through: We organize the active mass struggle, the united front of the fact the liberation of the working people from fascist reactionary bondage. Everything, our struggle against the Nazis and German Nationalists as against SPD and center, must of
the vast masses of the as part of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against Hitler government are understood. Finally, comrades. I've been to the extraordinary acceleration of the pace pointed to the revolutionary development, as with the setting up of open fascist dictatorship partially made its appearance and partly fortiori triggered

1 was the voluntary labor service through an emergency decree of the Brüning government on 5 July 1931 - particularly for young unemployed - introduced, converting it into a compulsory labor service the Nazis sought and 1935 completed. As prison camps Ernst Thalmann called the increasingly militarized Bearing the "voluntary labor service" as forced labor, according to the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927 by youth unemployed under 21 years and recipients of crisis support to strongly tariff Remuneration to be paid "compulsory labor".

has been. This results in serious consequences. 1 We must today work Party does not equate with the work 3 or 6 months ago. We must the double and triple exertions. We must in any companions the Awareness of the responsibility of the party of the working class wake. This requires that each district headquarters with the utmost thoroughness, without prior hours of Discussions flinching, must examine the facts in the life of are recorded proletariat, which in this situation for the combat organization, for Overcoming great tempo loss that we have in Germany exploited can be. Moreover, we must increasingly, also propaganda, our Preparing cadres and the masses to the higher revolutionary tasks. eg We must begin to explain to the masses that even the General strike, not the highest form of struggle of the working class, but it also, the higher revolutionary forms of struggle will be for political power, to which we. Following the decisions of the XII Plenum must prepare the masses. Or We take the issue of militant mass struggle against the bloody fascist Terror. It is clear that the question can not be put so today as before January 30. Opposite raids on workers' houses, party houses, workers' councils, workers' homes of our functionaries or but also from those of the SPD, the Reichsbanner and the trade unions, the Nazis proceed with the revolver and the hand grenade, we can not respond with slogans and protests. Here we need to the masses higher forms of militant mass self-defense, the closed active defense of Work experience and worker ownership educate. That means no concession to individual terror. That is certainly no Weakening of the course on the offensive under the ideologischpolitische Nazi toilers. On the contrary. We must fight against our the Hitler government to "furore" the first few days in some parts of the Nazis overcome rapidly and differentiate increasingly between the active, terrorist Mercenaries of Fascism and the broad masses of the toiling followers of Nazis. Moreover, we must also under the SA men an appropriate activity for Decomposition of these terrorist formations of the bourgeoisie unfold. A few words about the higher combat duties and higher revolutionary slogans of Party. As you know, we have in the fight against the Rights and conciliators under the Conditions of relative stabilization of capitalism the formation of a special Action Programme and of transitional slogans such as "control of production", etc., rejected. Under the conditions of relative stabilization would be such solutions only the breeding ground of opportunistic illusions and a weakening of the revolutionary line was the party. In so far as we with the rising revolutionary upsurge strongly to the approaching revolutionary crisis, the situation for us with respect to the formation of will
Change transitional slogans. Then the conditions will be given, with such transitional slogans consistently increase the masses immediately to attack the capitalist state to conduct on its class rule at all. Our slogan of the struggle for the overthrow of the Hitler government under certain conditions in the fight for the elimination of bourgeois class rule ever, in the struggle for the conquest of political power by the working class and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship are reconciled. This need not to, but it must all our activity and effort be directed to the introduce masses as soon as possible to the power struggle. In this higher revolutionary struggle section we can to specific action solutions that between

1 This sentence is not included in the transcript of Ernst Thalmann, only in the indictment. 2 In the Source: increased.

recent and are the transitional slogans, and to the promotion of our not renounce Endziellosung.

What does that mean? From such a revolutionary perspective starting, we must consider whether in quick time the need for a particular Program of Struggle Party will be given. Such a struggle program would start from certain action slogans that have validity for the current situation, such as seizure of coal supplies, food supplies, disarming the fascist terror Garden etc. by the masses themselves, so part slogans and demands that directly to cause tightening of the revolutionary class struggle and the masses to a higher bring stage of the class struggle, slogans which to direct actions of the masses may cause order to realize their claims in the appropriate occasions and also finally can be realized only with the conquest of political power.

Comrades We as only the whip of the struggle against the fascist Counterrevolution. We need to show the desperate and weary way. We must get to the top of the struggling proletariat to the victory of socialism. We whip the masses who are still in the ranks of the class hostile parties, to strive against their leaders to revolt and take its place among the revolutionary Freedom Front. We are the only party of the struggle against the capitalist state, as we are the only party, which denounces the anti-people policies of capitalist governments.

In summary, comrades:
- Iron course on securing the party and its continuation in spite of all the attacks fascist terror!
- Concentration of all forces on the development of all forms of mass resistance, Mass actions and mass struggles on the line: demonstrations, strikes, Mass strike, general strike against the fascist dictatorship!
- United front to combat mobilization in higher forms with bolder initiative!
- Strongest course on the destruction of all parliamentary and democratic Illusions, on the education of the masses to the extra-parliamentary mass struggle!
- Higher revolutionary task, in agitation and propaganda, the purpose Preparation of the masses and bringing the masses to the struggle for power, the Struggle for workers 'and peasants' republic!
- Highest development of mass initiative, my activity and independence of lower units and lines!
- Revolutionary self-confidence, confidence in victory, joy attack in Bolshevik Sobriety!
- realize all this means: hit the fascist dictatorship and smash!
Ernst Thälmann calls for anti-fascist united front

Open letter to the Social Democratic and Christian workers in Germany

To the colleagues of Free Trade Unions and the Reichsbanner comrades

Classmates! Comrades!
The open fascist dictatorship has been erected over Germany. The President of Hindenburg, for her at the behest of your leaders before almost a year with the squad all your forces führtet the election campaign, because you said you had a choice of Hindenburg Shot before the Hitler-fascism has Adolf Hitler, Frick and Goring, Papen, Hugenberg and Seldte hand over power. With terror and persecution tried the bourgeoisie Working class and its organizations prostrate. Fascist bandits commit a Chain of assassinations of social democratic, non-party and communist Workers.

Again and again, the Communist Party has its firm, unwavering stand pronounced, together with all the workers and every organization in the fight against to lead fascism, which in turn are ready to fight.

As on July 20 of last year, so the attack on 30 January this year on the occasion of Hitler came to power, the KPD once their offer for a joint struggle against the Social Democracy, the ADGB and Afa-Bund, the Christian unions. Your Leaders are not discussed in this united front proposals.

On behalf of the hundreds of thousands of Communist Party members in the name of more than 6 million workers, workers and young workers, who at the last general election expressed their confidence in the Communist Party, I submit to you, the members and Functionaries of the SPD, the free trade unions and beyond the vast masses non-party workers, the hand of brotherhood for a common struggle against the alliance Fascism.

The fascist assassins who compared with daggers, revolvers and bombs workers rage, make any difference whether you or the person carrying the KPD, the SPD of Christian Trade Unions in the bag it carries. So must also struggle for freedom of all Antifascists party affiliation not be an obstacle to march together, to fight together.

On election day or a few days later, the Garden of the SA and SS are in the red Berlin, the combative heart of the German working class, march. March on Berlin - the threat of fascist terror formations is a declaration of war not only against
the men and women and the youth of Red Berlin, but against the whole German
Working class against the entire working population!
On behalf of the German Communist Party, I call you classmates
and -genossinnen that it is not yet in our camp that you like but we the
Fascism hates and loves freedom, to the common defense.
If we, the workers, workers youth whose hands all values
created, stand together shoulder to shoulder, if we fight together, we are
insurmountable. If we fight together, we millions of poor farmers on
the country, millions of employees, officials, small businesses in cities with us
tear in the united front of the anti-fascist struggle for freedom!
Take in your organizations to this united front range of the Communist Party
Germany's position! Counsel together with your communist classmates the
necessary action! Forms together with us Communists to personal safety,
the battlefront of enterprises and unemployment offices. wide Creates together with us
Mass organs of proletarian united front, where comradely and brotherly

Communists and Social Democrats, Christian workers and freethinkers, and Organized
Unorganized work together and jointly organize the struggle!
Long live the struggling proletarian united front!
Long live the antifascist fight for freedom!
Long live the common struggle for workers' power and socialism!

Saxon Arbeiterzeitung
02/27/1933
ANNEX

Resolution of the caucus of the KPD
on the XII. Plenum of the ECCI and the tasks of the KPD

I.

The caucus of the KPD, in its meeting from 15 to 17 October 1932 to the
taken results of the 12th Plenum of the ECCI detailed comments and agrees with its
Decisions unconditionally and in full to.

II.

The 12th plenary examined the intensified development stage of the general crisis of
Capitalism, stated the huge success and the increased revolutionary impact
of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the growth of the revolutionary
Upturn in the capitalist world. Contrary to the deceitful illusions and
hypocritical prophecies of the bourgeoisie about an imminent new "Rise"
and a "strengthening" of the capitalist economy hit the 12th plenary noting that
the end of capitalist stabilization
has occurred and that at present the transition to a new series of
Revolutions and wars accomplished. This development pushes the bourgeoisie increasingly
to the web of violent solutions in the interior (fascism) and outward (war).

III.

The revolutionary upsurge in Germany finds its expression in the stormy
growing resistance of the proletariat and working people against fascism and
Capitalist offensive. On the planned wage cuts by September emergency decree by
the Papen government responded the workers with a wave of strikes and decisions
Strikes, the wage cuts, the core of the emergency decree, in many companies
prevented.
These strikes, partly the result of increased strike agitation and strike action, where it sometimes even succeeded the reformists, the guide m usurp - reflect the determined struggle will of the German working class resists. This fighting spirit applies in view of the expected new and brutal attacks of the bourgeoisie on the Wages and given the new attacks against the social policies to higher forms to increase.

While a large number of under revolutionary leadership strikes to success led, ended the strike, in which due to the weaknesses of the RGO and our internal union work reformists tore the guide per se, in the majority of cases in failure of the workers. The reformist thesis that successful strike struggles in the crisis were not possible, now refuted by the living experience of the German proletariat, leading to a further strengthen the fighting spirit and the will strike the masses will help. The same rising tide of mass activity is reflected in the success of Antifascist Action under the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggle against fascist terror the Hitler formations.

The KPD could their progress on the strike front, opposite the Fascist

Murder and terror in the Reichstag elections of 31 July mainly due to the initiated phrase for enhanced mass revolutionary politics within the meaning of the line of the Comintern and the Decisions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee, in particular through the more consistent Application of the united front tactic from below as a method of struggle mobilizing to achieve mass.

IV.

The rule of the government Papen-Schleicher in Germany, which, with the help of the army the Stahlhelm and the Nazis has been built for the Social Democrats and the center have paved the way, is one of the forms is the fascist dictatorship.

In the serious conflict of interests of various capitalist groupings (Heavy industry, chemistry capital, large landowners, small and medium industry) in the matters of so-called "self-sufficiency" of subsidies and fiscal policy, in the reluctant monarchist restoration efforts in the intensified clashes within the fascist civil war troops (Hitler-SA and helmet), in the conflict between German Nationalists and Nazis and the differences of the fascist Rulers with their forerunners, the SPD and the center, the fracture shows Class the bourgeois camp due to the crisis of capitalism. The fascist Papen-Schleicher government unfolds in its foreign policy reinforced imperialist aggression (maneuver on the eastern border, keeping in Geneva, intensification of Struggle for markets with tariff and quota policies). It operates the Militarization of youth and the struggle for imperialist rearmament of Germany, increases the active role of German imperialism in the preparation of counterrevolutionary war against the Soviet Union, Germany is driving in a since 1919 not seen before insulation under the Versailles system and exacerbates the outer Opposites Germany in the most violent degree. The danger of military conflicts and Adventure with France and Poland is growing and threatens the working class and the Working people in Germany and all other countries with the horrors of a new imperialist mass murder.

The program of the fascist dictatorship in the interior is the destruction of revolutionary organizations and institutions of the proletariat and the unlimited Plundering the masses, wage cuts, inflation, elimination of all workers' rights,
Cancelling a trade freedom, Forced labor, strike bans, Extraordinary courts, fascist "constitutional reform" with the elimination of the last "democratic" rights (Elimination of the Reichstag, second chamber, suffrage robbery), monarchist Restoration.

V.

Even after the substantial displacement of the social-fascist leaders from the higher State Functions (July 20) beat the leader of the SPD currently more decisively the course to toleration of Papen-Schleicher government as a "lesser evil" compared to a Hitler Government a (recognizing the "legality" of the emergency regulations and the Reichstag resolution, Severing advocacy of a state commissioner in Prussia, etc.).

The SPD has brought in Germany fascism to power as social fascists in Poland and Italy, it is fighting not against fascism, but prevented and prevents the contrary active the struggle of the masses against the fascist dictatorship (July 20). While their mass influence reduced, grab the Social Democratic leaders to always new scams. Under apparent advocacy of Endzielforderungen ("Socialism", "restructuring of the economy", "Socialist Action"), under apparent fight against the present form of bourgeois dictatorship ("Second Republic", "return to Democracy "or" defense of democracy ") they appear in fact to the struggles for Assurance on the existence of the working class and the working people, the proletariat vertrösten on elections and other parliamentary actions to prevent it from the class struggle.

Where they can not prevent the fight, they try to to the top of the fighting provide to this stall the better can (Hamburg public transport strike). they recognize the declared exemplary wage cuts-arbitration awards. At the same time prepare the SPD leaders and reformist union leaders already open stance against the Strike movement, the refusal from supports For the strikers Union members, the statement by the struggles of workers against wage-robbery as "wild Strikes "before.

They support the Papen-emergency decree on the issue of subsidies for the capitalists by the 400-Mark-capita premiums for each newly hired workers. support them facto compulsory labor service plans of the bourgeoisie.

Renew the fraudulent claim that successful strikes in crisis "Impossible" were, in the new version, that "nothing more to achieve" be with partial strikes.

Run the sharpest struggle against the proletarian united front with simultaneous demagogic "united front" -Manövern (proposal on combined list in Saxony).

They operate an increased agitation against the Communist Party and against the Soviet Union, the "left" branches of social fascism, SAP and Brandleristen, and the counterrevolutionary group of Trotskyites develop particular activity.

All these facts confirm the finding of the 12th plenary, that Social Democracy fully its role as an agency of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class fills, that it continues to constitute the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie.

VI.

The huge growth of the fascist mass movement of the Nazis to Due to the chauvinistic wave allowed the fascist rulers the Seizure of power. The policy of finance capital, which is currently exercising Governance rejects the fascist terrorist organization Hitler rises
Opposite: the one hand the tightening of internal and external
forces of the fascist
to hold mass movement as intact as possible and at the same time to "channelize" the
is, the overcoming of extraneous factors into a completely safe instrument
to make fascist dictatorship.
The growing revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat, the rising
Radicalization of the working middle class due to their impoverishment through
Papen policy that non-payment of excessive pre-election promises of Hitler, the stronger
Progress of the anti-fascist struggle of the mass KPD is the current upswing in the
Nazi movement has come to a standstill and a decline
Development taken place.
The role of Hitler's party as a prop of unrestrained exploitation, its support of
the government of the capitalists, Junkers and generals and the Lausanne Covenant tribute, the role
the fascist murder terror against the revolutionary working class - all this has to
Beginning of a disappointment of the toiling masses followers of Nazism
initiated.

VII.

The continued slow decline of the mass influence of social democracy,

growing dissatisfaction of union members with the official policy of
ADGB and the incipient decline of the Hitler movement give the KPD, the largest
Opportunities for the successful implementation of the task: the majority of the proletariat
to conquer in the struggle for political power, the other toiling middle classes
to gain some as allies of the working class, to neutralize in part.
This object, in the pre-accession of the broadest masses because of their
own experiences in the economic and political struggles daily to the positions
the struggle is for power, requires from the party especially the continuation and
Increase begun strike campaign among the broadest application of the revolutionary
United front from below.
All the power of the party, in particular the operating cells, and all the work of
Communists in the RGO, in the red and all associations revolutionary
Mass organizations, in the reformist, Christian and other unions
and organizations must be directed to all forms of resistance and
Struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and imperialist war policy
resolved to apply and improve.
Partial strikes, strikes entire plants and industry groups, economic mass strikes,
political and mass protest strikes must be initiated and connected to powerful
mass demonstrations and combat moves of the unemployed
Winterhelp demands for increasing the support and for job creation,
with the fight for the social rights of workers and the mass struggle all
other working strata (actions of small farmers, tenants fight etc.).
It is the main task of the Party, through the experiences of the day fighting the crowds of
organized and unorganized workers for a political struggle against the fascist
prepare dictatorship, to train and mobilize.
On the eve of another fascist attacks and capitalist
Provocations of the German bourgeoisie against the proletariat must the party
Workers repaired immediately to each new advance of the class enemy with
utmost determination and lively mass initiative to respond.
This task requires:
Laying the heavyweight of the party's work in the operating cells, in particular the
Large enterprises, and to work on the stamping stations. Expansion of the revolutionary
Stewards body, the Department of cell and the method of non-party deliberations in
the factories.
Generous course on the internal union work - without neglecting the work
among the unorganized - on the recovery of the free trade union and Christian
Union members and lower functionaries, selectable on the battle for all
Functions in trade unions.
Expansion of RGO through involvement of broad masses of structured and unstructured
Workers, expansion and consolidation of the role of the RGO and the red organizations in the
Economic struggles.
Strengthening the united front organs, development of the widest proletarian democracy in
Combat training and management (strike committees, delegates conferences, etc.).
Scheduled attraction and control of red works and comprehensive preparation
the works councils elections.
Given the threats of the bourgeoisie with a general "strike ban" and the planned
Setting of strike support on the part of the reformist bureaucracy serious course
on the creation of auxiliary strike funds in the factories that the front of the access

Class enemies are secured.
Organization of the struggles of the unemployed in close combat with the Community
Operating workers to thwart the Pape's experiments, the unemployed and
Factory workers against each other. Firmer Summary of unemployed.
Active assistance and comradely leadership by the Party for Communist
Youth League to elimination each bureaucratic Schematismus and of the
Neglect of mass politics. Expansion of KJVD a real combat and
powerful mass organization of the proletariat and working youth.
Width campaign to attract workers for the common struggle, on the
successful approaches to textile workers addition, based on the Arbeiterinnen-
Delegates movement.
Bringing the distressed and outraged by tax, tenancy and usury
Smallholders, on the fight against tax pressure, garnishments and foreclosures
away, to the struggle for land by the peasant committees of struggle. reinforcement
our work among the employees layers.

IX.

The mass struggle against the main class enemy, the bourgeoisie, against fascism and
Capital dictatorship requires simultaneous resolute offensive in the camp of
Working class against social democracy. The fight against the center and Bavarian
People's Party must be ruthlessly strengthened in the Catholic areas.
The hoax of the SPD leaders, of the reformist and Christian
Union leaders have actually unmasked and the Social Democratic workers and
free trade union and Christian union members for the common
Struggle against the class enemy to be won.
Opposite the talk of the SPD leaders about "socialism" it is necessary to fight for the
political power of the working class as the only way of realizing socialism
show, but at the same time before the masses and the Social Democratic workers
clarify that the CP of the only real workers' party with the promotion, Struggle for socialism, the concrete defense of the daily interests of the proletariat, the most active organization of Days Battles combines. Therefore bold and aggressive application of the united front tactic from below against the social democratic and free trade union workers, strict distinction between them and the social-fascist leaders of the SPD and the ADGB. Therefore, the sharpest struggle against the "left" branches of social fascism (SAPD and Brandleristen) and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, and against all opportunist Attempts to mitigate our principled struggle against the SPD.

X.

In the fight against Hitler fascism it is necessary due to the incipient decomposition in the Ranks of the NSDAP and the incipient decline of the Nazi wave ever, with the greatest energy under development an ideological offensive to slump to carry out the ranks of Nazi supporters. The Communists and revolutionary workers must proletarian and toiling trailer of Nazism to common Actions against Wage-, gain support and degradation Papen dictatorship and as of the role of Hitler's Party the terror and strike-breaking organization of finance capital convince. Opposite the chauvinist incitement of the masses, the imperialist war policy and militarist rearmament of the German bourgeoisie, it is important in the fight against

Versailles system, closely linked to the struggle of the French Communists and revolutionary workers against the French bourgeoisie, the proletarian unfold internationalism. The KPD fought against the militarist and rearmament imperialist war Politics of the Papen government. For the use of the Reichswehr billion in favor of war victims and unemployed, for the disarmament of Bourgeoisie and the entire counter-revolution, for the full transfer of power and all Of power to the proletariat, for social and national liberation of the toiling German people. In the struggle against the decaying capitalist system and the Versailles bondage shows the KPD under vivid analysis of the gigantic example of socialism in the Soviet Union with the central main slogan of a workers and peasants' republic at the same time the only way out in front of the impending disaster. Only the workers 'and peasants' republic also ensures the possibility of a voluntary connection of the Austrian People and other German regions.

XI.

To exploit the enormous revolutionary possibilities and to resolve the major revolutionary tasks that stand before the KPD, it is an absolute necessity for the to overcome shortcomings and mistakes of the Party's work as particularly especially on July 20 blatantly made their appearance and also to the weak points of the last Strike movement, for example, in a concession to the reformist maneuvers showed. Therefore, the caucus requires all institutions and units of the party from Central Committee to the cell, with the utmost seriousness and responsibility from the 12. Plenum of the ECCI to the weaknesses of the KPD criticisms in practical work for evaluate concrete improvement in the mass revolutionary work in all fields, the fight against the Right opportunist main danger against the fatalistic record moods and variations, as well as against sectarian tendencies.
The Caucus welcomes the decisions of the Political Secretariat and the Political Commission of the ECCI and the opinion of the 12th plenary against the corrosive action of Group Neumann and represents the single-hearted unity of the Communist Party of Germany and their unbreakable solidarity with the Communist International fixed.

The efforts of Comrade Heinz Neumann and his group were directed to the disfiguring line of the 11th Plenum of the ECCI in the direction of an underestimation of the Fascism and a weakening of the principle struggle against social democracy (Opportunistic preface the “Red Flag” in the Letter of Comrade Stalin, combating the ideological offensive of the Central Committee).

This policy went hand in hand with a sectarian attitude towards the Social Democratic workers and against the internal union work, on a denial of the centrality of the United Front from below and a weakening of the main strategic task of the conquest of the majority of the proletariat ran out in the struggle for political power.

By encouraging trends of whitewashing and in opposition to the unfolding of Bolshevik self-criticism, the group Neumann became an obstacle to the implementation of adopted at the February Plenum of the CC serious turn the party to improve the mass revolutionary work and to trigger and guide the actions and struggles of the proletariat and the working people. In addition, the group Neumann with the means of a reprehensible tried to set group fighting partisans against the party leadership to discredit those and guide the party to improve the mass revolutionary work and to trigger and guide the actions and struggles of the proletariat and the working people.

The caucus notes that the party leadership in time with the help of the Comintern everything has taken to the malicious attempts of the group Neumann by ideological thwarting reconnaissance work (Article Thalmann in the “International” November / December 1931 decisions of the February plenary in 1932, etc.).

The party, the Youth League and the part of the Communist fractions in the Mass organizations, carried out and necessary in this line organizational measures are fully in the Bolshevik principles on assurance of revolutionary discipline and authority of the party that the 12th Plenum of the ECCI having regard to the severe conditions of the class struggle in the most serious manner underlined.

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Given the stringent ban threats of fascist dictatorship against the revolutionary class organizations of the proletariat, especially against the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League, the party conference committed all Communists strongest vigilance against the class enemy. All measures must be taken to the party, the KJVD and revolutionary organizations, and other mass actions during the election campaign into a mass commitment for policy and other slogans of the Communists make the slogans of the Communists.

Triggering and control over the economic and political struggles daily with the aim of to a sense of the entire Communist press the public agitation and propaganda of the Communist in the Reichstag elections on November 6 by the agitation and management of strikes and other mass actions during the election campaign into a mass commitment for policy and other slogans of the Communists make the slogans of the Communists.

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