Ernst Thalmann

Speeches and articles

about history

German

labor movement

part 1

Selection from the years

June 1919 to November 1928
CONTENT

Preliminary note on the selection volumes of speeches and articles Ernst Thalmann ............ 5
Preface to Volume I of the speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann ................................. 6
For the maintenance of martial character of Trade Unions (June 25, 1919) ......................... 7
From a letter to allied comrades of the Left in the USPD in Cologne (end of 1919) ...... 8
For connection of the USPD to the Communist International (June 19, 1920) ............... 9
Speech at the Extraordinary Congress of the USPD in Halle (October 12, 1920) .......... 11
Speech at the Hamburg Parliament (30 March 1921) ...................................................... 14
For tactics of the Communist International (July 2, 1921) .......................................... 21
Speech at the VII. Congress of the KPD in Jena (23 August 1921) .............................. 23
11. Verbandstag THE GERMAN TRANSPORT WORKERS FEDERATION ........ 25
Justification of the resolution against the Arbeitsgemeinschaft policy
(September 2 1922).................................................................................................. 25
Amsterdam or Red International of Labour Unions (September 6, 1922) ................. 28
Against the resolution on the Unit "The economic situation in Germany"
(September 8 1922).............................................................................................. 29
The Tasks of the IV. World Congress (15 and 16 October 1922) ......................... 31
About united front and workers' government (30 January 1923) ............................. 34
To report on the activities of the Executive of the Communist International and
about the world situation (June 23, 1924) ......................................................... 36
Against the Dawes Plan (28 August 1924) .............................................................. 46
For amnesty request of the Communist parliamentary group (5 January 1925) .... 62
The relative stabilization of capitalism and the tasks of the RFB
(20 and 21 March 1926).................................................................179

The extended executive and the situation in our party (16 and 17 April 1926) .......... 184

Solidarity with the English brothers! (May 5, 1926) ........................................... 187

The day of red front! (23 May 1926) ....................................................... 189

About the tactics of the Communist Party of Poland (June 3, 1926) ......................... 190

The importance of the people's movement to princely expropriation (June 20, 1926) .......... 193

The district party conference (25 June 1926) ................................................... 196

The Red Front fighters salute! (July 17, 1926) ............................................... 198

The teachings of the Hamburg strikes (8 October 1926) ..................................... 201

EXTENDED EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ........ 204

Successes and shortcomings in the mass work of the party (26 November 1926) ............. 204

Speech at the Honorary Red Army soldiers
(27 November 1926) ........................................................................... 211

For the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union (11 December 1926) ...................... 213

XI. CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY .......... 226

The political situation and the tasks of the Party (2 March 1927) ...................... 226

I ........................................................................................................... 226

II ......................................................................................................... 233

III ........................................................................................................ 243

For a unified revolutionary class front in Germany (March 4, 1927) .............. 245

Speech at the youth work of the party (March 5, 1927) .................................. 249

The Chinese Revolution and the tasks of the workers (12 April 1927) .......... 253

For Reich Youth Day of the Young Communist League of Germany
(April 14 1927)... ............................................................................. 257

May 1 - day of struggle of the working class (1 May 1927) ................................. 260
Preliminary note on the selection volumes
the speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann

The selected "speeches and articles on the history of the German workers' movement"
Ernst Thalmann by decision of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party
Germany issued. They cover the period from 1919 to 1944.
Ernst Thalmann, the exemplary leader of the Communist Party of Germany and the
German proletariat, contributed with his speeches and articles systematically Marxism
Leninism in the ranks of the German working class. He turned the large experiences
and teachings of the party of Lenin on the concrete conditions in Germany and led the
KPD set off a Marxist-Leninist party.
The speeches and essays provide a picture of the general crisis of capitalism, they
include a thorough analysis of the international situation and the situation in Germany, the
Conditions of class struggle and the Students for KPD. let
the heroic struggle of the party of the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class and
the leader of the German people on the road to national and social liberation
come to life. In them, the struggle of the party reflects the unity of action of
Working class. They also show the efforts of the party to the preparation of
Alliance between the working class and the toiling peasants under the leadership of the working class
and the inclusion of all other working people in the fight against the German and
foreign monopoly capital. The speeches and articles are illustrative examples of how
the KPD decided under the leadership of Ernst Thalmann and unswervingly against imperialism,
Militarism and fascism and their agents in the labor movement fought as
the best revolutionary traditions of the German working class was careful and continued.
Ernst Thalmann exposed the anti-working class policies of the reformist leaders of
Social Democracy and the trade unions and fought implacably all
Opportunism - right and "ultra-left" renegades, conciliators and sectarians - in the
own ranks. He showed the only possible way out of the vicious circle
Crisis - war - crisis: the establishment of an independent democratic German state
the workers and peasants, a Socialist Germany. This objective, he stressed
incessantly, can only be achieved if the German people closely in his fight with
the Soviet Union and all peace-loving peoples allied.
From the records of Ernst Thalmann after his arrest in March 1933, the under
created difficult conditions in prison, says the firm conviction of the
inevitable defeat of the barbaric Hitler fascism, an abiding faith
to the revolutionary power of the German working class and to the victory of the peoples of
Soviet Union. This justified in the science of Marxism-Leninism attitude
Ernst Thalmann, his iron will and his indomitable perseverance inspired the
antifascist resistance fighters on to the highest use.
The speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann are of great importance for understanding the
History of the Communist Party of Germany and the German people, they are of
high value for the education of Party members and all working people in the sense of
Marxism-Leninism.
The speeches and articles, some of which have not yet been published,
appear in chronological order. Where necessary, comments have been inserted.

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute
the Central Committee of the SED

Preface to Volume I of
Speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann

This volume contains the speeches and essays of Ernst Thalmann from the period of June
1919 to November 1928th
In the years of the post-war revolutionary crisis (1919-1923) defended the
Communist Party of Germany at the head of the toiling masses
Achievements of the November Revolution against the attacks from the increasingly strong reaction and
fought for the cancellation of Schandvertrages of Versailles, for the overthrow of
capitalist system and for the establishment of workers 'and peasants' government
in Germany. The speeches and essays from this period convey the crucial
Teaching that only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party of the masses closed fighting working class can win.

In the period of relative stabilization of capitalism (1924-1928), the KPD took temporary ebb in the revolutionary movement successfully from order in tough conflicts with the renegades and later agents their ranks ideologically and organizational strengthening. The run of Ernst Thalmann Central Committee succeeded in the KPD to develop into a mass revolutionary party, the increasingly won the working masses for their policies.

They proved particularly in the campaign against the Prince settlement in which they due their right tactics, the working class and the patriotic forces in a powerful Action against reaction united.

In his speech at the Tenth Congress (1925) Ernst Thalmann called for a fundamental Improving the work in the factories and trade unions and strongly condemned the treacherous policies and the anti-working class "theories" of the reformist Social Democratic Party leadership and the trade union bureaucracy.

At the party congresses of the KPD and world congresses and meetings Communist International defended Ernst Thalmann consistently and implacably Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the CPSU against the dastardly attacks Agents of imperialism in the workers' movement and was instrumental in smashing the anti-Party groupings in.

The Reichstag speeches against Dawes Plan (1924) and Treaty of Locarno (1925) are exemplary how decided Ernst Thalmann the national interests of the German people championed. He exposed the true character of this imperialist concoctions that only the Strengthening of the German imperialists and militarists, the intensified exploitation and Oppression of the German working people and the preparation of a new predatory war against the Socialist Soviet Union served. As the first chairman of the Red Front Fighters' League called Ernst Thalmann, the working people forcefully to fight Chauvinism and imperialist war and stepped on a solid relationship of friendship the Soviet Union.

In the speeches on the VI. World Congress of the Communist International (1928) and an essay, pointing the way to the realization of the decisions taken there that the Band decide to Ernst Thalmann committed passionately to proletarian Internationalism and the leader of the international proletariat, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute
the Central Committee of the SED

For the preservation of the character of the unions fight

From the discussion speech at the 10th Verbandstag
the German Transport Workers' Union in Stuttgart
June 25, 1919
(It is to consider that the Reports above the Association meetings of German Transport Workers' Union submitted by representatives of the Association and by the reformist Union leaders were controlled. These reports are therefore often distorted and very patchy. The Red.)

Schummann sometimes has in pretty provocative shape against the opposition turned. The upturn in the organization is mainly due to the fact that after the Revolution wide professional layers, especially the postal and transport workers, have thoroughly unlearned. The fight nature of organizations is through the Truce and the Auxiliary Service Law has been pushed back. Not even nothing the change successful labor movements under the pressure of circumstances during the war performed. Schumann warned against exaggerated claims. We take the view, that at the current price of exaggerated claims can be no question. It is not possible to eliminate from the trade unions, the political issues. The current government has so far done little to socialist deeds. The Auxiliary Service Law was a penitentiary template against the workers. The idlers were not so met; they brought only the older vintages under the military Knute to prevent revolutionary unrest. Unfortunately, our union employees have the agreed. Klose has characterized the attitude of our federation organ very true. I was amazed in the field, such as Müller strike a so unworthy nationalist tone could. As the rail union in 1916 the unrestricted right of association claimed, the statement was made that he would not take the right to strike. I please to announce Schumann his personal opinion as well and indicate whether and how much war loan has been drawn. Wins also in Hamburg the Independent Party more ground, but we want no division in the Unions into bear. I am glad that Schumann on the floor of the council system stands. (Schumann contrary.) Then I was happy too early. The unions must be filled with the spirit of the class struggle again.

"German Transport Workers' Federation, Protocol of the 10th Association of day, Stuttgart, from 22 to 27 June 1919 ",

S. 83rd
If I nachginge my heart, I would already be in the Spartacus League occurred. But each crossing movement of individual is now dangerous. The establishment of a revolutionary party, the Communist Party is now become fact. This necessary step is taken. *It now depends on the Communist Party to a*

*To make mass party. But this is only possible in a very short time when the crucial part of the Independent Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party united. To seek this union and this objective is all subordinate our revolutionary task.* We have managed, within the Independent Social Democratic Party to conquer all organizations; showing us what Options we have and what path we have to travel.

*Wilhelm Florin, "Ernst Thalmann".*

*Unpublished manuscript.*
For connection of the USPD to the Communist International

_from a newspaper report_

Comrade Thalmann then gave a long speech a detailed overview of the Output of the parliamentary elections and the situation in which especially our party to other parties is, and of the duties incumbent upon us for the future. Speaker then described in detail, as not only the political, but especially business transactions are still undecided workers for connection to the revolutionary proletariat move will. Valuta difficulties increasing Unemployment and the onset of action now the tax laws will do theirs. We have to comment on the einzuschlagenden policy. From an inlet in the Government by a coalition with the right-wing socialists must be no question. Of the recent call to the Berlin Central Committee provides the necessary clarity here. The party must also about their relationship with the unions clearly are. Full criticized the speaker who in the exchange of views with Moscow and the connection to the III. International experienced lukewarmness. It is necessary, in time for a reliable representation at to provide the Moscow July congress. All these tasks require the involvement and Vigilance of each in order to preserve our revolutionary principles and the To bring socialism to victory. - The following resolutions were adopted almost unanimously:

_resolution on the political situation_

The economic crisis, whose consequences are daily workers sensible, has with particular emphasis on the need to fight for the complete elimination of Capitalism towards. Also shows the political and parliamentary crisis in which Germany by the electoral failure is advised that both the parliamentary system in the most difficult situation came because the numerical result of the elections is not the image of the real balance of power reproduces. This coincidence of political and economic crises forces the Proletariat, now with all the energy to fight for socialism in an even sharper way than previously to lead. The road to socialism but more difficult if the Independent Social democracy in the present stage of the struggle to negotiations or even gets involved in a government coalition with the right-wing socialists, because they thereby the Nourishes Revolution dangerous belief that it is in the right-wing Socialists in fact a socialist party NOT TRADE and that the resistance of the Parliamentary Minister Bourgeoisie could break in a legal way. Only clear class struggle, whose focus is outside Parliament and with all success-promising agents must be performed, can us our goals, the Socialism, bring it closer.

_resolution on the International_

The General Assembly Hamburg regrets that after now more than six months have elapsed since the party conference in Leipzig, the decision on the question of the International is still not done. The comrades expected that once a commission to Soviet Russia is dispatched to conduct negotiations with representatives of the III International
Comrades perceive it as our struggle and our political significance in Germany unworthy that we do not also work very closely with the revolutionary socialist parties of other countries are active.

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"

June 19 the 1920s.
Comrades! Before examining the Annual Report, I want the Congress following the request of the Hamburg colleagues submit:

*The Congress of the USPD calls on the central line and the Reichstag, immediately take steps that are necessary to the brutal expulsion of Russian*

*To make union delegates undone. The Congress of the USPD sees the behavior of the government a cheeky provocation of the German proletariat.*

Needless to say, the longer to discuss it. I think it is self-evident, that the parliamentary party and the central line, if it is not already done so, immediately steps initiates for the government at all costs from the demand distance assumes that the Russian unionists leave German soil on 14 October. If Comrade Zietz in its Annual Report speaks of the enormous tasks that the USPD has to fulfill as against the proletariat, so it will be convenient, complete to provide clarity on where to political and economic struggles the USPD and some of their leaders have not done their duty and obligation. In the Kapp days have the right-wing leaders and the masses Comrades of the USPD in the struggle waged by the Hamburg workers, inhibited. I note explicitly that the comrades Bergmann and Kaiweit together with representatives of the German Democratic Party and the Right Socialist Party in an Executive Committee entered; instead according to the will of the masses Make arming the proletariat, they made the attempt, the proletariat its armament to stop. We have taken measures to ensure that immediately after the Kapp days is created within the party complete clarity and purity. And when we recorded the result today that in the primary election in the district Seareach 14573 votes for the conditions 1 yet only 478 votes on the other hand, so is the course of membership and those comrades of the USPD thanks to which even then took action against those comrades in the party, today proceed to the sharpest against the proponents of the conditions. I put explicitly that we over time, after the Kapp Putsch, in all instances complete clarity and purity have created. We have gone over that Instances in the association of the "People's Daily", the Press Commission, the Party Executive assemble as it here on the part of the left as well as of Rights was expressed and would be recognized as a necessity. In the opening, in the
Time of the Reichstag election campaign was published by the Centre and on the already
Comrade Koenen pointed and explained that we did not agree with it -
it is, the USPD put to the position that we Versailles the
Recognize conditions of peace and to commit ourselves to comply with it. We have
us already then turned against it and also during the election campaign in every respect a policy
pursuing that as Crispien brought us to express, not in the KPD people
could bring some relationships in conflict. As in most parts
Germany the struggle between the KPD and the USPD has played in the strongest terms,
so just to prove the composition of the present Congress and the
Disputes in recent times in the party press the USPD that the KPD
Has authorization. As the headquarters shortly before the opening of the Reichstag a letter to

1 Ernst Thalhammer says the 21 shooting conditions of the Communist International, which on August 6
In 1920 confirmed by the II. World Congress of the Communist International.

the district lines taught to obtain information as to how the individual
Provide district lines on the question of entering into a socialist government, sent
We already following on July 5, reply to headquarters:
"The sentence, in a Social Democratic government are independents
Socialists only occur if they have the majority in it and their program
forms the basis of government policy ', gives rise to misunderstandings. The term
Social Democratic government seems unclear. We assume that it is to the
previous publications on the issue of government formation a misprint
negotiates socialist government. Even this assumed to be correct, there still remains the
Whether we participate in such a government on parliamentary basis
could. This has remained unclear in the letter of 10 June. We stand on the
View that it due to our action program in the current situation
may be no way in a parliamentary socialist coalition government
enter. A socialist government can only the result of successful for us
its revolutionary actions. A parliamentary socialist government in the
current situation would be either condemned to make bourgeois politics or the
Decisive battle to unleash the power. This fight also comes without our
we participate in such a government. A government by parliamentary and
Coalition reason would be compromised, and accelerate our involved about it
Party. That would make the ultimate goals of the fight blur that could not be,
this government support as such, but only to establish the proletarian dictatorship. It
it is clear that by this formulation of the standpoint of the Central Committee in the ranks
our members confusion and uncertainty has been carried in now. "
So we have expressed that already at that time on the question of socialist
Government with us a different view prevailed as the Central Committee.
I would also like to briefly clarify my point about the speakers material. I have
removed from the speakers material that it is very unreliable and even lean slightly.
- The "socialist" not at all like it, and must in today's presentation
we fight him to the utmost. And if, for example comrade Breitscheid in a
Article Simons, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, called a white crow, so think
I will, of all the Party's position of comrade Breitscheid unrelated
already known that our position in Hamburg not the official views of Central
Compliant went. However, we have fought with any questions. Even as the Central
this passed to make us trouble, we have enforced the fight, and we
have recorded today that in a possible split in the party, the us
Will make things painless.
The fickle policy that has been taken in recent times within the USPD
and downright demagogically of individual leaders in the press and in the
Other clashes took place, had to lead to the proletariat
Germany with a certain distrust had to see to such a party. If in
a revolutionary party that wants the revolution and the action of the masses
prepare, has there not complete clarity in each instance, it is
anticipated already paralyzed their activity. I take the view that the question
coming instances need to agree at least in the basic view.
If Comrade Ludwig pointed out that the foundation of our Party decayed,
is rotten and rotten, and if he thinks he can prove that 206000
Mark have only now made available to the Centre, so this is not true. I ask
various districts if they are not due to the election campaign their entire available
Funds have to sacrifice, and when the comrades precisely in recent times as in
Hamburg, where we mustered 31000 Mark, have proved this sacrifice, so therefore,
because we have to pay it in the interests of the great cause. We have not done it to the
support center in its present composition financially, but because we
this congress presents an extremely important decision. And since it was important that we
in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat, in the interests of our USPD representatives
send to enforce what the interest of the German and the entire
is international revolutionary proletariat needed to get to our destination.

"USPD, record of the negotiations
the extraordinary party congress
in hall from 12 to
October 17, 1920 ", p 50-52.
Speech at the Hamburg Parliament

March 30, 1921

This year's state budget are quite clearly seen in what a financially desolate situation, the present state is. In 1914, we had 911 million Mark Debt, in 1918 there were 1.824 billion mark debt and 1921, at current Billing, we have 2 billion 884 million mark debt. That, of course, this Debt Hamburg - added even the national debt of about 350 billion - can not be covered by new taxes, any sensible politician will understand can. We have already repeatedly brought to the citizenry to express that the current imperial tax legislation that will be followed by the municipalities, nothing means as a continued burden for those sections of the population, the majority of the account. We have seen in the disputes over taxes that municipalities are obliged to raise more and more indirect taxes. Business tax, Amusement tax, sales tax, Mietssteuer, Rates - All Those Taxes nothing more than an endless enslavement of the proletariat. And in this endless Enslavement of the proletariat, since only one party dares this bankrupt state so to featuring as it really is, in this stage, it is our duty to the proletariat
call, so it does not utterly impoverished. The tax legislation of today is nothing more mean than that the indigent population and part of the small businesses rebel and declare are: We no longer do with, we can not bear, that this immense debt of the state, which are taken over from the war, from Proletariat be worn. Mr. Stolten has said it would have made the impression that the haves would be pressed. I not only agree that this impression is present, but I am firmly convinced that the propertied classes it extremely well understood, to dodge the tax. Your own comrades have confirmed it, that the haves have understood from A to Z, to put Steuerrückebergerei the day. When we demanded together at the beginning of the revolution with you that the propertied Dissipate classes the gains they had accumulated during the war to the state have you had the same view. But since your men are in the government, You have done nothing more than ausgeknobelt taxes that bear the propertyless classes have. The law concerning the ten percent income tax deduction is immediately in force kicked, and if you say that a senator has to pay this tax, as is it but a big difference whether a worker who earns a week 200 marks, or a senator who has an annual income of 72,000 marks, must pay this tax. Your opinion, Mr. Mayor, will not be understood in wide circles. I will continue to point out that in future conflicts between Germany and the Entente will emerge and that the public debt will continue to grow, because the Government at the London Conference has attempted, on the basis an agreement to grant any money, and now by the German is committed bourgeoisie to find a solution so that a peaceful compared achieved becomes. This concession will mean nothing more than that the German proletariat still has to take much larger loads to be. The Minister of Finance has in Wirth Clashes in the Bremen Chamber of Commerce recently said if a Understanding with the Entente to be prepared, the German people must in

2 This refers to the London conference, which took place from 21 February to 14 March 1921st On the agenda were the Middle Eastern question and the question of reparations. The German Government submitted the Entente through its Foreign Minister Simons counterproposals on the payment of reparations.

generally proceed to develop these issues by itself. The means put into practice, nothing more than the abolition of the eight-hour day, that means the continued enslavement of the German proletariat that suffered enough Has. The pressure of the Entente will make an enormous difference, and the German Bourgeoisie will find in some form a basis to these funds from the Bone extort the population. We do not take the view that we say, a "national" common sense has to be expressed. During World War II you have not prudent and have another form of the German people appealed so that millions of people were slaughtered. Is it because come to realize and has said the killings should now be even finally over? No, on the contrary, you have the people forced the military billets go out. And now you stand and complain about the extremely sad states, be available throughout Germany. What did the German government? Of the Capitalism has been shaken to its foundations, the economic crisis is worsening
Day to day, the capitalist anarchy propel us into misery. Who today thinks the reconstruction of the capitalist economic order, the case is without another clearly be that this means nothing more than capitalist New Years wage slavery, new crises, new miseries and new control. That is why we say in this time when the German proletariat is driven into impoverishment, in this situation, takes the Communist Party the right to lay claim to the slogans that they since has spent weeks and months, now enforce in practice. It likes to the will of many oppressed fail. We will continue to fight, even continue despite countermeasures, and will enforce it too! We know very well that those persons inhibit us, now thick with the reaction still by and go thin, but also know that the stop with the day that the bitterness within the masses is so great that you are unable to keep the masses. As well as that militaristic Prussian system, many of which have not believed that it toppled could be, was overthrown in twenty four hours. Just as these soldiers, the treated the people in the worst way, just as is also the now existing fall bankrupt state in his fluctuating stage and be smashed by us. This is our task, and we make no bones about it. We have in the and brought newspapers in the party, in all slogans to express what we want. The government and the relevant authorities only treated us to date so therefore reasonably friendly because they thought we were just as anxious and timid as the German Social Democracy, which declared decades: We want socialism enforce, and, when it mattered, enforce it, shamefully failed and with capitalism went through thick and thin and thus betrayed the proletariat! In this situation where the reaction clearly appear on the map where they have absolutely no consideration for and as in Bavaria against the proletariat with the Orgesch 3 and others military organizations is going where it simply to the legal provisions whistles and explains that compliance with the laws for it does not come into question in this situation is the capitalist government ruthlessness against the helpless workers. The defenseless proletariat is to be clubbed. We saw it clearly in this time, as will prevail democracy in your opinion. We see that not democracy prevails, but brute force! Here reigns not democracy, but the dictatorship of capitalism! And if you try out, the masses to pretend that in Germany not capitalist dictatorship but democracy prevails, so I say that not even be talk of a formal democracy

3 Orgesch - Abbreviation for Escherich Organization, founded in 1920 by the Bavarian reactionary Escherich. One of the first fascist murder organizations of the bourgeoisie to suppress, revolutionary workers’ movement have been used.

Mr. Stolten even went so far as to say that the balance of interests in the state should be brought about. So that means that, in its opinion class differences in the modern state are not as sharp yet. The contrary I say: The struggle of classes can not brutal expressed as in current period. Examples are the salary movements in the various go establishments, prior to where the proletarians are forced to struggle against capital take. If you, as the battle rages in Germany, the movement should wrestle, so if you proceed against communism, as you announce, well,
then we will overcome this temporary defeat with the certainty that a
Day the proletariat comes to knowledge and passes over those individuals who
today make together with capitalism the Niederknüppelung the proletariat.
When we began our campaign in Hamburg and when we calling on the unemployed, in
go to the farms to work, it is because the places located on government
has not been able to reduce the number of unemployed and to work for them
procure. We have for months said several times in the citizenry, that the
Unemployment can not help with the support, not four quintals peat or
Potatoes, the talent for 15 marks, but only in that the bankrupt state to
goes to find them work. Our demands are faded. We have said:
It is finally time that the operation of entrepreneurs who take no account of it,
that the unemployed are on the road and their families starving, forced the
Workers setting is imposed. Now we are asking the unemployed, in the farms
has to go in, and a lot of the work brothers from the Right Socialist Party
actually it had understanding with our comrades. We want at this
Opportunity notice: Where are the first shots fell, as the work of the brothers in
Shipyard Blohm & Voss were? I can call it work Brethren, at least not with
Your chauvinistic view that you have expressed during the war.
The matter is that the workers of the company Blohm & Voss occupied the factory, as
the Sipo was approaching. They had absolutely no weapons in their hands. Bring me the evidence,
that at Blohm & Voss any worker has been, who has had a gun in his hand!
Ask the police Senator Hense whether at Blohm & Voss a shot against the Sipo
was issued. I say no, and no one will prove that in
Blohm & Voss workers employed against the Sipo have proceeded. But when the workers
sat in the coffee hall at Blohm & Voss, the Sipoleute have acted recklessly and
have thrown under the defenseless workers grenades. As the volcano workers withdrew
and on the Veddel went home to the in the demonstrations on
attend Holy Spirit field, there were again Sipoleute opposite in loose groups
continuous working squads grenades threw. If you try, in civil
and Right Socialist Press the Communists to denounce, I say: you have the
Bloodguilt upon themselves! You, Police Senator Hense, should your people at the top
are, you should, at the Millerntor dispense the officer who has dared the first salvo,
call to account. I have previously been. And now I complain of this point
, These rags, who dared to say "Hamburger Echo" and the editor,
that I sat in Porter House. I have stood in front of the front, and you are to me
a single cause that can prove that I have been sitting in the Porter House. such a
Informers, such defamation, such vulgarity, worked with the here
is, is unheard of. It is easy to write, I was in the Porter House, or to say that
Leaders were not on the spot, but the proof is not provided. I repeat, I
have been at the front. If nothing happened to me if I did not with under the
Victims bin, so you can think about how you want. I am in any case the fact that
You do not have the satisfaction of knowing me among the victims.

I do not know if the police Senator Hense has given a statement, according to which the officer
was justified in shooting up the defenseless masses; one has, without the masses
exhort and to draw attention to that shot blindly into it
shot into. The fault that there casualties have occurred, applies solely to
Officer who had proposed for the first shot. If you say that we have the responsibility
who wear, I answer you that the unprecedented states in which the proletariat
has live force us finally with this dog vulgar capitalist
clean up company that supports this government.

First Vice President: I invite the speakers, both in the noisy debate, as well as in the
Expressions to moderate somewhat. I have not understood exactly the last expression.

About my loud speech and my temper I let me by the President
make no provisions.

First Vice President: I did not give any rules; I you only asked to
both with your voice as your expressions to moderate. I will not tolerate a criticism of my
Measure!

If I speak out loud and in my temper when speaking of outrageous
States going too far, so that's my business. I leave it to me absolutely not prohibit criticism
to practice, criticism of the actions of the President. You have it already fallen
blank that I speak as my beak has grown.

First Vice President: I call for the last point of order.

Therefore, it is no better. After the last few days in this outrageous
Way have acted against us, the state of siege imposed and our press
have been banned, we will tell the plenary of citizenship, what we need for
hold, as we have no other opportunity to turn to the population. And if
They lock us all together down to the last man and believe us harmless to
make and to beat in this or that relationship: We love our struggle to
Continue the extreme, even to those who are trying today, with the sharpest
and unscrupulous actions against us proceed.
Mr Platen has dared to say, we made no honest work. I do assert
To that I have done until now always honest work. If you have such
make assertions, then you need to be clearer, since you require responsibility
accept it. You have during the war in the "General-Anzeiger", for example,
written, the blood of the fallen scream then that Germany, the first power
Europe will. Can you still be responsible for the day? Compared to people who knee-deep
have waded in blood and were pumped up again, you can no longer
answer after in from all sides to the circles of the German People's Party
has been declared that this war an insane murder, a crime against
has been mankind. And if you, Mr Platen, dare today to say that, so
identifies the your character, your train of thought and, above all, your tactics, with
you think they can slander us, when you say, we did not honest
Job. By contrast, I defend myself in the sharpest form without reproach you that you
make any honest work. They are one of the men in Hamburg that the
have prompted with the population to endure until the last moment in the World War.
Mr. Stolten says law and order must prevail in the German state, but he forgets
that so many thousands of people after the Revolution by troops that your Government
were available, were shot. They do not care enough about
that thousands of families have nothing to eat. It's your job as mayor,
You are at the head of the government to ensure primarily the fact that the misery of
the world is managed.
Then the "peace of mind", which, as you say, has preserved the Sipotruppe at Millerntor.
I have been standing. There was no grounds in the Crowd
in shoot; without any reason, the Sipo, due to the request of a
Officer, gone over to shoot into the crowd. If you now turn the tables
and say the Communists are the culprits, so we will be very clearly
prove that it was not the Communists but the unprecedented provocation of
Officer who gave the order to shoot into the defenseless crowd. The blame
meets one who is at the forefront; that is the police Senator Hense. think of
Colonel von Wangenheim. That was the work of police Senator Hense. The Baron
Wangenheim was in the days of the Kapp Putsch with guns,
Machine guns and ammunition quietly withdraw from Altona, and no Sipo, no
Volkswehr, no Einwohnerwehr has Freiherr von Wangenheim done anything.
This man who wanted to bring the brutal reaction of the government, you have to
Teams, ammunition, ever let pull with all, while today it hereunder
the reign of the Lord police Senators Hense so going on. You do not know who first
shot. I can allow myself an opinion because I stood in the front line
I, and others who have joined out of curiosity or by chance, be a
proposed objective judgment about how the whole process took place. Then
You judge differently than today, when you think heckled my
to perform executions. If Mr Platen dares murderers and looters
to speak in this movement, as I say, Mr. Platen that the world wars and the
Retreat on the Western Front, the army command and the officers to over went to commands
grant to saw all the fruit trees and poisoning the wells. They were robbers and
Marauder. You can not deny that to me, as I myself these outrages -
but I saw, as I know for certain that the battalions - not participated
were asked to do that. And now look at the inhabitants of these areas that the
Fruit trees are destroyed. It is clear that the population of France has a right
about being bitter indignation. But you have no right to say that the communist
Motion a movement of robbers and looters is. No, just here I can
to prove the opposite. If you follow the police reports of the last few days, then
You will find that very little thefts and burglaries have been otherwise would have
The thieves and looters us already hung on the coat-tails. - The current state is,
as I have said before, completely bankrupt. In this situation our
to give consent or assent to our state budget, would mean that we
this have already expressed a year ago that we today state power
support. Supporting this State and the Government in this form our confidence
give, that means betraying the proletariat and betrayal of our program. this State
We fight until it no longer exists as a state. We make it absolutely no
Hehl. We have no reason, in this or that relationship to this or that
proceed person carefully, because even the most brutal violence against the proletariat
apply. We speak it out very clearly that the present state crimes
has charged to be suffered by the German people. The whole acquittals for
Example in the boiler process, the acquittal of Mechtersdeter student who Marloh-
Process and the fact that the Kappverbrecher roam freely is indeed the clearest
Proof that we do not live in a country where there is democracy, but in
a country in which such people enjoy a special favor. You dare
against us proceed, but you do not dare to take action against these elements, the already
Since the start of the revolution of 1918 called for the fight against us. And we
will bring even in this situation to express that we as communists as long
will fight until the present capitalist state lies on the ground until the bourgeoisie
is overthrown. We will fight for the liberation of humanity from the shackles of
capitalist wage labor for the construction of communist society.
We've had previous meeting, want to bring in forming a government, to express that
our group at least, the right for itself takes, the government, as they
was proposed in this composition to identify. It has legal
and lawyer tricks tried using the Rules of Procedure a committee as
Senate election committee was used to liberate intentionally by the reporting and has
understood it, thus choking off the debate on the formation of a government. This procedure
was nothing more than a circumvention of the rules of procedure. According to the Rules was
necessary to consider the report of the Committee in plenary. (Interruption: "Where were you?")
Because where I was, I was to where the crowds were. Since I have been and
do not like the lies sheet "Hamburger Echo" writes the Porter House. Here in this
Talking shop, I had no place on Wednesday. Since not my party friends
have the opportunity to comment on the new government, they have returned
drawn. The swearing in of the senators was then made at the same time as the
Sipoleute defenseless workers and Curious shot. So was this oath of
Senators who knew and know had that people are killed there, a
unheard Bluttaufe. I said that clearly enough, Senator Dr. Nöldeke. I say
You the one that I condemn the actions of Sipoleute to the extreme and that
other people may still talk to you about a word.
The "Hamburger Echo" writes in his article that you are no more than political
will consider party. It further indicated that even wants to proceed to due to the
proceed Constitution against us, and that in no respect any policy
wants to trade with us. It shows that you are willing - I do not know who the article
wrote - to create a new communist law. Even under the
Socialist Law, where the leaders met secretly with the masses, succeeded
Bismarck not to hold down the movement, so that in 1890 the law be repealed
had to. Today, it will not succeed and an Ebert and a Senator Hense, with violence
suppress our policy. You will experience the one that our movement grows
and over your heads will be so great that the masses someday about your policy
be swept march. There will be what you months and years
having to fight believed.
The Communists law that you intend to create and here in this
Article is clearly announced, this law will have absolutely no joy
prepare. It may perhaps have success in the beginning, that this or that Communist
Action in the first stage of development achieved nothing but the labor movement is
join us and our ideas of self. After what you in recent months
have expressed, you can no longer have the right to lay claim
take to be representative of the working class. When such articles in "Hamburger
may echo "write, which are directed in reckless ester way against us,
identifies the your thought processes as they are not marked clearly
can. I'm not one of those idealists who are fanatic; I'm
Realists and Marxists and not stand with you on the floor of the reconstruction of the
the Social Democratic Party already is by the way to unity with the capitalist parties and the various interest groups is treading this path is leading to despair and impoverishment of the German proletariat. When Blohm & Voss have worked thousands of people for decades for starvation wages, so that build the owners villas and could lead a life of luxury. It is the good right of all, the were exploited there that they now take this operation into their own hands and for provide the general public. From this, we do not hide.

Senator Hense, I accuse you now, that you bear the blame for the enormous Bitterness that prevails among the workers and which is caused by the fact that the haven't pulled officers responsible and not investigated who the Blood debt to the events of recent weeks applies. go against my party comrades Before, without adhering to the constitutional provisions. They know perfectly exactly that for example a citizenship Member only if it in fact or in is taken 24 hours thereafter, can be detained. but go after 48 Hours moreover about to send for my comrades from the house, and so are as Police Senator one who does not care about the law. If You continue your office against the proletariat so, I dare say that the German National People's Party, the German People's Party and the German Democratic Party no better people get to the top of the police department can as you. You have read the article in the press; were all praises of your activity while one a few months ago still fought your action. From this we see that nothing have done more than try, together with the reaction, the proletariat bludgeon. The fight is not over yet; provisionally be still struggling in Central Germany, the Ruhr, etc. It is not known yet how the fight ends; one knows not whether from the defeat that reports the bourgeois press, not still a victory will be the proletariat. Even if it with your immense military power ready to bring the defenseless workers bludgeon, so a good day, the German proletariat, fight like in November 1918, a uniform, and then be those individuals who are still hostile to us, simply by the indignation and the Indignation of the masses swept away, and the victory, the victory of the revolutionary German Proletariat, he will undoubtedly be ours!

"Citizenship Protocol"
19th meeting 30 March 1921st
For tactics of the Communist International

*From the speech at the III. World Congress of the Communist International*

*July 2, 1921*

Comrades! I very much regret that it has not been able to
the speech of Comrade Trotsky to speak because Comrade Trotsky, as I hear, a sharp
Ride attack against the amendments proposed by the German delegation intends.
It remains for me nothing more than to myself with the remarks of Comrade Zinoviev
deal. He said here had been expressed that the left and cruel
the rights should be treated gently. And he claimed that the discussion had shown that
the party in some countries due to the setting of the left from the crafty
Bourgeoisie would be lured out of the hole. He has the tendency in the
Foreground asked: I [Zinoviev] believe that it is possible, if within
the Communist International two currents exist, these artificially
zusammenzukitten. - There is a risk that the centrist currents opportunity
will have to enforce the same tendencies in a procedure of the bourgeoisie and
to say, we can only take up the fight, when the majority of the proletariat behind
is us. I refer to the word that the bourgeoisie the young Communist
Party could draw out of its hole. It is said that the March Action, an imposed
Battle, is a step forward. It was so, that the Communist Party, as their struggle
demonstrative was imposed, was faced with the question, either with protests
proceed nature or to support the fighting in central Germany brothers. The
Mass in Germany would not have understood if they had their central German brothers
to bleed to death. Also on March 17, it was the attitude and the desire of individual
Districts, not only the desire of the Central that the party finally made their
Demonstration policies come out.
It was the revolutionary impatience of the masses, of a symptom of the decay
capitalist society and showing that the mass wants to fight.
You can not judge as the Trotsky the first German conditions
Agenda item did. I am convinced that a general prosperity in
Germany would take on a different character. We are here not increased
Production but, according to the commitments made to the Entente, a reduction
production, increased unemployment and ferment among the workers have. The German party is then faced with the difficult task of determining whether they sympathies the has the majority of the proletariat. We in the unions and in all other institutions set out that the general strike in the armed uprising over growing. Because if the party asks for a general strike, the bourgeoisie is all play forces against the proletariat.

If the Communist Party in the March Action, the elite of the fighting revolutionary would proletariat left in the lurch, so it would have meant that the revolutionary wing had separated from the Communist Party. That's the most important thing, and we have in the situation detected.

But we must realize in this matter also, that men in the party yet previously featured on the view that the March Action has a Bakuninist coup was, on have come to the Congress to the conclusion that this has been a misconception. But imagine once: In a moment when everything against the life and death Fighting raged Communist Party, were comrades who are in the party and already have clearly shown in another question, that the way the party does not like them,

4This refers to the action of the German proletariat in March 1921 in central Germany.

to over, the party so to fall in the back, such as Kautsky in the Russian Revolution 1918. This was a situation in which one must try to understand. Such "critical" can perhaps understand men who are in the party and in theory work in it, but how are the masses react when they see that in a party such flows are present, where the strictest discipline should prevail? can within the party Such differences will be played, but not in public. This is the Crime committed by the comrades. The comrades had nothing else to do, than to submit to the discipline of the Party.

We have the evidence in hand, that one in the party already today has moved to organize themselves for the cleavage. Comrade Daumig has been in Berlin held meetings where we wanted to set up an organizational apparatus, which aims to destroy the party. This danger is not from the left. I maintain, that the entire working class, organized in all districts of Germany in the VKPD is standing behind the party, and that comrade Clara Zetkin and the other holding a small Minority, perhaps five to seven percent, behind them, but try the Public and to show here at the Congress, what powerful position they occupy. Therefore, it is a risk if you are carrying them into account and the sharp weapons against Comrades applies the forced due to the entire economic relations were, bring in the proletariat in the activity. We have also in Hamburg in General Assemblies about the big mistakes that organizational shortcomings on the false theoretical attitude spoken, they criticized and expressed, what we have learned for the future from this fight. Why is not this fight been a defeat for the party, albeit one for the proletariat, was for the party it a victory after back direction that they strengthened by the masses out of this fight emerged. In the proletariat itself was in February and March such an opinion spreads that we usually limited ourselves to demonstrations and the fight dodging. We are in Germany the view that the party is in the inner battles and at the escalation of the external position in line with the decisions of the II.
Comrade Zetkin has clearly expressed that it does not care about the future will bind on the mistakes and shortcomings of the March Action not to openly speak. Imagine that situation from this for the Communist Party results! Everything is set against the Communist Party, the socialist majority, the bourgeois press, etc. The search to represent ourselves as executioners. And if you even in meetings, through editorials, etc. outwardly shows that in the party currents present, who say the party was a bloodbath, then must to be against public criticism. But I'm still another reason against it: The comrades of discipline do not want to add, do not belong in the party. Within the party can speak out about all things, but beyond the scope of party also inform the public, which is a mistake that I condemn. We stand on the view that the path that has been taken today is a way of krisenhaft can be.

I am disciplined and centralized; to which I have struggled through. I am so centralist that I follow the decisions. But I would point out that the setting the Communist Party in Germany is another and that the due Amendment of the theses is amplified to an extent of in at the disastrous condition Germany is out-extremely difficult. We are a serious battle with the parties have standing to our right.

"Protocol of the III. Congress of the Communist International,
Moscow, June 22 until July 12, 1921 ", p 633-637.

Speech at the VII. Congress
the KPD in Jena

August 23, 1921

This Congress of the German Communist Party is the first party congress of the front world position takes on the resolutions of III. World Congress. It is therefore necessary that we, within the various tendencies that have shown here bring by a resolution a single clear line to express how the German Communist Party, the decisions of the III. Congress receives.

Comrades I have not in Moscow concluded so-called peace treaty cosigned because I certainly knew that a part of those comrades who the belong to the opposition, not stop the decisions of the World Congress and the freedom criticism in the furthest limits, as they were drawn there, to the detriment of the party would exploit. I take the view that a Communist Party always set has on the economic situation and the situation of their country. The III. World Congress is of course a Summarium of communist parties from the different countries, and it turns out that the tendencies in each Communist parties are very different, because the circumstances in each country are different. It has been seen, for example, at the World Congress saying that the policy, Tactics and tendency of the French and also the Czechoslovak party quite a
other than that those parties that heavy, big fights and defeats are through marches. The German Communist Party was at the World Congress played important role because of the overall tactics within the International experience were taken from the March Action as the basis of a uniform tactical line.

I must say that it was a mistake about the attitude of the German delegation that the Comrades were determined by the headquarters in Berlin to lead the delegation. This was therefore not correct, because the thought of the various departmental delegates a very different was when there have actually represent him, the comrades of the Central. Within the delegation of course suffered by differences that substantially tactical were. If today the resolution of the Central keeping individual revealed comrades of the Central in terms of their views on the theory of the offensive will, I want to emphasize that such a theory of the offensive at all of the masses could be understood. For us, the question was so that the party that set passively was, had to go through a certain stage, to become active.

Now the Department of Comrade Trotsky, in the treatment of Depression too much was guided by ideological standpoint. I am extremely sorry that the theorist of the party that may be present at the congress in principle nothing against the view of Comrade Trotsky objected. We as workers could it but no match for the experienced theorists of the Russian party. We but if all theses and papers are present in the text, here and in the press have to deal with in the membership so that due to the economic tapered situation in Germany, contrary to the view of Trotsky, the prosperity, the Manufacture of capitalist equilibrium, of course, a very different character gets as in all other capitalist countries. We are at a stage in which the pressure of the capital on the proletariat the economic struggles so be kindled, that the union bureaucracy especially with their currently will attempt weak financial cash on hand, as far as possible any Wage struggle to go out of the way. It must show itself in this situation, if we as Revolutionary Communist Party the masses against our duty do.

Comrade Trotsky at the Congress generally those comrades and delegations supports, to the designated to be the so-called rights, and he has the whip the Left knocked loose. Going from left stupidities and bawlers the Left speaks, so it is of course necessary to bring very precisely expressed, what you mean. There are surely all comrades who in their attitude or otherwise, the little bar turning the other. But here it is a question of who his done bounden duty within the struggle within the Communist Party has or not. I have already expressed in Moscow: A Revolutionary Fighter is obliged to have even if theoretical error made in the setting, when the organization in its whole apparatus was not as it should be, but when it comes to battle, mitzukämpfen and submit to party discipline. And those comrades who come today and say: Because the wrong attitude, because the errors we could not vote - who the discipline of the Communist Party not subject to the struggle. We had to pass the first trial by fire, with proved that the party had internal weaknesses. She had weaknesses in organizational Respect and in view of the fact that people were in the Communist Party, which in
combat situations, not shown as revolutionary fighters. Furthermore, there were many District lines not set so that it the slogan of the Communist Party: "General strike" supported. If you already criticized all the errors of the March Action, then it also means to bring a communist clearly expressed that we from the have attracted so much teaching experience of fighting the March Action, that it great for us Successes. If it has been a defeat of the proletariat, so I say: It is extent a victory for the German Communist Party, as we have seen, which immense, necessarily to be eliminated, we have weaknesses within the party. Our task is now the lessons of the decisions of the III. to draw Congress, not so much to theorize, but contact with all who sympathized with us and also get with the right standing by us masses. We are out of touch with the masses get, but not only by a correct propaganda and agitation, but by that we show as the German Communist Party in all these economic struggles, that we move forward march as vanguard of the proletariat. At the forefront of that fight each supported and, if any in various economic areas should worsen economic struggles, is also willing these struggles to final struggle for political power to increase.

"Report on the negotiations
the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany
lands (section of the Communist International)
held in Jena from 22 to 26 August 1921 "

S. 250-252.

11. THE Verbandstag
GERMAN TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Berlin 3rd to September 8th, 1922

Justification of the resolution against the
Arbeitsgemeinschaft policy
In the brief speaking time I have to limit myself to the present resolution to justify, and can respond to the actual business report only slightly. I regret that so little ladies are represented among the delegates. Either absent in the female members have the necessary union sentiment, or colleagues have failed to train colleagues in the necessary manner. From the from colleagues Schumann cited figures alone can not necessarily indicative of the strength of the pull organization. It is especially important, what spirit animates the dressing. I am happy me that Schumann occurred not only for the right of association of workers; rather also for the unconditional right of association of civil servants and employees of the state. The Editors of the "Courier" has the railway strike the opposite view represented. This economic struggle was born out of the plight of railway workers. We hope in the future of this site the right to strike of civil servants is recognized. Schumann declared a communist is him as a capable official as dear as another. He Has themself to in contrast to the secretary of the International asked Transport Workers Federation, with an almost unbelievable audacity (Large Unrest and protest calls.), Who with an almost incredible insolence, I say ... (Renewed unrest -. Chairman Ortmann alleges that phrase.) The secretary here has judgments like that do not correspond to the facts. He throws the French unions before that they have not made an attempt to prevent the ammunition production. in the This connection he said that the German Transport Workers onward transportation would have prevented ammunition. Colleagues know indeed the case of Hall, where a Carload was blown up. but you know that these colleagues of the German class courts have been strongly condemns. In France on the International Transport Workers' Congress repeatedly stated that the French unions have with all the energy used for the production and to prevent transport of ammunition. I just remind you that we in Hamburg have repeatedly stated that the seafarers and dockworkers is not enough have cared if ammunition came through the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. We have already shown in Stuttgart, Cologne and Breslau to the dressing days that theoretical in Setting a Paul Müller, the tendency was not available, the proletarians a deserves. When we pointed in Stuttgart on its Pan-German products based the Main Board Unfortunately this Paul Müller, though even then not the interest of Seafarers but the Shipowners capitalists represented. For the sake of Sailor proletarians to welcome the fact that this man has resigned from the labor movement. I'm glad, that the main board now has him drop. The Working Group is of policy been various speakers presented all wrong. One has the simple with the Collective agreements connected. This is completely false. The working groups mainly to discuss economic policy and social policy issues. Only in Context so that they can deal with tariff issues, but they are not with to make collective public switching on a stage. The construction workers federation is from the Arbeitsgemeinschaft excreted. Metalworkers' union is in principle on the Position to refuse any work Community policy. In depreciation Bund (Short for Allgemeiner freier Angestelltenbund. The Red.) there are strong currents against the Working Group. At various examples, I will show that the idea of
Arbeitsgemeinschaft first emanated from the enterprise, which the post-revolutionary
Contradictions between capital and labor wanted to see bridges. It was the continuation of the
Burgfriedenspolitik the war. The eight-hour day is not on the account of the
to set associations. To win the battle of the eight-hour day has in those
completed Revolution days when the workers forced their representatives to the demand
the eight-hour day practically enforce. The Working Group has against
Inflation not done that, and done what was necessary. When you walk in to the
external parity indicates, it is still firmly in practice that representatives of the deer
Duncker ⁵ and Christian organizations and of German Nationals
Clerks Association sitting etc. simultaneously in the Central Association. It is
not done by the working groups that they need against the sale of Germany
been. Mr Thomas said already clear that a different spirit in the colleague shank
must be awakened. The advantage with respect to the insight into the economic life by
the associations is quite minimal. We have the psychological moment in
Proletariat account, and the challenges the Working Group Policy.
Then you should pay more attention than to the psychological adjustment of
Capitalists. The representatives of the capitalists in the working groups will naturally
try to represent their class as sharp as possible. Even the sharpest representatives
Big industry have campaigned vigorously for the working groups. I recall
Stinnes, Dr. Vogler, Dr. Sorge, etc. All these people have expressed that this
Marriage between capital and labor for entrepreneurship was very low. Out
These reasons should be the Verbandstag not take the view, the colleague
Schumann has taken. The Trade Union Congress, in its majority, unless the
Delegates were concerned, the working group policy rejected in principle. And
the ADGB must surely be decisive for us. In the composition of this
Association day it is perhaps understandable that Schumann will seek a bridge that also
to enter the principal enemy of the working group. It's an absurdity, as
fundamentally opposed to support this policy for reasons of expediency. I ask
by adopting our resolution.

Resolution against any involvement
the associations

Since the outbreak of the revolution capitalist society tries by streamlining
Pooling their forces and their ruthless establishment in the economic and
political battle to suppress the working class to mindless exploitation objects.
The class contradictions and class struggle by associations between capital
and bridge work, is an attempt which in practice only confusion in the ranks
the workers wearing and must eliminate the required class struggle. The
Cooperation between workers' representatives and capitalists on the ground of pure
externally existing parity and the only apparent equality in the
Associations is especially in the present period, where by each

⁵ Hirsch-Duncker unions - which in 1868 by Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker on behalf of the
Bourgeoisie founded trades unions, also known as "yellow" trade unions known. Hirsch and Duncker
preaching the "harmony of class interests", were the workers from the revolutionary class struggle against
divert the bourgeoisie and were anxious to the tasks of the trade union movement only on mutual
Help and cultural enlightenment to restrict.
Reparations class antagonisms to sharply escalate, not in the interests our organization and therefore the entire transport workers. Therefore rejects the 11th Verbandstag the German Transport Workers' Union any involvement in the Workshops on principle.
Signed: Thalmann, Erdmann, Wolf, Walter, Mahron etc.
Amsterdam or Red International of Labour Unions

September 6, 1922

Colleagues! Mr Döring has already pointed out that the first on the Conference, which took place after the war, difficulties arose, the international Organization together. This is understandable, because the international solidarity, the International Transport Workers' Federation had a principle is at the outbreak of not been respected war. There are all the imperialistic tendencies been decisive. The Central Council of ITF has what in Amsterdam with law Complaint was made, not intervened, as the German side of the submarine warfare was initiated. At the Congress in Christiania has commented on the single direction within the labor movement. We can through our understand standpoint that irreconcilable differences exist that the on base Organizational structure and due to the political views of individual unions make different countries asserted. It is also clear that the French in the Unions very different tendencies prevail as in the German. As recently Berlin has tried to bring together the executives of the three Internationals, have We experienced that the representatives of individual countries a thoroughly nationalist and capitalist stance revenue.

(Speaker goes to the decisions in Christiania [now Oslo] a, the boycott Hungary, and Poland.)

With these measures it has been shown that the decisions not seriously performed were. Then you have created statutes in Christiania, where is that international solidarity should be promoted. Where has it something in the great English Miners' strike felt? At the Geneva Congress has probably protested a bit against the destruction of diesel engines, but not energetically taken position against the other, the economy-destroying provisions of the peace treaty. Mr Döring is scheduled on the meeting of the Transport Workers in Petrograd. The Soviet Government has no interest in the International Transport Workers Federation destroy, but it takes the view that the transport workers of world has to adapt to the resolute struggle against capitalism. It has appeared in the course of development that the position of the unions is Soviet Russia became another. In today's economy, the world plays Soviet Russia a size Role. The doings of the Amsterdam Trade Union International have in union circles off the need awakened to found the Red International. We will in the future heavy fighting go to meet. As will become clear whether the Amsterdam International or the Red International is decisive. It does not depend on the number of organized it depends on the contents of the International.
Against the resolution on the Unit
"The economic situation in Germany"

September 8, 1922

We know that through the reparations crisis, particularly by the London Conference has exacerbated the situation significantly. The ratio of wages to prices has so designed that even when the SPD and USPD workers a strong fermentation and Indignation is noticeable. I can, in this context, although the Dreher has also allowed not go into all these economic and political things so because it would take the time of the federation day too long to complete. The one is but finds that the German Government has not challenged the Stinnes policy, because they can not do that as a capitalist government and does not want. We have to To bring a trade union congress every reason clearly expressed that one of a capitalist government any action in the interests of the proletariat can not wait. We have seen in recent days that Stinnes as a representative of capitalism and the bourgeoisie with a clearly defined program to the Government has approached. Then the ADGB has with humble suggestions and balmy replied proposals which do not place the proletariat practical improvements be necessary. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has pointed out that in September a 189fache increase in prices for all commodities has occurred; this pricing policy can not of course be continued. If one in the Resolution on the currency issue indicates and it alone the Treaty of Versailles responsible makes, so would it actually from financial, economic and political point of need, the international situation in to describe connection with the global economic crisis ever. If only the banking groups being achieved through the currency regime, it must be the place in the foreground. We have five or six banking groups, of which the whole market depends. Of them is in conjunction with the economic and political conditions readily the Valuta regulated. That this is an unhealthy state, it we realize. If in Germany an 8-million army is organized in ADGB, so it is amazing that this mass can not prevent the terrible danger that the vastly increased Capital question has conjured. The big industrialists are in the last few months to passed her here gained due to the exploitation of the proletariat Capitals apply abroad as foreign exchange, and at the same time they have their funds in foreign Values deposited. The German Government has given us a wonderful control bouquet, by the proletariat is exploited on worst. But the capitalists are still To bring in a position today their profits abroad. This sell Germany is take in the future much worse dimensions. Stinnes has not only the marrow in Germany sold but he creates his funds abroad. Recently he has in Sweden with the money collected in Germany purchased several large works.
It communicates with the breakdown of the economic situation that now exists. Slip economy could very easily turn due to the current value, with the effect that an unemployment will occur in certain industrial areas because the necessary raw materials can not be bought. The capitalists can in the prior German Valuta long endure, but not the workers. In the Resolution, paragraph 3, is a solidarity action by all countries as a means to remedy the imbalance of the currency indicated. Anyone who believes that in the

6 The London Conference was held from 7 to 14 August 1922. On the agenda was the solution; of Reparations by the Allies.

imperialistic tendencies of the capitalist states and their rulers to the there possibility that is in error. The preparation of the gold value is the endeavor of Capitalists, because they will overcome this crisis not help. But by solidarity action of all countries can achieve anything if you se the Ruler turns. That can not be the demand of the revolutionary proletariat. in the fourth paragraph is said of Verbandstag to do one with the international Proletariat when he calls on the workers within their borders the sharpest to lead the fight for real peace. Who imagines that in a capitalist State is given the opportunity to prevent the imperialist war, without any rearing the proletarian masses with their energy against him, which I need only 1914 to to call memory. You can of course it is not by resolutions on international prevent congresses, if you say at the moment of the outbreak of war, we can not prevent lift. (Schramp: "Ernst, 1914 You thought but different") I want Colleagues Schramp only reply that I at party meetings our old Social Democratic Party fighting Stolten, Perner and all these leaders because have taken their attitude to war policy. I have, then declared that the Party with the approval of the war credits the resolutions of international congresses has given up. I have always fought sharply this war policy during the war. - In the sixth paragraph in the resolution of the German government, ie a capitalist government that they by law or regulation all usury cravings and prevents the corporations and syndicates monitored sharp in their pricing. Who believes that a capitalist government is capable of doing that has since 1918 not much learned. A capitalist government will never rebel against capitalism can, because it is even capitalist oriented. This is an illusory claim. For my friends, is this resolution with its diplomatic content unacceptable. In our Declaration have already pronounced the right tactical principles, which to force the transport workers for the future to improve their situation can. In future it will be compelled but also by the trade unions, the entire Proletariat not only economically but also politically call to fights. Nice that shows that such a resolution as this, not only its content, but also its because of the formulation Verbandstag the German Transport Workers' Union must be rejected unanimously.

"German Transport Workers' Federation, Protocol on negotiations"
The Tasks of the IV. World Congress

Speech at the meeting of the Central Committee
15 and October 16, 1922

Comrades! The First World Congress was the bastion of the revolutionary Parties and laid the foundation of the Communist International. The II. World Congress gave the 21 conditions and went to the same time on to establish the parties who presented at the bottom of the 21 conditions. The III. World Congress put directives on Activities of the Communist International laid. The IV. World Congress is the have to fulfill most important task: it is a program for the entire must provide International.

The three main points that will play a role at the World Congress, are my Opinion: first five years Russian Revolution and the perspective of World revolution; then the advice of the program and, thirdly, the world of offensive Capital and the tactical line of the world proletariat. I would like to take this opportunity emphasize that the in the first item on the agenda, in the perspective World Revolution, the following factors will play a role. In his speech of Comrade Brandler we have already heard that the Orient crisis that not dealt with in the paper itself so has been, as it was necessary, although is not a proletarian movement, but at least a Movement against imperialism, the decomposed imperialism, the shift a the power groups in the East makes that also the Mongolian movement in carrying the colonies of England. I would remind you that beyond Turkey India is covered by this national revolutionary movement and that, above all, World power of England is undoubtedly greatly shaken by the fact that the land to India not obstructed, but is still much more difficult. This will also without further indication of the revolutionary movement in the Mongolian peoples show. I point out, because this national movement not readily aside can push. Next factor is that at the same time by the decomposition of imperialism
The second question relates to the defeated countries in connection with the Reparations, including Austria and Germany belong. Then we do not need respond.

The third problem, that will be the most important with a, relates to the question: how behaves the proletariat in the victor countries, and which are in the winning countries England, France and America to notice revolutionary phenomena? In this Context, I would like to highlight that too little of the Communist Party Emphasis on the struggle of the American miner who the one major battles, who was a proletarian victory. Especially because since the previous World Congress has been able the proletariat in any country, even a victory to win, we have seen rather in most cases only a defensive action.

This victorious struggle of American miners was precisely because of a victory, because, despite the low financial and material resources that were available to them and despite the small Communist Party, which, however, there disciplined and well is organized, the fight could be out victorious end.

The fourth power factor that will undoubtedly play the biggest role, is Soviet Russia. in the Orient has already shown the power position it occupies; it is of course over the whole development, with all international agreements and conferences in the have to contact the foreground. So when we submit ourselves whether we are in a revolutionary epoch or not? - So we are already seeing in the decrease of production of a major disintegration. The "reconstruction policy" and the tightening of Class antagonisms in Central Europe show that we are in a revolutionary epoch. We also see - because the in the victor countries the direct wage cuts, in defeated countries of the indirect wage cuts will be made - everywhere an awakening of revolutionary movement. Objectively, the factual foundations are in place, and the Communist International has the task; also the most subjective Basics create.

Comrade Clara Zetkin has yesterday expressed that in determining the tactics the relative strength of the bourgeoisie, the world campaign in conjunction with the Struggles of the world proletariat itself play a role; also be the particular circumstances of each country in defining the tactics a play extremely important role. In previous years there were three big fights, the Czechoslovak struggle, the March Action and the Italian battle, according to which one the Tactics of International commit. We are in this year with regard to the Struggles that have taken place, create a design for the World Congress. I can
not imagine that you will have to submit the completed program at the World Congress. In this context, it would have been necessary that the German Communist Party, which is one of the main parties of the Communist International, necessarily in Membership on this matter would be able to comment. Of the Draft Programme of the German party has been much made too late in the press, and we must emphatically protest that here in the Central Committee, a draft to be adopted without the membership has tested this design. Further is added, that in all probability, only the German and the Russian party a Design will present and thereby increased the draft of the German party Importance. From this viewpoint, it is necessary that the design is all is clearly formulated and content, in principle so that one is not in front of the entire sections need to embarrass at the World Congress. If we in the previous years in the German delegation so divided opinions on the question of tactics, much had different opinions on the assessment of the March Action, we must, particularly the members of the Centre, represented this year a uniform view. Finally, I would say: Communism has become a world power factor. But we as a German party should not we like the old Social Democratic Party Set, that we place too much emphasis on the size of the Communist International, but much more emphasis on its contents. must precisely this content of the Communist International be such that all the different tendencies must be clearly eliminated. Opportunistic tendencies in the Communist International are all excrete circumstances, and separate them just by the fact that it clearly in the program formulated which setting has the Communist International, in order to Opportunists is not given the opportunity to make infidelities. In this Context is the program debate here in the Central Committee of importance; because the German party has to fulfill an important task, and the delegates at the World Congress will have to adopt this position clear, as in the interest of Communist movement is necessary.

About united front and workers' government

Discussion speech at the VIII. Party KPD in Leipzig
January 30, 1923

The theoretical discussions in the party are there that the party practically to perform its tasks. If Comrade Brandler 9 in his remarks to Expression brought that the discussions in each district have a decomposing effect, so we can see in Hamburg fortunately that through the discussion of the Workers' government and on the application of the united front tactic a great vitality Activity has been carried into the party. One party, the objective of existing not discussed differences, is ever dead. Just to the slogan of workers' government
can be quite different opinion. When Comrade Koenen came clearly to expression that he purely parliamentary the possibility of the KPD in the government took center stage. And if Comrade Brandler irony of a risk theory said, I must tell him that you can not look at it, but that one is dealing with the question of how the workers feel about the workers' government. In this relationship is important to be very cool, the preconditions for the establishment of a must consider workers' government. Comrade Stolzenburg yesterday talked about it not in the way of defensive movements, not with feeble demonstrations, but go only by the general strike. The one Communist who is in enterprises, as I must, first and foremost entrepreneurs with his proletarian revolutionary energy confront and with his example to show the other workers that he is willing, even responsible for illegal, but revolutionary measures on entrepreneurs as it has happened with us at the shipyard during the reintroduction of the piece-work system. In this connection can not generally tell by the left one, that they do not practical work and only spintisiere. I take the view that the working class politically has been so much insight, at least in the KPD, that they are not of the to be influenced intellectual needs. I agree with Comrade Fischer that a degradation and destruction of the SPD necessary since but I am of the opinion that this sentence inhibits our agitational activity. For this reason, we are in a certain contrast fall. This view of the destruction of the SPD comes not by the intellectuals, but it is from the inner knowledge of the working class born out that in four years of the German revolution of an immense mistrust of the SPD has been detected as a workers' party. And the past of each parliamentary workers' governments, to those the KPD neutrality contrary brought, has also proved that the SPD did not carry out what the interests of the lay proletariat.

Today we have a most revolutionary situation by the occupation of the Ruhr, a shift of power groups and thus a shift in class relations among themselves. Although Poincaré continued to work in Germany and the occupation expands and when doing Lorraine soldiers of the French army already desert, so this is the first sign of decomposition of the French army. We are obliged to provide in addition to the subjective and an objective theory of power, in the enter the united front tactic for an extension of powers and the decomposition process the SPD to accelerate. It is necessary to neutralize the petty bourgeoisie make and to strive for a decomposition of the bourgeoisie. In the way of

9 Brandler - a leader of the right opportunist group in the Communist Party of Germany, in the years 1922/1923 the leadership of the KPD held with Thalheimer. 1929 were Brandler and Thalheimer for anti-Party factional activities of the Communist Party excluded.
must be able to protect these workers' government and support. Who imagines that that a workers' government is perhaps protected legally if the proletariat do not fight, the will experience that at the first opportunity the bourgeoisie these seated on the ministerial posts workers is to the devil. A workers' government only has viability, if the working class to the State concerned is already so strong that they are facing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie its own dictatorship can.

I want to bring to the Saxon question very positively expressed that the CP in the current situation naturally can not stand rifle at, but we need the show workers what the KPD and the proletariat have to do. In the by us on the SPD to the right conditions we must demand primarily from her that the free trade union workers as a protection force for the government and against the Bourgeoisie armed. If the working class does not have such a base, which then, when the KPD is forced in a short time, again from the government quit, think the workers on the KPD? Then, if not a major setback, even against us, occur?

Brandler here read a resolution in 1905 by the Russian Social Democracy has been accepted. The ratios of 1905 and the conditions of today are quite different. We have every reason to express, when we talk about the slogan of workers' government that primarily Preconditions must be created. If we no preconditions for provide workers' government, we should not march off.

"Report on the negotiations
the III. (8) Congress of the Communist Party
Germany (section of the Communist
International), held in
Leipzig from January 28 to February 1, 1923"
S. 357-359.
Comrades! If at the present Congress particularly the German Question played an extremely important role in international issues, so reminds me today's meeting of that situation, which in the III. World Congress was present. There played the German, Czechoslovakian and Italian question the largest role in the Setting the tactics of the Communist International. And particularly it was the German question, the March Action, which took up most space in the discussions. If today the German question particularly in the foreground, so for the simple reason that they not only German, but because they actually an international is question of the have to consider the various sections of the Communist International teachings. We have seen that since the IV. World Congress two important, particularly strong Losses can be reported that in the assessment of the attitude of the party a are historical situation critical. The first is the Bulgarian defeat and secondly, the October defeat in Germany. In the Bulgarian defeat, it has shown to the Bulgarian Communist Party at the time of the overthrow of Government Stambulisky has not understood intervene to the peasantry with the to lead workers in the struggle to enforce the in Bulgaria, which the Communist International continues as a program, as a target. We have seen that in September of 1923 after the preliminary with the International, the German Communist Party of German workers signaled that in a few months the proletarian revolution would break out in Germany. The German Communist Party has indeed signaled the fight, but has done nothing in the given moment, as the situation was objectively revolutionary. Now I want a comparison between the Bulgarian and the German Communist draw party in the different situations. If the Bulgarian party in the has failed the moment of the fall of Stambulisky government, it has nevertheless in the Stage in which the executive had made the party aware of the mistake, with fought weak forces and has at least tried the Zankoff Government 10 overthrew. If their forces at that time were insufficient, particularly because the party did not understand that entrain peasant masses, so it has at least the confidence of the Bulgarian won workers because they fought later against Zankoff. It is not a such panic and despair arose as they appeared in Germany. The German Communist Party has then made the big mistake in their leadership that they the Central Committee in November that is, after the October defeat, its policies in the preserve supplemented theory of the victory of fascism on the November Republic sought. The line had collected from the defeat not so much experience to the before the Central Committee and the Party documenting November, what is resulted necessarily from the defeat itself.

1Government Zankoff - a monarchist-fascist government in Bulgaria, the fascist by the Coup came to power in June 1923rd She suppressed with murder and terror cruel the workers and peasants the country and particularly the Bulgarian Communist Party, which was led by Dimitrov and Kolaroff. The resistance of the Bulgarian people forced Zankoff in January 1926 to withdraw.
If today yesterday Brandler and with him Radek today's management, relying on 90 to 95 percent of the membership of the Communist Party supports, attacked, I note here that these attacks not only attacks against the Communist Party of Germany, but also against the Russian party and the executive are. It would be interesting to determine as the comrades of the Polish delegation and the Czech, perhaps the Swedish party behave to this position of Comrade Brandler and Radek, the attacked this context, the Communist Party. As Comrade Radek been disavowed in the Russian Party in its opinion on the German question and the Russian question and the position on international problems in conjunction with the German and the Russian question, it is necessary that those sections at the World Congress, which go together with the German and the Russian party want very concrete and open - especially the Czechoslovak and Polish Delegation - take here in the forum of the World Congress position, ie before Forum of the revolutionary workers of the world.

Comrades Comrade Brandler tried to pull brought arguments to the hair to his opportunistic attitude to disguise in fundamental questions. I want to especially start from the point that one of the face of the October defeat, considering experiences and lessons that the party in connection with the results of Frankfurt Congress has drawn, the question can not provide as Brandler it from personal position has done from. The defeat is not a question of people, but the question is whether the party has fulfilled its historic mission in that revolutionary situation. And when Brandler tried to push things to the fore purely formal and mechanical, without taking into account what the party has learned from the battles, we must the catch. The German party has a lot of experience in revolutionary struggles. Since 1918, it has gone through severe bloody battles, it has 1919 against Noske fighting forces, it has the Kapp Putsch behind, the March Action and various other political battles before October. One would think that Comrade Brandler as former representative of the party has already received so much experience in that he not cites such arguments to its opportunist politics Congress now before smooth to disguise. We have already seen at the Leipzig party congress in early 1923 that a decisive battle was imminent on the line of the world revolution, that is, in Germany by the Ruhr occupation took place an important revolutionary act that Ruhr occupation meant an enormous intensification of the crisis in Germany and the German party would be appointed in a few weeks or months, the victory of the to win the proletarian revolution. Back then it was the majority of the Party Congress, which under Brandler leadership took a different standpoint. We demanded the occupation of the Ruhr, the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in Germany as the first item on the agenda to set. The majority of the Leipzig party congress declared that the occupation was indeed a important event, but one should not these events at the beginning of the agenda to treat. The majority wanted to avoid the consequences that the party from the had to pull Ruhr occupation.

This was the first serious political mistake of course a whole chain of errors after had to get dressed. We have further seen in Leipzig that Comrade Brandler absolutely the qualification is missing, leader of a party to be, or he would see the living element must, as has been shown in Hamburg, in Berlin, at the Ruhr. If there in the Membership another political views came to the fore and be closed documented on the Leipzig party so Brandler had a duty to unity, Consolidation and Bolshevisation the party least comrades from these districts in with in increase the Centre.
Radek-1924 are not yet recognized as an enemy of the party and the Soviet power - belonged to the band of conspirators Trotsky-Zinoviev, who was later exposed as imperialist agency.

None of this happened. Brandler took into account the extremely strong minority at the Leipzig party congress in the composition of the Centre at all, from that there were various conflicts later. Multiple delegations were then in Moscow, because we did not agree with the position of the leadership of the party. It was found, that the Leipzig theses an application found that is often completely wrong in a setting the political situation and the tactics expressed. As the united front tactic in years has been applied in Germany in 1923, they have now closed the World Congress reject.

It has not clearly emphasized: *The Communist Party is the fire of the revolution - SPD is opportunism.* They had faith that left VSPD-leaders are to use, to economic struggles, even fights for the proletarian revolution with us to lead. Yes, the whole political line and tactics of the party had to the bad. Things run as they appeared ominously in October, were the beginning of the year 1923 the first signs of revolutionary development because: the fighting in the Ruhr area and in Upper Silesia. There were then the left districts, which required the party to the armed insurrection - the proletarian revolution - prepare. Brandler, which it now dares to portray here and tell that he had in March 1923 all the preparations taken - for example, collecting propaganda material for the Civil War - the same Brandler has then dared later, in August at the District Congress Seearc where our officials demanded that the party finally to the struggle for political power, to adjust the dictatorship of the proletariat - Brandler had either the nerve or the Naivität- to say: "If you do not stop the chatter about the dictatorship, you will expelled from the party. "In such a revolutionary situation to stand up and to allow yourself leading comrades against such statements, characterizes his opportunistic approach in the former revolutionary situation.

We have seen that the famous call against the fascists and against the Cuno-Government, like a bolt out of the blue came the time, was something unexpected. An editor in Bremen refused even to publish the call because he did not could understand how this call rhymed with all the control panel settings. Of the Call was correct, but what good is a call when the party is not practical, organisationally and politically serious adjusts to the fight? Views are not only used Agitation outwardly, inwardly they must show the party what you want. When Cuno-Movement it was very clear that the mass much more on their own initiative and Energy pushed forward and the party surprised.

In Berlin succeeded entrepreneurs by big promises, the advance of cancel councils movement. In all districts, the party called for the general strike across the board. It was then our job to carry out this line closed.

In Hamburg we have despite the strength of social democracy the slogan "General Strike" practically perform tries. We have the harbor and shipyard workers from closed the holdings retrieved, independently from of the Socialist and union influence. We spent four days, the dockers even six days long fought; until Saturday fell into the factories the workers. In Chemnitz, Saxony, to the whole policy of the Centre was set, on the other hand was rejected in the Works General Assembly 1100 to 1000 voices the general strike.
12 This refers to the guiding principles for the united front tactic and workers' government. At the Eighth Party Congress the KPD adopted in Leipzig (28 January-1 February 1923).
13 This is the appeal "To the Party!" On 11 July 1923. It turns headquarters (Central Committee) of the KPD to all members of the party and calls on them together with the Social Democratic and non-party workers decided against the Cuno government and the machinations the separatists to fight and to the planned coup attempts of the Fascists and the prepare counterrevolutionaries by all means.

Even in workplaces where we were in the majority, we did not get the to follow general strike slogan. This alone results in the various ideological Assessment within the party, the outwardly virtually in the way of fighting embodied.

After the Cuno movement the executive on the revolutionary mood in Germany was Proletariat and the things that took place in Germany, attentive. At that time, the Question thus: Either white dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship. And because the development showed this path clear, the Communist Party had with the help of the executive this serious problem come closer. Brandler, of here with two comrades at the famous September conference participated, will probably know that we were unanimous, that it was inevitable in Germany, in a few weeks in the final battle for the to draw proletarian dictatorship. In the executive branch and the comrades from other countries there was no other view. Thus we see that in the assessment of the situation complete unity prevailed, only in assessing the internal organizational and political situation of the party were disagreements.

The October events have demonstrated that the KPD was no communist party, although it consisted of 95 per cent industrial proletarians, they have not had the ideological-political Setting to fulfill their duty as it required the historical situation.

Let me give an example:
Shortly before Cuno motion an article appeared in the "Red Flag", in the literally read:

"The party still has no interest to overthrow the Cuno government, because the Social Democratic masses not fight for the workers' government."

Such a product was allowed to appear in the "Red Flag", at a time when we it was known that in the Ruhr the Cuno government fascist elements assassinations made use against the French authorities. If "The Red Flag" such an article brought, had to come up with the masses of thought: The Communist Party says it is not serious about the fall of the government!
The revolutionary masses have the government forced to resign. The party had however, postponed this fight, because they believed that the Social Democratic Working for the overthrow of the government would not fight.

Brandler also expressed a great deal of the technical side of the business, the management, the party exercised over the last two or three years, of what he military for Through education, for intelligence, for the works, for attraction of Sympathizers would have done so. But it would have been necessary, the inner Battle value inherent in the German proletariat to see. A revolutionary, a leader must
see not only the technical side of the matter, he must, even with the subjective factor the revolutionary struggle will be expected. This was not considered by Brandler. He compares the economic struggles of 1923 with those of 1924 and thinks that the 1924 were stronger. Because he does not understand the dynamics and dialectics of struggle, he does not understand that then, in 1923, the proletariat everywhere believed in the struggle that the . Thought that it stand five minutes before the outbreak of the proletarian revolution. today has not the proletariat this feeling.
The failure of the management and the whole party commented on the fact that one battle has not been included, although such a living will to fight in the working masses was present.
The militancy in the German working class was stronger than they Comrade Brandler having to portray believes. At the Frankfurt Congress showed that the German Proletariat and the membership of the Communist Party of the measures, the time of the Communist Party were initiated, think differently. Comrade Brandler is the 

Opinion that everything he undertook, the debt was another. The fault was
However, in the political line of the party and in the political content of the whole party.
He can not excuse the fact that it had not succeeded, enough weapons for to procure the workers. showed Such general lack of control in the party just the disqualification of a man so great a responsibility as leaders of Communist Party, as the leader of the proletariat took upon himself.
We then spoke in connection with the September conference of how to the Initiative, could raise the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. If at that time the Communist International gave her consent that the comrades in Saxony the government 14 entered, so fundamental concerns on our part already in Leipzig were in the question of the workers' government clearly been expressed.
What took place in Dresden, was the sign of the inner weakness of the line Total Party. Those parliamentary comedy in Saxony was already evident at Zeigner Inaugural declaration when he literally said: "The purpose of entry of the Communists into the Government is to prevent a civil war. " And if communist ministers sit in a government and such listen government statement, the effect remains not with the masses, one has to at least in the party in the strongest terms against such a declaration occur. This is not happen, but it has also the idea generated that one with these Socialists could fight.
We have also seen that the government in a few days 14 million Mark approved a termination indemnity for the King of Saxony. Also of course the Workers can not understand. Comrade Böttcher even went so far as to declare: We have nothing to do with General Müller, we are not responsible in front of him, but before Majority of Parliament and the Constitution. What does that mean? Comrade Böttcher had from the Rostrum of parliament down to say: We are not in front of the majority of Parliament responsible, but before the revolutionary proletariat. That was his job! He has not understand the program of the Communist Party, which states that Parliament must be used to operate from its rostrum revolutionary propaganda also there to put the program of the Communist Party in the foreground. Also Comrade Heckert the invitation addressed to the industrialists Saxony, financially the to support state as such, could not be understood by the proletariat. You had
in the first few days, if you wanted to pursue serious revolutionary politics, it in a
can such a situation be conflict, so that it would upset the workers. The
would have forced them to gain in the given situation weapons to the
Saxon and crush the German bourgeoisie. None of this has happened.
The Communist ministers were set to those reformist policies that, for two
three years was operated in the German Communist Party. The result of
Saxon policy was the result of those tactics of the KPD, which very significantly since 1922
has shown.

signaled Now the situation in October itself. When that time of several counties
that the Reichswehr - both the "black" as the official is under budget -
was mobilized, we had already informed Comrade Brandler by messenger that in
various fields - as in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg - railwayman
reported that they moved Reichswehr from the garrisons, with the aim of Saxony
let engage. Back then it was duty of the whole party, a call to the railwaymen
to adopt that none of them can by transports counterrevolutionary Reichswehr
should, because this is not only the suppression of the Saxon proletariat, but also

14Meaning the Saxon workers' government on 11 October 1923 as a result of the revolutionary
Mass movement that had developed in Germany, was formed. It included 5 Socialists and 2
Communists.

would mean that the German proletariat. Nothing happened. Only in three places
Transports were prevented. We have also seen that in the given stage
Headquarters in Dresden did not understand what was going on in Saxony. The bourgeoisie, however, was
smarter. She signaled the intervention of the army as a struggle against the fascist
Terror in Bavaria lind knew, in alliance with the Social Democrats the workers to
deceive.

Has the Communist Party at that time taken any measures?
No! Comrade Fast, formerly belonged nor the Central Group and now with us
working together, has at the party against this stupid conception of Comrade
Brandler polemic, the Saxon proletariat would have been of the opinion that the
Invasion of the army was planned in Saxony only against Bayern. But that Comrade
has Brandler nor the courage to set up at the World Congress such an assertion, shows
his whole Schlodrigkeit in assessing political issues. The invasion
Saxony should have been the signal for the KPD to the various districts
courage workers to the engagement of the army to fight down the line
take. But we saw that the line in Dresden was not capable of those important
to identify situation in the country. You could not 500 to 600 comrades in the districts
must send to mobilize them for the proletarian revolution, but one would have
Comrades should send in the establishments for agitation particularly in Saxony, to where the
prepare workers to armed insurrection.

By Works Congress and parallel thereto by a congress of the proletarian
Hundreds had the KPD the Social Democratic government a workers' congress
oppose, which means the foundation, the first instance for the proletarian revolution
would have. Nothing, not the idea of the control of production, not the thoughts
political workers' councils have been placed in the foreground. One must in this
Relationship say that the comrades not seriously in the leadership of the party to
had faith in the revolution, the required the former development. I would like to mention two important facts that are very important for assessing Brandler are. As the Chemnitz conference met, was at the same time a very important, from all proletarian strata and parties composite shipyard workers conference in Hamburg instead of. On the same day on which this conference took the decision, closed at the to contact the North German coast from Stettin and Kiel to Bremen in the general strike, was a second resolution adopted unanimously, in which it was stated that, if the Reichswehr should march into Saxony, at the same time this is the strike at the Bourgeoisie and the rotten bourgeois state would mean. On the Chemnitzer Conference that was meant as a revolutionary pre-conference, you first about negotiating economic issues, and only at the end one has dared over the speaking general strike. There are comrades who assert that on the Chemnitz Conference 60 to 70 percent - yes, Comrade Koenen even says 75 to 80 percent - Communists were present. And these comrades, as the Socialist Minister Graupe dared to explain when the general strike accept, he would immediately leave the conference, quietly accepted this statement. Comrades, the evidence of the social democratic mood which at this conference prevailed. If a social democrat had declared at the shipyard 'Conference: No General strike, otherwise I leave the conference, the shipyard workers would have him perhaps not only beaten, but made something completely different with him. These are two examples which have appeared in a day.

15 Ernst Thalmann says the Conference of Saxon councils, union representatives and Cooperative representatives on 21 October 1923, when the troops of General Müller already in Leipzig marched in Chemnitz (now Karl-Marx-Stadt) took place.

Now some brief comments to that Comrade Brandler on these two facts has stated here today, for the first time after his return from the Soviet Union he would have to the Chemnitz conference get a connection with the proletarian masses. If Brandler has returned from the Soviet Union on October 9 and the Chemnitz conference known took place on 20 October, he has eleven days not bothered which believes was present on the revolution among the masses. I remember Brandler because I have been twice in Dresden and his mood and the circumstances have described in our district. He explained that we would be the first in any case to boost of us from things. This fact revealed his lies because he tried this World Congress here smooth swindling. Comrades For the Communist International, it will be of importance, experiences to draw lessons from this and in October defeat, because it not only experiences and lessons are for Germany, but for the whole Communist International. From the Experiences and lessons has been particularly shown: 1. the political and ideological Failure to really seriously adjust the membership on the power struggle; 2. the misapplication of the united front tactic; 3. the wrong assessment of the position of VSPD the proletarian revolution; 4. the role of the Communist Party in the Revolution and 5. the need to create a solid, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Comrade Brandler tried an argument to lead, this should be an argument against the Comintern simultaneously. He explained:
If, as in 1920, the Red Army was going to Warsaw, an instance would have given that have intervened in the Russian conditions as the executive is in German did question, he would now not in this room, so it would no longer be the Soviet Union. And he believes if the Comintern had not intervened, he would today still his place. I think not only on behalf of the delegates present here, but
On behalf of 90 to 95 percent of the membership of the Communist International say may be that, just as at the Frankfurt Congress Comrade Brandler no only voice got, he has also lost confidence. Just as his political
Attitude has been condemned here, has just as he learned nothing more from Frankfurt and the Russian Party 16 until now, it has also in the last two Years learned a in Germany nothing to lead the party to fight. 

The executive and the German party would also so come to the position for which they have decided, for the comrades realized and knew that the defeat not only a consequence of the internal weakness of the party was, but also blame the party leadership, because they did not dare to appear revolutionary at the given moment. We have seen that Brandler declared the combat power of the KPD was onset by Panic weakened. It is clear that when for months the party on the Revolution is set and you then blows again, such a panic in the Total party must enter. Comrade Remmele who present at the crucial meeting was, is informed about these things and could the Congress about interesting telling details.

24 hours later, so on Sunday night, has the same headquarters, perhaps in another Composition, this decision revised to strike down the line because Comrade Brandler a certain impression got from the Chemnitz conference, where the Workers were not to be had for the general strike. If Comrade Brandler coincidentally on the shipyard workers conference in Hamburg would have been where the mood so vivid was that the workers were not to keep, it would therefore be due to the have to use humor to fight down the line. If a leader so argued - and his attitude has in those important revolutionary situation an important played role - then it is ordered bad about him. Since the state of siege imposed was because the Enabling Act without major resistance was valid, and In addition, the party was banned, so Brandler concludes that the panic in the party had helped. This panic was granted. As at a location in Germany, in Hamburg, without any support in the kingdom, the Battle was militarily taken against a twenty-fold stronger opponent and Fighters remained isolated, the proletarian in the party was suspicious. Although we managed was in Hamburg at that time most of the eligible workers from the to mobilize enterprises and to put on the road, but they attacked in the open Battle not with one, because they saw that there was no fighting in Germany. It showed of course a depressed mood in the working class, who did not understand why the KPD not to intervene in the military struggle, which took place in Hamburg, calling.

All these things showed what great mistakes were made (even on Tuesday urged

16This refers to the IX. Congress of the Communist Party, held in Frankfurt from 7 to 10 April 1924, and the XIII. Congress of the CPSU (B), which took place in May 1924th
Berlin workers, Hamburg to come to the aid), which tremendously upscale Mood in the proletariat was predominant. It was quite clear that later a Panic in the party had to enter as among the workers. The bourgeoisie had thereby gained time to positions that the proletariat had won since 1918, reclaim. We must admit that, of course, a part of the working class not only confidence in the leadership, but also to the party had to lose. What was then the task of the comrades in the Central Committee, the others were already on a Position were? Their task was to get the party as a whole, any crisis in this Time to avoid further to show the whole party, that it was necessary, the management of Party responsible for the October defeat and for the whole policy and tactics was to get to where it belongs. We then had thorough debates in all walks of life, and despite the panic in the membership we had on the Frankfurt Congress a result, as no Congress of the German Communist Party has shown. The Frankfurt Congress showed a uniform picture at least in the assessment of duties, the perspectives and the union question. (On the issue of tactics were certain disagreements in the Vote in the ratio of 92 to 34 votes were expressed.) The Frankfurt Congress was a consolidation party conference, which at the same time the idea of Bolshevism, not as a buzzword, as Brandler said, but actually seriously conduct was committed. We have since Frankfurt already recorded the first progress in the party. If we now have such a vivid development as in 1923 where due to the daily struggles Proletariat overlooked the various errors, because it again and again in fights was dragged, then it would of course much easier, the obstacles in the show the whole party to overcome. Today it is so that we try the inner organizational and political foundation of party building. We put only the first Stones of the foundation to a Communist Party because the October defeat shown has, that the apparatus of the party was so baseless in that he is not so for the proletarian Revolution was set, as it would have been necessary. We now go over to the Party really seriously convert. One sees that in the inner core Bolshevisation is actually performed. I believe also to be able to say that Leipzig for this work is a small example - we have us a specific date for the achievement of operating cells work throughout Germany set - because there are operational cells in 75 large farms and already cashed in 20 becomes. In the cells was transferred to work actively, which formerly not so serious happened. At the basic problems of the proletarian revolution, we really have to go now
must become. Today, for example, the relationship between youth and party a lot narrower. We are working together in many areas so closely with the youth together that we have already made serious political and organizational favorable progress. It is also important to note the result of the parliamentary elections. Never before has the Communist Party of Germany with such an open program before the masses posed. She said: Give her a vote for the KPD, so it is wrong for the bourgeois parliament, but for the council state. And we have also the working masses stated that we do not make promises, because the bourgeois parliament for the Liberation struggle of the proletariat is to achieve almost nothing. If it still was possible after the crisis of the party, after not meeting Consolidation, after the panic mood, after not enough existing activity - when it still was possible, in the Reichstag elections 3700000 votes for our party get, so this is a sign that we have overcome the October Schweinereien and understand it, seriously sum up the whole proletariat. Finally, I would like to mention the following: if here at the World Congress should be different comrades of the individual sections of the opinion, the current leadership the party had - as Comrade Thalheimer has described - in comparison with the old guard the Bolsheviks no tradition, as she had in his opinion, the Spartacus League, and they do not deserve full confidence, I say: We should not schematically this question provide, as it did Thalheimer. Even if you can apply the what Thalheimer said Radek to the German working class has great merit, etc., so you can also say that even Kautsky has played a major role in earlier years and today our greatest enemy is that Plekhanov, who still was a Bolshevik in 1903 and once even said: "The supreme law for a Communist is the proletarian revolution", later also no longer existed for the Bolsheviks, because he had lost the revolutionary path. If Comrade Radek probably against the Russian party against the closed majority of the Communist International, faces the German party, so is Thalheimer argument does not hold water, because a comrade who of the way Communist International does not understand or does not back place as leader no longer out of the question. If a comrade leaving the communist posts, are we leave him. If the German party now draws on other forces maybe ten years ago were not in the labor movement, but in a position are to go the right way in the given historical situation, so it is absolutely correct. Paul Levi, also one of the old guard, already stands outside the party, and if Brandler, Radek or Thalheimer continue to pursue its chosen path, then We are also not only politically but organizationally separate us from them have to. We must consolidate us. Membership is slowly gaining confidence in us. Even in districts that at the Frankfurt Congress in questions of tactics against us have voted, that is the case. In Chemnitz headquarters already has closed obtain approval of the decision of the last District Congress. The party is consolidated, it creates a firm foundation; she is willing to make the tank, which in Germany in the political situation is necessary. We are facing major tasks. If the
the German bourgeoisie. It is quite possible that a certain respite occurs that...enforce 13-, 14-hour workday. But you can the rest of the things not exactly predict. It may be that even sharpen things. was in Italy by the assassination of a Social 17 also the position of Mussolini difficult, and it can also occur in Germany economic and political surprises pose major tasks.

If Comrade Radek does not understand what it is that we are prepared in every minute and in every hour take up the fight, so he is not a real Bolshevik. The Russian Party in 1905 understood what requires the historical situation and hour, namely, to march against the stronger enemy. This method is incorporated. The German party may make a promise that she carries the guarantee for the Implementation of what the Bolsheviks as the inner core of the politicization of the party have shown. We have never been so close as we this time on the Congress is. Here are largely comrades from the establishments. Here you have a core of proletarian, developing elements which in theory also Intellectuals can measure. We hope that the debate at the World Congress of German party will show the way, as the Comintern and the Russian party of us expect, ie in Germany to accomplish what the Russian workers and peasants have completed in 1917 in Russia. The brotherhood of arms of the German workers and farmers with the Russian workers and peasants, a solid wall against the armored to build world bourgeoisie, that is the task that we have set ourselves: winning the German revolution - victory of the world revolution.

"Protocol Fifth Congress
the Communist International, Volume I,
Moscow from June 17 to July 8, 1924 "
S. 260-271.

17 It is the attempt on the Socialist members of the Italian Parliament Matteotti, who was murdered in June 1921 by fascist bandits. This crime sparked throughout Land-based anti-fascist actions.
Against the Dawes Plan

Speech in the Reichstag
August 28, 1924

While the Reichstag, the bourgeois capitalist parliament, the so-called kuhhandeln elected representatives among themselves to in the vote today or tomorrow the Predatory Treaty of London 18 complete form to the Reichstag building the masses Trellis, to take the funeral of the German Republic in reception. Still Never has a German government have been reduced to this uncertainty, as yet the case appears to be just today, not even the time of the Rathenau murder and Erzberger-murder 19, We collect from this place the most violent indictment Stresemann government and their accomplices, to the German people such want aufoktroyieren slaves Pact. Support for such a capitalist Reports that even from the representative of the Social Democrats, Mrs Toni transmitter so was identified - be it that after Räuberart with the knife in his hand enforced, except that with the signature of deceit by misting just mad brought people was snatched - is the greatest crime ever in the History has been committed against a people. Stresemann and Marx have in London Representatives of bourgeois Germany not only the original Experts' Plan, of itself a real Kolonisierungsplan was already adopted but have also approved the so-called London compromises which point by point a immense intensification of these plans to the detriment of Germany mean:

1. France is granted the right to continue to self-sanctions to take Germany.
2. The German Government is committed to the information required by France deliveries in kind unlimited, to ensure about the dates of the Versailles Treaty beyond.
3. The reparations of the transfer box office to purchase unlimited German Property values used for foreign infiltration of German Industries, to colonize.
4. Germany is forced to conclude with France a trade agreement, which the German customs border against Alsace-Lorraine cancels, the Association of German coke providing with the French ore under French rule and the participation of French capitalism facilitated at the Rhein industry.

These are the additional provisions of the London Conference, which in the original Dawes Plan were not included.
The German government has in this House of the Diet, before moving to London drove, declares that it accepts the Dawes Plan only under the condition that the Ruhr is cleared immediately. The Ruhr area remains occupied. For the Government promised all separatist traitors who with the French generals the fragmentation of Germany are working to pardon immediately and give them a carte blanche issue more treasonable machinations. She has agreed that the French Generals in returning German designated officials and employees "certain has to make exceptions. " Marx and Stresemann have also agreed that the

18This refers to the Dawes Plan, the August 16, 1922 on the London conference of the representatives German Government was accepted and confirmed by the Allied States.
19Matthias Erzberger, a bourgeois politician (Centre Party), of the as head of the German delegation Armistice of Compiègne (1918) signed, was on August 27, 1921 reactionary officers murdered.
Walter Rathenau, the then Foreign Minister, who in Rapallo for an understanding with Soviet Russia had occurred, was on 24 June 1922 by members of the notorious murder Organisation Consul to open Street shot.
Military control in Germany immediately start again and according to the plan of the Entente generals would be carried out. We Communists have expected from this government otherwise. She is driven to London as Welding Vogt of the Entente capitalists to them about the best methods of exploitation of the German working people to consult. they was appointed to London as a set up by the Entente colonial government that the usual formalities the commands of men had to accept. What is the Difference - at the London conference, it has been shown very clearly - between Poincaré and Herriot? What is the difference between the Conservatives and Baldwin the Social Democrats MacDonald? In London, an under democratic formalities Dictation completed, which is far worse and more fatal than that of Versailles. What the London Protocol and agreeing to the mean in connection therewith stationary Laws? It means gagging of the German Production, Mass unemployment, Mass poverty, Pay cut, Food price increases, Working hours. These are the main consequences of the dictation. The national government is trying at all costs to various concessions to the bourgeois parties, on 30 August to proceed at all costs to - how the Chancellor Marx has expressed - to sign this dictation even when in the Reichstag in the constitutional referendum on the Railways Act, where a is a two-thirds majority required, this should not take place, even at the price the impoverishment of millions of working people in Germany. We note that, since the expert opinion is known throughout Germany and the Communist Party by all means hand fighting, particularly sharp Terror judgments against the revolutionary workers are pronounced. Illegal and legal methods are applied against the communist movement. Our Press is banned, our assembly activity is inhibited to some extent. An introduction of is carrying out this slave plans by the slavers Stresemann, Marx, Jarres so necessary, and the most severe measures must therefore against the communists be taken as the most dangerous for the bourgeoisie enemies. The Communist Party and its parliamentary group give in light of this monstrous crime, which the in this hour the German people and to toiling masses will be celebrated, in this matter following from the declaration: The Communist parliamentary group declared on behalf of 3700000 workers, Employees, officials and small farmers who are behind her that they all on the Expert opinion based bills rejects. The Communist Party makes the national and international attention that the vote this Reichstag the Communist Party of Germany does not bind. No government and no parliament are authorized the working masses of Germany to the international financial capital to . sale The Communist Party makes the national and international attention that the German Communist Party, if you are somehow responsible for the should take over fate of Germany, view the Dawes laws as null and void will, recognize any resulting obligations and not a penny to will pay basic of these laws. The expert opinion is a maneuver of international capital to the internal contradictions between the various national Capitalist groups to bridge at the expense of the working masses in Germany. The Federal Act on the German financial and monetary system to the dictates of the New York Exchange. The Railway Act represents an unprecedented deterioration in the living conditions of the
700,000 German workers under the same rule of finance capital. The Law on industrial pollution makes the foreign capitalists to co-owners of the German Economy, the German entrepreneur will try to so lost Profit share through greater squeezing of the workers consumers recoup. The London Protocol are the Entente commissioners full authority over the German

Steuererträgnisse. It made possible by the transfer system famose a gigantic Alienation of the German economy. The sale by Germany to the international capital takes place without any security of Ruhr evacuation in complete maintenance of the French system of sanctions and Pretension of 800 million bond, which, at best, for the purposes of currency or of deliveries in kind is consumed without the working masses of Germany to find any relief. The London Protocol brings the amnesty for separatist paid rabble, while the German government thousands of workers, the honest for their convictions fighting, further holds in prison and hard labor. Responsibility for these outrageous gagging and plunder the toiling masses Germany, which is reminiscent of the fate of African colonial countries, borne by the parties of big business, but above all the social democracy. The Communist Party has always shown the way that from alone can deduce current misery: the overthrow of the German capitalist government, Takeover of power by the working people, socialization, alliance with the Soviet Union, Unleashing all the forces in the Entente countries for peace and proletarian solidarity enter. The Communist Party knows that the overwhelming majority of working population of Germany shares this its views. This is especially Proletariat of the Rhine and Ruhr country that best knows what the enslavement by the means international capital, will rebel against it unanimously that Mr Morgan to be handed over and his accomplices. The Communist Party appealed from this Reichstag, the only Caricature of popular representation is, to the toiling masses in the open country. The Communist Party forced all workers, employees, officials, small farmers, Intellectuals and craftsmen in Germany to strive with all our strength the implementation this Versklavungsgesetze oppose. The recent events in the Reichstag should give pause to you, especially our legitimate inner indignation, either, especially when here in the Reichstag, the decision is made, particularly for the working masses of Germany and the world of so is far-reaching importance, because it not only for a few years, but in the long years Germany also enslaved and Germany makes it an eternal colony. I'll subsequently prove to the various examples of the Government that the possibility is not present at all to pay for what after the London Provisions from 1921 - ie 132 billion Goldmark - is still required. In this context, in recognition of this situation, we have at the various debates of recent days our indignation given expression, moreover, where we are committed to the will of the revolutionary proletariat with all vehemence to mark. If we ascribe the bourgeois and the socialist press
wants us to have occurred for the pleasure of scandal scenes here so, and tries to ensure that the irritating masses, marks the only the demagogy of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, do not we have serious concern. They are not prepared as we fight and show that it is here of the decision on an ominous turning point in History of the German people is where the toiling masses, the German Proletariat, are enslaved for years to come so that the possibility of exemption from Entente capitalism for a long time will not be so easy. As our party since its be emergence has always advocated in the line of the class struggle of the proletariat, so we even now with all our available resources, in spite of the sharpest and most brutal measures against us, to prevent knowledge, that this Expert opinion of Morgan and his associates can be really carried out.

With the acceptance of the Dawes report is the existence of the German people as a independent nation shattered. At the outbreak of World War II, there were only very few really serious fighters Social Democrats, who have found today partly the way into our ranks the, the open betrayal of social democracy marked and indicated that the World War Result of imperialist antagonisms humanity only destruction, misery, grief and could bring worry. Later, during the whole development, where we of the chain Acts of betrayal that repeatedly in the German and international proletariat committed, have made continued attention, this is very often ridiculed small handful not only in Germany to a strong Communist Party, but in the world has grown to a tremendous big world party. The World War, which is a the most formidable crises throughout the world economy is, and the Part crises that currently show up in various capitalist countries are, Sign of weakness of the international bourgeoisie in their own countries, the weakness of these exploits to exploit the German working masses by all means to the Raiders as eligible surpluses and everything can be taken out of Germany, to distribute among themselves. The international labor movement has tremendous over the last seven to eight years revolutionary experiences collected. If the balance of the last seven years World politics viewed and checked, then you can say well that several important pushed geopolitical aspects in this context to the fore Need to become. Once that in 1917 the Russian bloody tsarism as capitalist System has been destroyed and the victory of the Russian Revolution has been achieved. Secondly, that a sixth of the globe today under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the Hands of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union is characterized and the wars before existing unified capitalist economy no longer exists, and that therefore one sixth the earth's surface under a completely different system - the dictatorship of the proletariat - against world capitalism fights. Third, it is contemplated that the World War on the different areas of Asia and the colonial countries exerted an enormous influence Has. It is especially in the fact that the masses in India, in Egypt and in other start colonial territories already rebelling and in this or that situation against the Motherland England proceed. The fourth is that capitalism in some countries crumbled, sometimes even shattered, and fifthly, shows more clearly than ever that the Petty bourgeoisie open all as accomplices in the form of social democracy
bourgeois capitalist governments has occurred. Finally, we must be noted that the
formerly so often mocked Communist parties in various capitalist
countries today really large, vibrant, strong, vigorous Communist
mass parties have become.
When the world situation and the contradictions of the bourgeoisie of the various countries
will characterize each other, from which the expert opinion as
had found a temporary solution to the existing crisis, it's for
Communist Party completely clear that these opposites that to
for today exist between England and France, and the internal crisis which in itself
America shows the international bourgeoisie have essentially forced into the mold
a democratically stained expert opinion to find a way out. This
opinion, the content unfortunately can not be tested by the masses to want to
serve to counter the risk, because you fear the front of the German and before
western European Revolution. We see the strong desire of the American
finance capital, beyond the borders of his own country away in Europe anyway
to seek markets and in the form of bonds and bond funds in Germany
accommodate in as many things. Clearly you can in America a

recognize decline in various branches of industry. Such a fall - 60
percent of production - is already recorded there in the steel industry.
Furthermore, we see that one million cars available in America who do not
to buy, because there is no demand for it is absolutely available. The whole development
shows that America tries in Europe, to fasten, especially trying with
France to ally slow to act as a competitor against England.
These same events as in America, are also evident in England. It is undoubtedly a
weakness of the bourgeoisie, that it permits that representatives of the Labour Party, ie
the social democracy, in England are at the top of government. But the Communist
party also says the German proletarian masses that even this government only in the service
the English bourgeoisie is. It operates to be the imperialist plans, as
they have operated the previous governments, it is prepared in
system of exploitation that of enforcing what the previous government did,
and she has been through in the field of compliance with the reparations in London
their representatives no other position taken as the representative and the other
governments.
In France, we see very clearly that in the nearest time a tremendous financial crisis
is inevitable. The internal debt of France on December 31, 1923
"Trifle" of 277 billion gold francs, to a deficit of 77 billion and the
currently floating debt of 57 billion. What tremendous internal upheaval
arising therefrom in France! These brief indications of the difficulties of
Siegerländer among themselves did not even understand the German Government as real existing
exploit weakness of the Entente bourgeoisie, to at least the points in London
sharper defend that through in a variety of discussions earlier in the plenary
government representatives have been promised. Whoever surrenders to the illusion that the
"Uncle from America" today is going to help the German people, has already
seen from the practice of the last four or five years, that the points of Wilson, on the
a large part of the German people was set, and the League of Nations not helped
The "uncle from America" is not here to help the German people, but to plunder, to make profits. Now, some important things about the situation in Germany. The capitalist war, the predatory Treaty of Versailles; inflation policy and the Ruhr war have caused the capitalist economic system to fall into such a deep crisis that now the German economy is totally disorganized and weakened. It is no longer capable of holding its own business.

It has been noted by the Reich Finance Luther at various locations that Germany is extremely difficult because we are in a sales crisis, in a Kreditnot and located in an agricultural crisis. And when particularly through the Statistics, led to the government statement by the finance minister Luther, the tremendously serious internal economic situation was in the fact that currently the tax sources no longer available to the revenue and to balance spending, we must in this connection the question. Submit as the government's ever in the future in meeting policy and specified provisions of the London Conference will the sums apply that have been established.

The implementation of expert opinion becomes mean: Production restrictions, sabotage, shutdowns, officials degradation, permanent Mass unemployment, inflationary throttling taxes, decomposing and sinking of Middle class and impending ruin of the peasantry. Today we see very clearly that the present capitalist system of Germany itself can not help it looking for a way out, because is given repeatedly, the stabilization of the currency is dependent on foreign loans. The government fears that if a new should occur inflation wave, as it has been in 1923, the proletarian Revolution will be inevitable and their own power to end. The government wants to answer the robbery plans of the international bourgeoisie have we on submitted socialization law, not because we hoped the Reichstag would accept, but to show the proletarian masses of Germany, that the control and upper acquisition of production by the workers and peasants is possible only by transforming the present capitalist form of government in the violent struggle, the proletarian Revolution.

If the representative of the Social Democrats, Mrs Toni Sender, declared yesterday, the Communists were too far to the right, so that features the same old infamy tries with the proletarian masses to deceive intentionally to their Fight will weaken in this hour. The Communist Party has repeatedly tries - without the support of the Social Democrats - in connection with the counseling the various laws, despite their negative standpoint their proletarian to provide conditions. The German Nationalists have the capitalist government forced to make concessions. You have to carry out the tariff policy demands, they have called loans for agriculture, they have demanded that Tax breaks for the big landowners and the suffering peasants enter, they want to in the government. The Social Democrats, who make the bourgeoisie Blind Services, there have not even ventured a few conditions for the proletariat to facilitate its total position to provide. We call here from this point the German toiling
Masses: Such a shame a party that calls itself Workers' Party's History never happened before. This party helps the government, the Two-thirds majority with produce and do not even dare the government special to provide conditions in the direction of facilitating the difficult situation of Proletariat are. Yesterday a deputy of the Social Democratic Party has the following Heckling made: We are better prepared to prevent the proletarian revolution - and I add: and are willing to be slaves of imperialism. If the Social Democrats are already preparing to prevent the proletarian revolution, so they have their basic program to which they have sworn earlier after the Socialist Law, already long denied and go today as accomplices of capitalism with him through thick and thin. Mrs deputy transmitter Has yesterday in connection With the Corporate bonds Act declares that industry should pay 300 million. White the Member stations not that the industrial barons of a so modest statement Social democracy, nor from-spoken to the Parliament, whistle? The practice has yet to proven over recent years that they have understood all the burdens on the toiling shift masses. How can one be under any illusion that the loads arising from the London Agreements, in this case by the industry not be passed! Practice has yet proved in recent years that capitalism in 99 cases out of 100 their loads saddles the masses.

I will only point out a special case of the memory in which to hype Weimar Constitution by a representative of the Social Democrats, of black-red-, the known side apparatus of the SPD, was pronounced and clearly indicates that the Social Democracy now even does not hesitate to go hand with Schwarzweißrot. In Wroclaw recently took a parade of black-red-Reichsbanner place where the Police Colonel Lange, a representative of the Social Democrats, formerly in Mecklenburg, following in has expressed his speech on the Marne Battle: The Battle of Marne was not lost when the Supreme Command had not lost head and nerves and when officers from the spirit of Frederick the Great would have been at the front. So the Representatives of social democracy seems Frederick "the Great" as a model, as a new to want to add luster to the number of black-red-Reichsbanner program.

The police colonel Long said then:

"I'm not embarrassed me, quite frankly, that I also to a loyal Republican ago Banners black and white red, the sign of freedom were repeatedly bow down. If that Homeland is calling us, so we will be there, and if we agree, then we will the next Marne-battle not lose. With the Communists we cope. A few hundreds, meet our Bobby to put an end to this spooky."

I think clearly can not speak with a representative of the Social Democrats. This is only the Proof that the Social Democrats will play the same role in fascism plays bourgeois capitalist state already.

I want out of the London Treaty and its various provisions three Negotiation objects and pick out their opposition particularly marked. I grab these proceedings objects so out because already most diverse in the Debates the entire London result in general and the tremendous impact this slave Covenant have been sufficiently characterized. Three negotiation objects will
I briefly cover: 1. the 800 million Goldmark bond, 2. the evacuation of the Ruhr and 3. the amnesty of separatists. The Chancellor Marx in his second Speech, which he delivered here, the following words, if I am not mistaken, at the German Nationals addressed: If the question of how Germany from its extraordinarily oppressive Kreditnot to be free, is not answered clearly, then I forbid criticism.

This involves:

1. The government has not told the German people so far, as in the will be able to if it gets the 800-million bond this to Credit purposes to use;
2. delivery of the Reichsbank and the railways will begin immediately; when the Bond comes, no one knows, and
3. the world bankers will only give if, as in expert reports ie, prevail peace and order in Germany.

I quote two recent reports from the "Leipziger Nachrichten", which already both in France and in America some doubt on the granting of the loan be entertained, that the world bankers already show some restraint and consider whether they want to make the 800 million Goldmark Germany. The "Leipziger Nachrichten" write:

"The assertion of the Daily Mail that the American bankers are not inclined to the German Bond to draw if the British government were no guarantees, seems agile in Paris distressed to have. Accountability They bent from the fact that the whole Dawes Plan fail would, if the bond would not occur. The Temps but 'misunderstands the situation when he declares that the financial guarantees would suffice for this bond; because not financial Guarantees are what appear to bankers inadequate, but the lack of political Security because France still does not want to leave the Ruhr. The Temps admits understand that it is a request of the British government was perhaps the bond to fail to bring, and they have therefore suggested that the British Government itself a guarantee for the shall give bond. "

And New York is the following message in the "Leipziger Nachrichten":

"Wall Street Journal 'writes: The financing of corporate bonds in Germany employs the Attention of financiers. The financial circles attached importance to the finding that, if the Reparation Commission for the corporate bond will grant no priority, the entire system of financial support of Germany, based on the Dawes Plan, must fail. "

These two messages It is very clear that even in the world bankers some concerns are raised, whether one is at all inclined, Germany, the 800-to pass million bond.

The government has also betrayed none of that other than the interest rate for the 800 Million, which is perhaps 8 percent, but the efforts of bankers paid extra Need to become. In addition there are other expenses, so that the 800 million gold marks not, as has been alleged here, to support and revitalize the German economy can be harnessed. In the first year a substantial portion would be used to must be to save the new currency. We are currently experiencing in Germany 4 Billions of money in circulation, which are drawn slowly due to the new laws
There are no opportunities to create new liquid funds. Until October 1, 1925, the 800-million-bond to form the foundation of the new currency, but it must be paid provided for in the Treaty of London 1,000 millions Goldmark. From what sources, is beyond me. So, the German population has this year per month spend 85 million Goldmark. Mr. Minister of Finance Dr. Luther here openly admitted that presently no possibility of funds recoup because no tax sources are present. We also comment that out that England and France have no interest to raise the German production, because they do not want to admit that Germany again as a competitor on the world market occurs. I only recall that the MacDonald government in England a 26prozentige Export Levy calls. The same we have in France. The result is a tremendous decline in German production, an increase in unemployment, a reducing the real wages of the proletariat, a reduction in the purchasing power of money be, will be affected by the logically also the middle class. According to the own Statements of government is thus a consequence of the difficult situation be that for the time being there is no possibility of agriculture, industry, retail trade and to allow business to any loans. The location of the production of the German Economy is not improved by the expert's report, but deteriorated. The agreement also reveals clearly that the foreign Capitalists take the opportunity immediately, already in a short time Bonds buying, especially to take over the railroad stocks. This means a complete Überfremdung Germany by international capitalism. So, Mr. Finance Minister Luther, you have the floor; where the liquid funds for loans to take.

Second, I will come to some remarks about the evacuation of the Ruhr. Lord Stresemann spoke here of the sufferings of the Ruhr population. He has in his spirited kind attention to the great moral and psychological success made, who had come in the evacuation of Offenburg Appenweier expressed. But we must also look at the real facts in the face and examine everything in Expert opinion is to recognize what the suffering proletariat Ruhr did not expect, and at all the people in the occupied territory still. All parties are for the immediate evacuation of the Ruhr. The Communist Party Germany has always its greatest attention to the suffering of the Ruhr population facing. She fought seriously in 1923 against French imperialism and the German bourgeoisie, which has tried on several occasions to the French allying heavy industry.

As the Ruhr was occupied in January, found in eating a Communist from the International convened conference held at which we, with French, English Czechoslovak and other representatives of the Communist parties on pointed that the occupation of the Ruhr the international struggle of the proletariat requires advance against the Poincaré. We have at that time in the Ruhr area, the called workers to enter the defensive struggle and general strike. It was the Union bureaucracy, the Socialist, the us together with the bourgeoisie put great obstacles in the way. The Ruhr population, especially at the time of passive resistance has suffered enormous amount, has been seen that the most important factor of
For three months, we have occupied the entire territory over ten million loaves of free the underprivileged population is distributed; the Soviet Union came as a real helper in this great distress because the German government refused to provide the funds to the misery the Ruhr proletariat and the laboring masses in the Ruhr to mitigate somehow. As the Communist Party, the distribution of coal to the dumps by the Local administrations demanded, so they do not in the French capitalists Claim could be made because the mine owners refused to release the Coals because the French had asked the allocation of coal prospect. Lots our comrades, the spread against the occupation during the occupation leaflets have been convicted by the French to five years in prison. Of the Government President Lutterbeck in Dusseldorf appealed in a letter to the French General Degoutte that Bismarck in 1871 with the Prussian army the Paris Commune have deposited, and demanded that the French also to pass that their life rights warring striking German workers knock down. I recall those serious struggle which the communists in Essen have led. When the French to over went to confiscate cars at Krupp, and as the communist council Krupp explained in Essen, the workers would work in any case, under French guard, put a Workforce in the factories, to drive the French; Registered were 11 workers, including one of our best comrades shot. When we then called the general strike, refused this, in turn, on the ground the Social Democratic Party that the situation could be exacerbated by the general strike only.

We have also with a strong anti-militarist propaganda decomposition in the French Army tried to bring in. have at various points in the Ruhr area also positive results shown. In Rotthausen an entire company has mutinied and had be discharged. In Steele in Essen two companies proceeded to, with workers sympathizing, so that they must also be removed. When the Communist Party the "Red Day" organized and the Ruhr held large demonstrations, there were French soldiers who kissed the red flag as a symbol of brotherhood and with the workers collectively, the "International" sang.

One can say that the Communist Party has tried in all areas so that the French proletariat and the French Communist Party to that of do that which is strictly necessary in that situation. But if the German Police have placed at the service of the French police and in Mülheim even our own comrades who were sentenced to severe penalties, to the French Police have shipped featuring the inner shame of the German bourgeoisie and their accomplices, the Social Democratic Party.

If Herr Stresemann here on the evacuation of Offenburg Appenweier and the Exemption from 900,000 Germans from the clutches of French militarism particularly has pointed out, we are also particularly welcome, so we must seriously even prosecute those debates that occurred a few days ago in the French Chamber have. Should the Reich government and the parties supporting the Illusion indulge that the Ruhr area is vacated on 15 August 1925 as declared Communist faction from this place now the Ruhr proletariat and the German proletariat, that is, once again, as so often, attempted to mislead the masses. It is impossible, in the circumstances of the economic situation in Germany, until the 15th
August 1925 1000 million gold marks to meet the various obligations apply the Treaty of London, especially clauses exist in the contracts that the give French at every opportunity the right to new sanctions. The General Nollet explained in the French Chamber, he had it and in conversations with MacDonald Herriot achieved that the Cologne Zone would rather not cleared until Germany was completely disarmed. Anyone who wants to find out when Germany is ever disarmed. Even on the basis of this statement of General Nollet, which was confirmed by Herriot, may you no illusions about the final evacuation of the Ruhr surrender. Just like that, as we in the time of passive resistance against the German proletariat, the real have identified in advance the facts, we say again today by the Reichstag tribune: The German government is pushing the same despicable game like in years In 1923, when the Ruhr proletarians as a springboard for enforcing profit interests of used German and French capitalists by capitalist government Cuno were. Then the question of amnesty for the separatists. If the government has stated here that they had been forced into London for amnesty for the traitor, so we protest why so sharply against this wickedness by which those with French money for Apart separation of the German territories studded traitors be freed because the German Government takes the disgrace and shame upon himself, the to subdue Entente bourgeoisie. but you will not lift a finger for our comrades and political prisoners amnesty that truly honest and idealism for the fought interests of the majority of the population and their freedom. At this Opportunity we have to be tightened to express that we just those have been that in at that time of the actions of separatists against the population Rhine and Ruhr have fought seriously against it. The government, such Traitors, bandits, thugs and seedy subjects amnestied, will of course have to be accused by those who, first, the monstrous consequences the current robbers plan of the international bourgeoisie clearly labeled and secondly for may lay claim to the release of the 7000 political prisoners require those who fought for ideals and still in prisons and must languish penitentiaries. On September 30, as the Separatistentag held in Dusseldorf, as the afternoon Communists to went over, the Separatists from Dusseldorf addition slam, saw already that in the entire population a sense of liberation flared up, a feeling the liberation of the separatist gangs in different parts of the occupied Region could wreak havoc for months. The trains that from Cologne to Dusseldorf went, were arrested by the Communists, the separatists were also beaten, disarmed and put to flight. In Büsbach at Aachen that was Mayoralty been occupied by separatists. The communists were negotiating with the sacked mayor to take action against the separatists. After them the Permission was given to could tell you that in 10 minutes the separatists Doors and windows went out, and so the village will be cleaned by the Communists could. There are several other examples that could be cited. I just want a Pick out sample that is extremely interesting. The Minister Jarres which indeed earlier in Duisburg was and where one day 50 Communists with 3 communist officers auditioned, posing as fascists and arming him called to the to storm the town hall, which was occupied by separatists, has, since it was of the opinion, if it were be given to fascists permission to do so and armed our comrades. But when he later learned that those who were with him, not fascists, but Communists, he declared with the utmost determination, he would never allow that
Communists storm the town hall, in which there are separatists. I have this
For just cited, to indicate how the government has succeeded in
occupied territory großzuzüchten the fascist organizations and the candidate
to arm people.
When we related to the amnesty the separatists now the release of
call 7000 political prisoners, so for the simple reason that in the last
Weeks and months has shown that the Court of methods in Germany
Brutality the methods of all other capitalist countries far exceed. At 11
Communist trials before the State Court were our freedom fighters with 146
Years and 6 months imprisonment and punishable by imprisonment. In Hamburg are from the
Extraordinary courts until July sentences of 223½ years fortress, 68 years
Prison and 28½ years imprisonment imposed. From May to June, political
Prisoners to 210 years in prison, 560 years in prison for 150 years and 35000 Fortress
Mark fines convicted. In July of fines imposed by 7 months
Fortress, 164 years in prison, 302 years in prison and 15,000 mark fine. Despite
this enormously high penalties have kept their courage throughout the Communists. in the
Konigsberg treason trial has, for example, one of our best young
Comrades declared with names Delvendal before the Constitutional Court:

"Mr. President, there are; eight years in prison, which you have requested; but if I every
Year prison count than a minute, so there are eight minutes and these eight minutes you will
wealthier left for me. If someone is guilty, so I have just the fault and not my
Comrades. You can send me to years in jail, you can contact me; the cause for
I have lived and suffered, communism, do not get no German court dead also
the Constitutional Court. "

At various other examples I could show how our comrades from the
Dishes stand their ground. If one draws a comparison between this
Rags gang of separatists in French money for the proletariat to
various regions of Germany wanted to knock down, and our comrades when
considering that now a government in Germany amnestied such criminals while
honest, led by ideal motives proletarians should not be granted amnesty, then must
a cry of indignation and outrage by the German people go. This cry has
just at the moment where the London pact imposed on the German people
to penetrate into the brains of the toiling masses. Such pigmeat and
Rabble that dare to bring something here in the plenary of the Reichstag expressed,
already exists for us not, why not, because it currently the worst betrayal
penalized, which is ever committed in history.
I then turn to a few brief remarks questions in the negotiations
the last week have played a role. As our comrade Koenen in the Foreign
Committee put various questions to the government, particularly the question whether the
London negotiations of our government, the question had been cut, whether
what is set in London's ultimatum in 1921, namely that Germany 132
has to pay billion gold marks as a total, there continues to be, has the
Government remained silent on this issue. In the French Chamber but has the earlier
Chairman of the Reparation Commission, Dubois, to the Prime Minister Herriot the
addressed whether the total debt of Germany was reduced to 40 billion, whereupon
Herriot then explained that the London Payment Statute existed still from 1921,
so that the 132 billion gold marks to be paid as before. That means
practically an eternal enslavement of the German people, which for generations by the
international capitalism enslaved.

If we raise the issue in connection with this question, why to
900000 man's sake 62 million people do not take into account why the real
Facts not followed, from the provisions of the Dawes report
result, namely that the working masses are selling their skin to the Entente, so
that only remain the bone, so, I think we must not separate these issues,
as Mr Dr. Stresemann done. He spoke only of the Ruhr and Rhine population,
but not of the proletarian masses in Germany, included the Rhine and
Ruhr proletariat that and the slave whip of French, English
American imperialism will come. We rub shoulders with the
French Communist Party continuously the sharpest struggle against
French and led German capitalism in the Ruhr and in France.
Our Comrade Cachin has in France a serious issue to be able position
taken and has, to give just a few sentences from his speech in French
Parliament said:

"The London pact is a plan of American high finance who wants to do business in Europe.
The American observers in London as a representative of the American banks, the dictator
the London Conference. For a small advance with eight percent interest one wants the
get German state bank in the hand, the state budget and the industry of the German
catching empire, privatize its railways, short deprive a nation of its sovereignty,
eliminate their independence and performance of the country's major international
Financial trusts have delivered."

I think these few are enough records to show that the French
Communist Party its French imperialism and capitalism as strong,
as the German Communist Party it does on various occasions, the
Truth says.
Just the words of the representative of the German Democratic Party, Mr. Erkelenz, here
spoke not only that an agreement is in the reparations, but that
we do a second agreement between the German employers and workers
need, is but - if one wants to explain this from the standpoint of the capitalists - that
they must strive to carry out the expert opinion then, the workers
as the machines that bring profit for capitalism to adjust to the
Conditions of the Gut-eighth to meet with the slogan peace and order. We explain,
that we with all initiative, with all our available power, with the help of
Masses who stand behind us, will work to ensure that the expert's report
in its immense impact can not be performed.
We will do that because we know that in the case of carrying out the
Expert opinion of the now existing nine- and ten-hour day
is extended to eleven and twelve hours. If the provisions of
intends to carry out expert opinion at all, then it means that our
Industry, given the immense loads that their America, England and France
impose, will extend the working time up to eleven and twelve hours at all
To compete in the global market. In practice this means an immense
Depression of living standards of the German proletariat, or - in a short sentence
summarized: the worker, who now works nine hours, when the
Expert advice should really be carried out, eleven to twelve hours for
have to work the same wages to the American by his slave labor,
British and French capitalists to fill the bags.
The representative of the Social Democrats, Mrs transmitter has raised the question,
which solution of the reparations for the Communist Party propose. Thereon
I explain: is The expert opinion of the international bourgeoisie

Expert opinion of the proletariat to oppose! The conversion of
Economic life is possible only by the fundamental transformation of the political
State organizations, the struggle for political power, achieving the council system
in the Soviet Republic, for which the communist party struggles and what they see as the only possible
Solution of the reparations all toiling masses shows. There is no papiernes
Program, but is already in the revolutionary practice as a real fact and power factor
available. In the Soviet Union the proletarian masses have seized power in
Unlike the situation in the Entente countries, as opposed to foreign
shown imperialism, which to the proletariat with its power without the bourgeoisie in the country
is able to do reconstruction work. Today we see that in the Soviet Union
going forward, while Germany increasingly sinking in misery. The Soviet Union
both in the field of industry as well as in the field of agriculture in the
recent years undoubtedly undergone a development that as every serious appraiser
must designate extremely gratifying, show The news of the last three months
clear that the state industry of the Soviet Union in increasing upward trend
emotional. According to the calculations of the Supreme Economic Council of the value of production was
in the first quarter 351 million, in the second quarter 372 million, in the third quarter 376
Million rubles. The Commissariat of Finance announced that the revenues of the national treasury
Winning amount of state industry in 1924 about 50 million gold rubles
will. The metallurgical industry in the Urals has a 51prozentige increase
scored cast iron production.
It is believed that in the year 1923/1924 a 25 percent to 28 percent increase
of total industrial production compared to the previous years will result.
If now in the bourgeois press anywhere from an impending famine in the
Soviet Union is spoken, so I would however note that with the exception of
Germany has experienced a crop failure in all countries. The Soviet Union is but despite
already capable for those areas where major crop failure as a result of this
Drought not it was possible to achieve a reasonably good harvest, the
required seed - nine million puds - to help not only ensure but 90
Percent have been dispatched to the individual provinces. It is also clear that the
Soviet state may proceed in spite of all this, yet 75 million poods of grain in the
various countries in the world perform.
Ever, if you want to get an idea of what a power factor which
Soviet Union is already today in relation to the capitalist state Germany, the
represented German delegation at the London Conference, so you only need to
noted example, that it is the Soviet Union succeeded the Anglo-Russian Treaty
What then is the Anglo-Russian Contract for the whole world? It means that one of the most powerful big business States was forced to recognize the Russian Revolution, and the Chinese-Russian contract signifies the first operation which can be observed at all, as China independent nation and recognize as power, for which previously no other power of World had passed. One can already see the great difficulties for itself the other powers arising therefrom. Go but America already this about, His Messenger to call, because difficulties in China occur in that the Soviet Ambassador there the head of all Messengers is. The US government sees itself forced to call their ambassadors, either because they themselves, having for two years has attempted the formation of a contract between the Soviet Union and China to thwart, now conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union or any action must take to intervene on behalf of China against the Soviet Union in the

Ways to lead. I attribute this also with because all talk, especially from the Social Democracy, determined by the internal and external weakness of the Soviet Union only to is to irritate the proletarian masses and the German population. Before us are the really real facts that in the Soviet Union, the younger generation growing up in a completely different cultural level than the under tsarism and under Domination of the capitalist system was possible. Secondly, we see there a Development both in industry as in agriculture, the other capitalist countries, should really take for example. Third, we see what the limits on the Soviet Union beyond market conditions relates that a part of the capitalist Governments has been forced to recognize a system against them as mortal enemies fight. If this is true - and it is a fact -, then everyone must recognize that the Soviet Union really represents a power factor. In contrast, Germany and his government today nothing but the gagged and oppressed, prisoners the Entente bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union has all obligations towards the Entente, especially against the French, torn up, and the English-Russian Party has again shown that it is not possible to force the Soviet Union, to accept demands of the English bourgeoisie. By contrast, the German not understand government at the London Conference this weakness of the bourgeoisie exploit, at least comply with the promise that variety in the Discussion has been given previously in the Reichstag. If we as a Communist Party not only in our Reichstag positive, real try to bring and consistent position expressed - even in France, Belgium, England and America, we are with similar statements against the bourgeoisie occurred - as we disapprove of the experts plan and fight to the utmost, so that means a really serious, slowly evolving, evermore solid Band the proletarian masses throughout the world, which in return to their own countries all Occasions specify the same revolutionary position which the German Communist Party here represents the Reichstag. Under the leadership of the Communist International, the millions of proletarians behind has, we are fighting not only nationally, but also internationally against the
expert opinion to lead. undoubtedly becomes the impact of
Expert opinion awaken the resilience of the German proletariat, the
Forces will focus on all holdings against tremendously heavy
economic and political struggles are the consequences. The proletarian masses will
rebel against the German bourgeoisie and it will not put up with that on
Due to the existing provisions of the Entente imperialists the German proletariat
exploited. As we already in 1923 due to the wave of inflation and the
intricate political situation in Germany really facing serious events
stood as the proletariat was ready in the struggle for political power, the German
Bourgeoisie quell, was the biggest stumbling block this in some places
Germany erupted power struggle the betrayal above betrayal practicing
Social Democracy. The Social Democracy later, on 13 December 1923 as here in
stood Plenum of the Reichstag advising the enabling law on the agenda,
not found it necessary to vote against it, because she was afraid the old Reichstag, the
no root had the people, seriously resolve. If now the German
Social Democracy in connection with the expert opinion for the
explains Reichstag resolution, so it's just a comedy and not a serious intention. We say
again from this point: We would be pleased if the Reichstag is dissolved. We're glad
us not because there is a possibility that we might lose some mandates
or could also win, but because it is a political issue for us because we
have the task of the proletariat, which is wrong out of ignorance in part, on

educate the expert's report and its tremendous impact, because we in the
Caucuses the gist of the content of the rebellion of the German proletariat and
will constitute the oppression of the entire imperialism. We are the
Think that especially now must come the dissolution of the Reichstag, moreover, because it
is necessary to discuss a question that at least in the home with the majority no
will be a consensus: a referendum to pass in the way, because the entire
tune population over the London dictation, as enslavement, the years
can last. And if you tried in the various debates in recent times
who attack the Communist Party because it does not shrink and does not
afraid, everything uncover what corruption, betrayal and at the same time means of fraud,
I believe, to be able to say: Given the chain of actions, the attack
against us, we will slow those fixed inner wall provide, not only in Germany,
but to expose those people cheating in the world, to you today in this
want to bring Reichstag session for decision.
As our no longer in-our ranks comrade Karl Liebknecht, who in
the international labor movement is known and us by the assassination of Ebert
and comrades were stolen, on May 1, 1916 moved to the youth through the streets of Berlin
and cried: "Down with the war" and "Down with the government", as told to the then
Time a large part of the population and also the Berlin proletariat Comrade Karl
Liebknecht's mad, he does not understand the story. We have in 1918
seen that had already recognized circles of the bourgeoisie that war only emergency, destruction
and sorrow brings and that those receivables Karl Liebknecht "Down with the government!"
and "Down with the war!" then already was entirely justified. If the Communist
Party today after the government with such boldness and with such
Impudence allowed hither see...

(Rings his bell.)

Vice President Dr. Bell: Mr. Deputy Thalmann, these expressions are parliamentary inadmissible. Do not accuse audacity and impudence of the government. I call therefore to order.

I think if I particularly those downright reactionary in my remarks
Methods of Government emphasize that dares in this context, in their brutality, Perfidy, audacity and impudence, I say again ... (rings his bell.)

Vice President Dr. Bell: Mr. Deputy Thalmann, having stayed earlier this remark had complained about, it is not advisable for the second time this remark. I'll call you the second Male to order and make to the business orderly consequences of a third Ordnungsrufs attention.

I suppose that the two calls to order any case the basis of what and in front of us the proletariat to real facts is not going to change. A government that it has dared only the good aspects, the percentage terms, perhaps 10 or 20 Percent of the expert study make, here especially to express to install and portray highlight and embellishment, and the 80 percent who at the same time those enormous inner anguish for the entire German population included - especially for the part that makes up the majority of the population, for the toiling mass - Not so indicates how it is necessary, such a government is no longer worth even 5 minute govern the German people.

Therefore says the Communist Party and its parliamentary faction, as Karl did Liebknecht on May 1, 1916 Down with this government and with low those who dare to act as accomplices of the government, who dare to assert that the expert opinion the only solution in the current situation is! The German Communist Party is of the opinion that in the vast Unemployment, in large Kreditnot in the sales crisis in the agrarian crisis and the inner bad economic conditions, the only way is - as it the shining example, the flame-mark in world history, the existence and solid foundation of the Soviet Republic shows - that the working class and the toiling also liberate masses of Germany of the prevailing capitalist system, whose representatives have understood for years, despite the existence of immense misery amass profits on profits. The only way, the only solution of Reparations is that the proletariat, the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary struggle precipitates and liberated by the proletarian revolution from that slave contract, the stumbling block is any liberal development.
For amnesty application

Communist Reichstag

*Speech in the Reichstag*
*January 5, 1925*

The Communist parliamentary group requested, on the agenda of the next meeting the Reichstag their amnesty applications for the purpose of release of political prisoners set. We believe we have the more authority especially today, those requests already in to let the next meeting discuss, as in advising the laws for London Agreement of the Reich Foreign Minister, Stresemann, a general amnesty in Empire has provided views. What has happened in this matter, since August? We have
seen that the bandits, thugs and traitors, separatists, were released, while the revolutionary workers, the French in the Ruhr against the Imperialism have struggled to continue languishing in prisons today.

We have also seen that the Social Democratic President Ebert, who in Magdeburg process has shown its counterrevolutionary role, the traitor Jagow, of that time wanted to overthrow the government fled, the light of freedom was, during the Workers who have fought the Kapp Putsch against reaction and for the Republic, further to languish in prisons and penitentiaries. The Bavarian Government has applied itself - perhaps in agreement with the State Government, perhaps in conjunction with the President, it also speak other reasons with which one can not elaborate within a speech point of order - Hitler and amnesty Kriebel and at the same time to the agitation for Fechenbach the top cancel let out Fechenbach and four revolutionary fighters with that in the Days have been convicted by the Soviet Republic with imprisonment. The workers in the Businesses throughout Germany, as the German Government is well aware of the revolutionary will animate, to demand the release of their proletarian brothers. Because the Bavarian government also knows this outrage and excitement in our proletariat, she has created this tranquilizer and some released to in the future so as to take action against the other more sharply.

What is currently showing in the Weimar Republic, is downright scandalous, as he perhaps never existed before in history. From week to week increases Number of political prisoners - and that under the leadership of a social-democratic The President and with the support of the Social Democrats - although from the establishments and the trade unions calls anywhere louder sound: out with our proletarian brothers! The incarceration of political prisoners not only in Domestic, but also already caused excitement abroad. Even in the time Bismarck, even at the time of Wilhelmine government it was not possible that over seven thousand fighting for their ideals proletarians could be imprisoned. And the occurs even though the state party SPD has decided in Saxony, a general demanding amnesty. However, the Social Democratic Party in Saxony on. 8 November Saxon parliament this unanimous decision taken the Regional conference disavowed and voted against our amnesty applications. After showing the decision of the country's congress that the SPD of the will Masses driven, demanding the release of political prisoners vigorously. Especially we communists have a right, the release of political prisoners promote; because we have been there, in all frankness which the Foreign Minister Stresemann have said: If you believe that due to the London Agreements that you have taken the Cologne zone is cleared, the practice on January 10, is the German proletariat and of the German population show that the Entente imperialists
300 delegations from Germany sent by the companies, furthermore, at least 100 telegrams broken in the Reichstag, without and with the support of Communist Party. One is certain that we have the sincere will and in the first Line demand that something is being done in this field.
If we demand today due to our factual arguments that next in the Sitting of the Reichstag our requests for amnesty for negotiation and discussion come, it is because we have to tell you: If you were about to believe that we are weak, so you are wrong. We will therefore fight, and if you do not want then we are even the prison gates in the interests of the entire proletariat and Open political prisoners in the given situation. There will come a time where Your "peace and order" to carry out the enslavement of the working population Germany gives us the opportunity to make a push to our brothers to free and for the whole capitalist system as such quell. In this Meaning we apply that today the Reichstag business orderly about our Request tunes, on the agenda of the next meeting our requests to amnesty set, because that is in the line of the will of the entire opinion of the German proletariat.

Five years ago, on 13 March 1920 marched the Ehrhardt Brigade by Brandenburg Gate in the government district. The President and the Government Bauer-Noske left in hurried flight Berlin and escaped through Dresden to Stuttgart. A call that was issued in their name, the entire working class called for Fight on against the monarchist coup.

Now, after five years, it has been the black red monarchists possible to legally take over the government. The same Gessler, the chop after Coup was appointed in June 1920, Minister of Defence, is now of the miter taken parties as future Reichspräsident prospect. He has succeeded in using the Social Democrats, by the same people who called the fight against Kapp had to help the Kapp people to victory. In every crisis called civil Parties to a decisive act by the Army. They were these "Republican" protection force completely safe. She helped with the SPD, the crisis 1923 overcome by workers murder, she helped - together with the SPD - the Luther Government raise in the Saddle.

These five years since the defeat of the Kapp Putsch by the proletariat these five Years of legal delivery of governance to the monarchists, these five years the growing political and social reaction must not only years of suffering and the impoverishment of the working masses, but have years of teaching for his coming necessary confrontations.

Again and again, with every major crisis the German bourgeoisie to have the broad masses mislead and let vertrösten, by Parliament and by the Government would be worn all wishes into account. Above all, it was possible to Leaders of ADGB and the SPD, at the crucial moment by initiating to bring negotiations to advance the proletariat to a standstill and the to blow proletarian battlefront. Thus, the counter-action of the working-class was held in Ruhr against the Kapp adventure to an end in Bielefeld Agreement bloody vendetta the troops of General Watter made possible. None of the seventeen points this specified under Severing Implementing Convention has been satisfied.

On the contrary, these seventeen points were the basis for the advance of Reaction in all fields.

The same result had the great trade union action on the occasion of the Rathenau murder. As his time had been promised in Bielefeld when the seventeen points not would be adopted, the parties should call for battle, so consoled the leaders ADGB the fight resolute masses early July with their twelve points: the Unions are ready for extreme and would in case of non compliance with their requests not shy away from the application and the latest ordnance!

The implementation of the Ruhr war, and by connecting with the demolition of the passive Resistance strengthened crisis found the SPD and the trade union bureaucracy again active on the side of the bourgeoisie against the working class. At the drop of the Cuno government, 20

20 A between the representatives of the Government, Severing (SPD) and the representatives of Workers' organizations of the Ruhr closed 17 points comprehensive agreement, on March 25, 1920 was signed in Bielefeld.

With the Bielefeld Agreement, the setting, the armed struggles of the workers by a series should bring promises, the right Social Democratic leadership fell to fighting Ruhr workers in the back, betrayed and delivered them out of the counter-revolution, the bloody at Ruhr proletariat Took revenge.
for the SPD under pressure from the United Berliner strikes and the mass movement in Rich came with, she knew it again, by the entry into the government Stresemann to confuse the working masses and the formation of a red battlefront for final to thwart overthrow of the bourgeoisie.
The proletariat gets every day the balance of five years of Kapp to Luther vorgerechnet: The elimination of the eight-hour day, the reduction of real wages, the brutal Intensification of Antreibersystems, the crackdown by tens of thousands of revolutionary Colleagues, the elimination of hundreds of thousands of officials, employees and workers of the Reich, state and municipal enterprises, the incarceration of thousands of proletarian Fighters, the constant tightening of Communist persecution - they are the Counterpart to the full delivery of the administration, of the army and the Police, judiciary and the school to the greatest agitators of heavy industry. The Million gifts to the slide corporations Barmat Kutisker-Michael and at the Ruhr industrialists are evidence the great extent to the "democratic republic" for the "needs" of the "old and new rich" receptive and how the bourgeois parties of the German Nationalists to SPD understand uphold the "people's rights". The policy of the delivery of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie finds its double Conclusion in the acceptance of the Dawes Plan in the Reichstag by the united front of the German Nationalists to the Social Democrats and the establishment of monarchical Luther-government by Ebert.
Forcing the daily increasing exploitation and misery and the presidential election on March 29 the working people to think seriously about these five years, and the consequence of the balance sheet to draw. The current rail strike is a way of saying that even associated with the Dawes Plan scatter illusions; it is important that the Exploited in the factories, in the offices, in the offices and in the country see how it was possible that, despite all the struggles, the bourgeoisie one position after could conquer others for themselves and strengthen. All they need in addition to the German, the see Russian example and learn from him.
On March 12 was the anniversary of the fall of the tsarist government. On March 12, could the Russian workers and peasants drag and find the balance of eight years that the Bourgeoisie not only their power could not recover, but that the international bourgeoisie was forced to recognize the proletarian revolution.
On March 12, November 7 was followed (as in Germany reversed on the 9th November March 13). The Russian workers and peasants have led the Bolsheviks of the bourgeois supremacy to an end by the ruthless State apparatus broke and in its place the proletarian state translated.
The eight years of Russian Revolution and the five years of German reaction of Kapp up Luther give all exploited the opportunity to decide on the basis of facts:

21 The unscrupulous profiteers brothers Barmat, Ivan Kutisker and Jakob Michael ill-gotten in the Time of inflation and to stabilize the following Rentenmark by speculation and usury greatest magnitude million fortune. Your slide shops were favored by them corrupted high government officials and politicians. In the process "in terms of the group of brothers Barmat" at the beginning of 1925 were prominent leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany with Wels at the top unmasked. They had received from consolidated large bribes and funds of the group and with him affiliated banks during the parliamentary elections in December 1924 for the fight against Communist Party of Germany used.
22 It is the strike of the German railway workers in February and March 1925 by the Achievement was caused by provisions of the Dawes Plan. The railwaymen demanded a 25 per cent wage increase, the eight-hour day and the reinstatement of the dismissed. The
reformist leaders of the German Railwaymen's Union actively supported the implementation of the Dawes Plan, betrayed the railwaymen and broke off the strike.

With the help of bourgeois democracy and its monarchical institutions was in Germany enslaved and gagged the proletariat, the KPD was worst Tsarist methods pursued. The road from Kapp to Luther is one big ordeal. In every battle is the SPD against the proletariat, it tried to break the class front. Therefore: Down with the bourgeoisie! Down with bourgeois democracy! Down with Luther-government! Down with the Social Democrats, the agent of political and social Reaction!

By contrast, the example of the Soviet Union shows eight years of fruitless efforts national and international bourgeoisie to reconquer their power. The Soviets and the Red Army as the cornerstone of proletarian dictatorship in this "backward" Land made the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and destroy the ground for the construction of Socialism prepares. Therefore it is important for the working people of Germany to the Russian Workers and peasants to take an example. Team up in unions and farms! Complete the fight alliance of workers and peasants! Makes the red Class Front led by the Communist Party!

The railway strike is an opportunity to practice in the formation of red battlefront to work. Supports the fighting railwaymen! Railwaymen, widened the battlefront!

Your workers and officials of all professions, in all companies, in all unions: March 29, the day of the presidential election is, the opportunity of the German bourgeoisie and to show their Social Democratic accomplices: The working people of Germany learned from five years of Kapp to Luther, as they have learned from the eight years from 12. March 1917 by the year 1925. March 29 has the day of reckoning with the are bourgeoisie, a commitment to the struggle for the overthrow of the government and Luther for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, for the fight after the example of the Russian Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party!

"The Red flag"

13 March 1925th
For bloodbath in Halle

As the murder of Bobby happening in reality

1. The reports of most of the civil and the Social Democratic press about the murder in Halle are false and untrue.
2. The police has prepared the provocations. Even before the meetings where 8,000 to 10,000 participants, an amplified Schupoaufgebot was deployed.
3. The Assembly line was opposed to bourgeois messages via the Speaking ban for foreign speakers of any police authority has been informed.
4. The police lieutenant has Pietzker also no objections to the speeches of foreign comrades charged. Only when a comrade took the floor for the translation, appeared the lieutenant with a drawn revolver left the hall, shouting incomprehensible Words in the Assembly.
5. The sudden provocative appearance of the lieutenant and the thereby generated Noise, it was the assembly line and the present impossible, the words of Lieutenant to understand.
6. Nevertheless, it succeeded the Assembly line for short moments, the participants calm. The chairman turned to the lieutenant with the request that his communicate desires, but was unsuccessful.
7. To give the assurance for a quiet course of the Assembly, renounced the Chairman on further translation of the speeches of foreign comrades and authorized the undersigned the word.
8. The police lieutenant demanded the immediate evacuation of the hall.
9. Because of overcrowding in the Assembly Outing the masses but slowly could go, demanded the officer from his subordinate policeman sharper Procedure.
10. Immediately thereafter, after a few seconds, the order came to fire.
11. Blindly was in the huddled mass with revolvers and submachine guns kick. Even some women and men circulating in their blood.
12. The participants took possession an indescribable confusion. Then was the repeated firing command in quick succession following intervals twice, turn new dead and wounded were recorded.
13. The unprecedented action of the policeman had an indescribable panic resulted. The on the galleries gathered rushed to the exit. Under this impact broke the Railings, which again cost more victims.
14. Immediately following the described operations spoke Signed in one of the two Parallel meetings. In the middle of his speech appeared the lieutenant Pietzker and urged the
immediate evacuation also this locality. Here he did not succeed, a second bloodbath
wreak.
15. The accuracy of this information can my from the crowd of conventioneers
- With the exception of the spy present, which consist of all the police districts
together sat-confirmed.

Berlin, March 14. drawn: Ernst Thalmann

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"
16 March 1925th

Remember the example of the Commune

The German imitators of Galliffet and Thiers are eager to work in order to
Workers to call the great lessons of the Paris Commune alive in memory. What
are the most important lessons of the international proletariat with the help of the Scriptures
Marx and Lenin has drawn from the struggles of the Communards?
First, that the proletariat does not take over the bourgeois state apparatus and on
can democratically in the proletarian state apparatus transforming, but that the
proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois state and by the proletarian
must replace power apparatus, through the councils that the resolved and executive organs
the working class.
Secondly, that the proletariat ruthlessly, brutally crush the bourgeoisie, their
Troops disarm, must raise its own armed force, because the bourgeoisie,
if you let her just a few days time to collect, organize, arm,
their power ruthlessly used and to the workers that their claims as a class
logged, cruel bloody revenge takes.
Thirdly, that the contrast between the nationalists and militarists of various
Nations itself completely disappears in the war, when it comes to the common enemy, the
revolutionary proletariat quell.
These teachings that the workers of Paris-bought in 1871 with their blood, unfortunately, many of the
German workers have been ignored in their revolution. This has the German
Working class to this day with countless victims, with many serious
must pay defeats. It is time that we this March 18 the anniversary of the
Municipality, use them these lessons on hand of our own recent experience the
Workers of Germany emphatically show.
The presidential election of the Social Democrats again in the manner of their
exploited party purposes, that they try to impose on the workers, everything would be in
Germany for the better, if only at the head of the state the right man
shall be called for the first ballot Otto Braun, for the second expected to Marx,
would be jeopardized. Quite apart from the fact that Brown is any more than Marx, a worker representative,
which it may grant only the honest will, at the point where it passes through the
Confidence of the workers is to do his best for the proletariat, not to mention is
clear that the best representatives of the workers at the head of that state nothing serious for
Working class could do, if this is not preparing to the whole state from scratch
circulate. The so-called democratic workers' governments in Saxony and
Thuringia have shown that the rights of the Weimar Constitution are null and void,
as they threaten to become dangerous to the bourgeoisie. For example, would the representative
the Communist Party is elected president of the Republic, the next
Would result in the rebellion of the monarchist Reichswehr and bureaucracy, which
would refuse certainly to serve the interests of the proletariat.
This example each worker must be clear that we of the liberation
Working class can not do anything out of its current misery and oppression, if we
not follow the example of the Commune and the Russian October Revolution and the
Fight for the elimination of the bourgeois state, the state power of the councils of workers
record and the toiling peasants.
The second lesson of the Commune that the proletariat against its class enemy as little
must know conservation, as little as the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat

23 Galliffet, Gaston de (1830-1909), French general, leaders of the army of Versailles, bloody
Suppressors and executioners of the Paris Commune.
Thiers, Louis-Adolphe (1797-1877), French statesman and historian, ruthless representatives of
Class interests of the bourgeoisie, butcher of the Paris Commune.
Government "willing the borders defined the bondage Treaty of Versailles as recognize final. For added grace, in the company of the Entente Raiders to be, the German bourgeoisie has its mercenary services to the reactionary war against the Soviet Union in.

But this knavery will not succeed. Despite all the treacheries Social democracy is among the masses of the German proletariat the legacy of Municipality, international solidarity, still alive. The German proletarians not to be use as cannon fodder against the Russian Revolution, as little as our French class comrades as willing tools of Poincaré and Herriot against would march a proletarian Germany. We put the robber League of Imperialists force against the proletarian-national.

The elections on 29 March are by a huge mass demonstration for the red Show workers candidacy that the municipality lives in our hearts, that no force us will stop to take the next step to the world community through the proletarian Revolution in Germany.

"The Red flag"
18 March 1925th

A conversation with the red presidential candidates

Answer to the questions of an employee of the Berlin "Welt am Abend" on the presidential elections

**Question:** What purpose are you pursuing with your candidacy?

**Thalmann:** The Communist Party, which nominated me as a candidate of the working class has, therefore has the purpose of the working class and all the exploited and oppressed in Germany to fight for their class interests against the government and against Luther to collect the whole ruling in Germany exploiter system. For us, the choice an opportunity for a broad mass agitation, for mobilization of working Population for their class demands and a massive demonstration on 29th March by the casting of the votes for the workers candidacy.

**Q.** You talk about your candidacy as the workers candidacy. But you run but only for the communist workers. The SPD but also has a placed candidates, for a large part of the workers will vote. hold it not for an error that the workers' votes are fragmented in this way?

**Thalmann:** In the eyes of the class-conscious workers Otto Braun is impossible as Workers candidate apply. He is a typical representative of the coalition with the bourgeoisie. In front Recently, even the heavy industrial People's Party his achievements as prime minister of
Civil candidate, as he is named, may be nothing more than a tool of big business against the revolutionary workers as it was Ebert. Incidentally: It only owe us, when the candidate of birgerblock not at the first Ballot is elected. If we do not participated in the election, then would the class-conscious workers do not vote, and the monarchist candidate would with Ease win already in the first ballot.

*Question:* Do not you think that a Republican president left with full powers, the Weimar Constitution are, but do something to ward off the monarchist danger could?

*Thal mann:* According to the text of the Constitution, he could certainly. It could, for example, the Chancellor Luther dismissed under the provisions of the Constitution, the Cabinet a has formed from open monarchists, as the monarchist generals, officers and Officials. Also, the Director General of the Railway Company, Oeser, would immediately as a the most brutal enemies of the workers are fired. On the other hand, the President could
due to his pardon law the best fighters against reaction, the revolutionary workers who sit in the dungeons of the Republic, returning to freedom. The President may, for example, entail the referendum on the cause eight-hour day, speak of the social democratic leaders as much. But you certainly know as well as I that the bourgeois candidate, whether it is the SPD man Brown or the democrat Gessler is, will do nothing, just as that of the so-called Republicans celebrated Ebert nothing like did.

Question: Do you believe that if you were chosen to carry out such measures could?

Thalmann: Above all, these "democratic" republic would not recognize my choice. The next day the government quarter of the troops would Seeckts occupied. The democratic rulers would then just on. whistle Constitution as it have done in 1923, when they with the constitutional governments in Saxony and Thuringia Reichswehr apart hunted. But what I would do if I were elected, is ever an idle question. Because if stocks this way, we would have been Communists, the majority of the people behind us. Then we would not concern ourselves with a president for the republic to choose, then we would overthrow this republic from the ground up, they made a transform capital Republic in a real workers' republic.

Question: What do you think of your candidacy to achieve when you know that no Views of your choice is?

Thalmann: believe What we can achieve? That by our propaganda workers be mobilized for the idea of communism, the proletarian revolution that they understand that can help them not Weimar coalition that they red in a Class Front under the red flag unite to fight against the whole Bourgeoisie of all shades, that we as the prerequisites of a successful struggle provide against the bourgeoisie. Believe me, a big election victory for us on March 29 would make a powerful impression on the bourgeoisie. The capitalist Scharfmacher would see that the workers no longer want to look on quietly, as one of her skin belt intersects, that they are fed up from the schwarzrotgelben fraudsters to let around by the nose, that it this bourgeois society finally must demonstrate proletarian fist. On the other hand, each worker voice for the Coalition candidates Brown, that there are still proles that no class consciousness have that can be of the bourgeoisie have everything without defending themselves, on the President post in this capitalist republic not reflect the workers, that is an item for friends Barmats and the Ruhr funds slider. A real Worker representatives only becomes President of the German Republic, when the workers at the premises of their councils and on the first German Soviet Congress the Chairman of the Select the Central Executive Committee. The Communist Party believes by my To candidacy contribute to achieve this objective. have for this purpose I accepted the candidacy.
Comrades!
I speak here today on the penultimate day before the elections to the revolutionary working class Berlin, in the moment when the parliamentary parties already on the second Ballot kuhhandeln. This is the moribund KPD that here in this hall has come together.
The first kick-off on my journey through the realm was the bloody incident in hall when the Social Democratic police chief Runge was in shooting into the crowd. The Animal came not only from the firing of three volleys in a defenseless crowd, animal yet was that the women and the Samaritan who offered the wounded Help, were chased by the officer from the hall. In other cities, in the towns of the occupied territory, it appeared that the German Police in the French and English military authorities did their best allies. In Solingen, the German police asked me and the British comrades that we go to the English police. We explained that the way of the police to help us not next is, as the one of us to the police. Despite looking there escaped the English Comrade the captors.
Today in Berlin we see - we will see it tomorrow in Hamburg - that the Proletariat begins to realize his true goals and enters the red front. We are entering the struggle to arouse the masses, to lead them in the Revolution. We in this campaign to a person, not because this person all the votes should be used, but because that person is a part of our program, the program of the KPD. We declare that we are the only Republicans, namely a republic in which, not as in this German Republic, a few percent of the population - big business and the Agrarian Party - prevail, but we are supporters of a republic in which the workers govern.
The question plays a decisive role in this election campaign, is the question of Dawes Pact. The KPD is the only party that consistently and resolutely combats Dawes Pact, while the bourgeois parties and the Social Democrats are willing to Germany Morgan and the Treaty of Versailles to deliver. The KPD is the only party that has the right to talk about the protection of the nation. The 90 Percent of the working people - they embody the nation, and we are fighting for their interests. Already to 7 billion gold marks be applied, 100 marks per head of Population. This is the effect of the Dawes Pact. But the rebellion begins. Of the Strike by railway workers showed that even the officials begin to rebel. The state has no money for social welfare. The KPD is the only party that educates the masses about the fact that Germany is a Slave colony. Through the fault of the SPD, the toiling masses were on the Bourgeoisie sold. Ebert Rescued 1918 the bourgeois rule, and seven years later gave the same social democrat Fritz Ebert the Lord Luther hand to rule. Seven years is, however, the Soviet power in the Soviet Union unshaken, the Soviet power, which was erected under the leadership of Lenin, Lenin, who lived with the masses and fighting and the council state built. When Ebert funeral we saw how the Army and the high officials depwoyed. When Lenin died, pilgrimages three days and three nights the working masses to his coffin; because Lenin was the leader of toiling masses while Ebert was an ally of the bourgeoisie.
Now campaign shows that the class front is raised again. We will the
do not let red flag of the fight out of his hand.
We march forward to organize the revolution. Not only the women and
Men, the young generation, the youth, the pioneers, need to be educated in the
flaming, great ideas of communism. Then soon will the proletariat
- Even if the bourgeoisie now is powerful yet - reach their destination. The election campaign is
rouse the masses to show them the way.
Therefore to compete for election on March 29, the proletariat. Every vote for the red
Candidates is a vote for the liberation of the proletariat.
On the election front! The election campaign is a means to mobilize the masses, they alive
to make.
The red front marched from battle to battle forward, up to the last final victory:
the proletarian revolution!

"The Red flag"
28 March 1925th
Deeper into the masses!

The lessons from the last parliamentary struggle must be held right now and still be exploited for the last election work and beyond for the entire party work. I summarize in the old admonition Lenin:

*Deeper into the masses!*

We need to go deeper into the masses, we must more deeply into the masses take root! We deceive not us that the confusion maneuvers of our enemies still have great success. "Empire Block" as "popular bloc" lead an election campaign that with "programs" nothing to has to do, but crass, plumper than ever emanating for votes. So they have the public never before conceded. What we have always emphasized, is confirmed by them: In all major issues of policy they agree - from the Dawes policy and new War preparation to sharpest communist persecution and to further impoverishment the working class! This policy is the "reconstruction of Germany", the "peace" that "Freedom," the purpose of "prosperity" and otherwise what nice things. Announces Everyday the "Empire Block", Hindenburg did not want a return to the monarchy, and the "People's Block" confirmed: Hindenburg "program" is "our program", only - he will do can not perform. The old game is repeated already in Luther Policy Statement was presented: The black-red-parties, especially the SPD, stated: We agree with the policies of Luther, it is our policy, Only we do not trust Luther and his ministerial colleagues! The black-red (eg Hermann Müller, Rudolf Breitscheid) are best suited to the illustrated Luther to solve problems. You also agree to strengthen the monarchical influence. What they argue? To the post, plus they need the "people" - as voting cattle. So has 8 million votes bartered for Braun's premiership the SPD. And more than this. She has, more than ever lulled the people, which is called to the ballot box: With the Election will be decided his fate, it could be after the election of the new leaving President. Especially on this illusion - the choice is crucial - build "People's Block" and "Empire Block" with their demagoguery. Especially the SPD hopes by the strongest promote the illusion that the resistance in their own ranks to overcome. Only under the ground: the Bourgeoisvertreter Dr. Marx was against Hindenburg the "lesser evil", going by Marx monarchist spellbound reaction, they may in decades education prewar against Center one-party asked for a vote, and the election work for the center man bring. Priest and General - these are the symbols of the old militarist regime that Representatives of the infamous black blue block! Under the impression of actually existing monarchist danger hides the Social-Democratic workers behind the Pfaff Rock - and calls on the revolutionary workers, also to go to Marx. So many workers form a fact, by the choice of Marx, the risk is eliminated. The SPD does not carry the struggle against the monarchist danger that they themselves has conjured up and strengthened. The workers are to be taken in by the word "Republic" and do not ask for the facts. Our mission was and remains: to reveal these illusions for what they are: just
as illusions. The SPD leaders championing only its leaders interests, their parliamentary mandates, their ministerial and official posts (government councils, city councils, mayors, etc.), their positions in the party and trade union apparatus. The can only be represented by bourgeois politics drive and the "ideas" of the bourgeoisie serve (Dawes Plan, guarantee pact Productivity of the economy, intensification of exploitation, the communist witch hunts, Distribution of the army, police, administration, school to the monarchist Reaction), so are their allies and agents. They advertise for Marx and for Marx To secure policy Brauns ministerial posts! We say: Who chooses Marx, keeps his own executioner knitting the back, just like when he chooses Hindenburg! We have our policy of the sharpest challenge to the bourgeoisie and their lackeys championed. We will have to defend energetic, clear, simple! It is not enough that we know that there is no alternative but to fight. We have the masses made to understand, we have to fight against increased exploitation and mobilize monarchist danger. Therefore: We need deeper, closer to the masses in order detach from the agents of the bourgeoisie in order to win them to our correct policy. This is in times of recession, in times of apparent stabilization (both German and international bourgeoisie not get out of trouble, any crisis is the Root of a new crisis; but they are now not under immediate threat), in time for a great defeat as they suffered in 1923 the German proletariat, not easy. The bourgeoisie uses all Mittelndes terror against us. The shameful judgment in Leipzig has proved it again. Deeper into the masses! This should read: We must educate with patience and tenacity, we must mouthpiece be all hardships and champions in all daily demands of the masses, we need them to Daily way and in conjunction with the show Endausweg, we need to understand them to show from their daily needs the big picture, the in "small" daily struggle its integration to lead to the major national and international power struggle. This implies that we in factories and trade unions the most indefatigable, opferfreudigsten, energetic colleagues are and that we of the operating cells and union fractions understand to organize uniform of our work. Much more than in acute revolutionary Times it depends in times of defeat mood, the passivity of the masses from subjective factor, of the energy and patience of the party from. "The Revolution is over!" - So rejoice SPD and the bourgeoisie. "The Revolution is over!" - about death sentences and 100 years imprisonment be imposed, why are thousands executed in Bulgaria, so follow lockouts on lockouts. The response from businesses and unions, the response of the worker must of us be propagated: The revolution lives! She lives in the red battlefront of all the exploited and oppressed under the leadership of KPD! The bourgeoisie is their difficulty not Mr. She pauses for breath only by the grace the exploited. New crises, new battles to come! The working class must not blind bump into them, then it runs into the war. Then she helps a new Monarchism! We need to make watching them, we need to conquer it - every day! April 26, and the
The world situation and the situation in Germany

*From the speech at the District Congress Seareach*
*16 and 17 May 1925*

The extended executive presented as well as the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, the end of the pacifist era and the slow aggravation of imperialist contradictions and the growth of military conflicts firmly.
The whole development in this year is characterized by a complete turnaround of international politics. The pacifist period is done. In the decisive countries take the right Großbourgeoise again even the government control.
In England, the MacDonald government was supported by the Conservative Cabinet Baldwin replaced. America has its victory of "Republicans". French government learned through overthrowing Herriot and the formation of the Cabinet Painlevé-Briand Caillaux also a shift to the right. The Luther-government in Germany at last is the worst form the heavy industry-großagrarisches rule.
Very significant for the intensification of imperialist contradictions is the fact that on all conferences organized by the governments of the capitalist countries in the last Time were organized, was so much talk of peace and the League of Nations. How "seriously" the Dominions are their phrases of disarmament and peace, prove the Flottenmanöver America which participated in breastfeeding Ozeanzar over 200 warships, the calls for Strengthening of the British and American air and naval fleet. Especially the Riga Conference where the General Staffs of the eastern border states and Poland, Romania and Finland took part, shows very clearly the warlike intentions of the imperialist Great powers against the Soviet Union; because were behind the scenes of the conference England and the French military mission in Warsaw.
The operations in Bulgaria are the last link in the chain of evidence for the Attack will against the Soviets Union. No sooner was the assassination in the Cathedral of Sofia happen when even the capitalist ministers and newspapers around the world in the Cries erupted: is Moscow's hand! - Order the authorization for a obtain international action, although itself through numerous Civil statements it is established that neither the Soviet government nor the Comintern even the slightest with have to do the attack.
, Taken from the British government, too, the Bulgarian executioner under the wing
Tantrums caused), threatens the whole conference to fly up. About the arrival and
Use of poison gases, the rulers of different countries are at all
not unanimous.
But these contradictions in the policies of the capitalist masters of the world must not allow ourselves
hide the fact:
1. It is capitalism succeeded in the up to a certain degree of
recover shocks of World War II. The post-war crisis in many countries
can be regarded as having been overcome today.
2. In all countries, except France Italy, Romania and Japan, is the
Stabilization of the currency performed.
3. The roots of the Anglo-American capital has in European countries
made great progress; thus communicates called Dawesierung
Germany, the transition from military intervention to method of financial
Intervention, ie the method of financial enslavement of Germany. Germany
is in Europe, the Centre for the implementation of robbers plans of Anglo-American
Imperialism.
The same colonization threatens now also France. Its vast inner and outer
Debt propel it to inflation. America uses its creditor position against France
heartily from; so it is now looking to cause France to cashing a part
its debt, the Antilles and the other islands in the Pacific, so important
Naval bases to deliver.
The situation in America is so far uncertain, as you do not know whether in the near future
already an economic crisis is used by a greater extent. We clearly see the
Plans that work towards bridging the English and American contradictions.
The whole of Europe should be taken under the wing of the Anglo-Saxon imperialism.
But this united front policy make the European and other
opposing tendencies between the two countries retardant in the way. There are as
characteristic features of capitalist antagonisms:
The struggle between England and America to the oil wells, especially in Mosul
and South and Central America;
the fight for Canada, which is now practically Americanized so far that England for
Restore its economic influence even the French population
Canada begins to mobilize;
the struggle between England and France for influence in Europe;
the struggle between enslaved Germany and the Entente;
the battle of the Anglo-American bloc against Japan because of the conquest of
Far Eastern markets.
As important for the United States and the economic domination of South America
is, so this has not with its 60 million inhabitants, by far the most important
East Asia with its 900 million inhabitants and its huge raw material and
Markets. In North America, they can not do without. That is why the Tips
Rivalry between Japan and America so to that sooner or later the question
the rule be made on the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the strongest
becomes. Just because Japan knows that its competitor still forces and resources
is stronger, so it is forced to trade negotiations with the Soviet Union. In front
all, has in addition to the American threats, the resolution of the Anglo-Japanese
Alliance triggered a panic among the ruling class of Japan and to
concrete steps closer to the Soviet Union caused.
In England, the conflict substances accumulate extraordinary. If MacDonald already
social issue could not be solved, so this is achieved Baldwin much less. English
Mine owners are unable to keep the miners in the factories. In the
last month alone has risen to 200,000, the number of unemployed. proletarian
Forward development and the advances of the workers' party to make the bourgeoisie serious
To care. Given England loses still more influence in the colonies and
Semi-colonies (dominions).
If we in addition to the signs of stabilization as the first moment of the weakening of the
Imperialists establish their internal contradictions, then put the second avalanche
Growth of the national liberation movement in Africa and Asia, in China, India and
Western Asia, recorded in Egypt and Morocco. Just the current French-
Spanish Morocco campaign is the financial difficulties and internal contradictions
increase considerably in France and Spain.
Thirdly, the mere existence of the Soviet Union with its favorable economic
Developing a strong incentive for all social and national liberation movements.
Fourth, the struggle for the international trade union unity is a new sign of
growing revolutionary movement, especially in England.
These circumstances are strong opposites to the stabilization process of international
Bourgeoisie.

The situation in Germany

Now I come to Germany. is blind who does not see that in our country since 1923
a major change has taken place. The bourgeoisie has in front of her
save half years still highly vulnerable situation and much of the
understood to win over the population. The currency is with American help stabilized, the eight-hour day robbed the proletariat; today nine to twelve hours worked. Above all, it has understood the ruling class shiny, all loads of up shift. Four-fifths of all taxes borne by the working masses. Yes the Bourgeoisie is by Hochschraubung of mass consumption and sales tax even in been able, far out Over more than a half billion marks more than in State budget was provided. The black and white red storm surge, Hindenburg's election, the resurgence of Fascism - all this in connection with that aforementioned economic Aussaugungsprozeß the proletariat shows that the bourgeoisie is very strong at present. Just now shows again in increasing the rental and grain tax will naturally lead to the increase in the price of bread. In foreign policy, the strengthening of the bourgeoisie acts of the serious approaches to to affiliate even if only to the tail, the Imperia List Front. Even the approval to fulfill policy unveiled the united front of the German Nationalists to Social Democracy. The same united front we find in the now planned entry into the League of Nations, the "national" Reich Government had already taken place when they would not have been prevented by the footsteps of France until now it. The entry into the League of Nations would mean war conflict with the Soviet Union, because on the basis of §16 the League of Nations Covenant must each the League affiliated country its territory for the Transporting troops to the country with which the League of Nations at war, surrender. But here, in which associated with the League of matter, from the German government proposed security pact are already beginning the opposites within the bourgeois fractions. The German security proposal According to the current western borders are guaranteed, while over the eastern borders a peaceful Understanding to be brought about. On this issue, there was hot the German Nationals Difficulties and sharp conflicts.

Also what regards the relationship with the Soviet Union, stand out in the DNVP 24 clearly two Directions from each other. These groupings consist in the many Contradictions between financial capital and heavy industry on the one hand, the Commercial capital and the finishing industry on the other hand continues. Typical of these disputes the violent clashes which it before and upon completion of the Spanish Commercial treaty was. While a section of the bourgeoisie for immediate acceptance of Commercial treaty was the Rhenish winemakers groups braced themselves as extremely energetically against. The founding of a new party, the "Liberal Union", under the leadership Fish Becks, Gessler and skipper, pointing to the different groupings within the German bourgeoisie towards. The credit difficulties, the passivity of the trade balance (2.7 Billion in 1924), the tariff policy in conjunction with the increase in the Iron duty, the rise of the number of unemployed, the slow reduction of production in mining due to not enough coal sales for the German industry, the Increases in indirect taxes in connection with the increase in Dawes burdens Announcing the dismissal of 30,000 railway workers - these are at all
Slip stabilizing symptoms of decomposition.

In addition to these facts, it is mainly the need widest layers of the proletarian, still with the right-wing parties standing petty bourgeois of the national betrayals of their leaders and their government convince.

We need the proletarian, still with the right-wing parties standing petty bourgeois of the national betrayals of their leaders and their government convince.

We must especially the millions of workers who voted Social Democrat because they believed that this would meet the Republic elected, to make clear that the SPD nor as the bourgeois left parties want to fight for the Republic. Why wrote the Central the open letter, in which they in the Social Democracy and the "People's Block" government Prussia called to fulfill at least the minimal republican demands.

Prompt showed because even that the Weimar coalition does not think anything Serious do for the Republic.

If we ask the question so that we say that the Republic is a better fight for the bottom the workforce as a monarchy, it is better than the rule of the extreme reaction, so that does not mean the abandonment of even a smallest part of the communist Principles. We are just as Lenin did and how the Soviet diplomacy does today in relation to world capitalism exploiting capitalist contradictions and seek to expand.

We are against the cry of the SPD on the Communist aid for remember reaction to stress that the social democracy the ruling today Monarchists has only paved the way and in the saddle. The changes in class relations require changes to the strategy and the tactical measures while maintaining the communist principles. Each tactical Maneuver we have to submit our Bolshevik strategy. In 1920 tried the open reaction by a monarchist coup the Republic to overthrow, today, in 1925, they reached their goals by a dry chop Coup. The KPD today has a different face than in 1923. It must in Epoch of imperialism with all its emerging forms a skillful, Bolshevik strategy in the application of the united front tactic in all areas to

24 DNVP - abbreviation for the German National People's Party, after the collapse of the Empire 1918 of the two conservative parties, the Christian Socialists and the German Social (Semites) originated and mainly represented the interests of the Junkers and a portion of the coal and steel industrialists. She was the Party of monarchist restoration, pursued a chauvinist and anti-Semitic incitement, propagated the Traditions of reactionary Prussianism and actively supported the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship.

Mass mobilization and expose all their enemies perform. In the issues of Republic and monarchy in the Prussian question in the Reich presidential campaign we need to correct our mistakes and learn from it for the present and future. Our current measures do not lead to coalition politics and can not be compared the Brandlerismus but mean: the masses rob the illusions, separate them from the SPD, our comrades in the factories and trade unions by the facts in the his agitation and assist these measures utilize to enhance the class front and expand the mass mobilization.

The bourgeoisie gathers in all countries join forces to decisive blows. The Communist International must also all the revolutionary forces weld together. Everything used for achieving trade union unity and
That today there firmest bulwark of world imperialism is! Against the stabilization of capitalism - for the stabilization of world imperialism is!

Two poles are in the current era of world revolution against each other: the new in rise nascent imperialism with other forces groupings than before, with the aggravation of all its internal contradictions and the enormous internally consolidated Soviet Union's foreign policy approach East Asian countries as new Alignment of forces on a world scale.

The KPD will only fulfill its historic task when she sees these facts and the national scale between two waves of the Revolution a really Bolshevik Mass party is and remains.

The Communist International will strengthen the red class front around the world and lead the fight against the imperialists.

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"

of 19 May 1925th

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25It is the international association of reformist trade unions which on the July 1919 Congress in Amsterdam (Holland) was founded. The Amsterdam International pursued a reformist policies, working together openly with the bourgeoisie, fought against the revolutionary Labor movement and the Soviet Union behaved hostile. During the Second World War presented the Amsterdam International practically cease to function; officially sent on 14 December 1945 Connection with the establishment of the WFTU resolved.

At the working people in Germany!

*Call to fight against assassinations of class-conscious workers*
The reaction has again called precious blood workers. Taken from the treacherous shots of black and white red Kaiserschützen and with these allied Severing Police wallowed in Teltow class-conscious workers in their blood. One dead and numerous wounded bear witness "blessed" by the action of Hindenburg Severing era. The same police whose chief Severing still a few days ago the Nationalists the exemplary discipline of the Red Front Fighters as worthy of imitation recommended provoked hand in hand with these nationalists completely unarmed Red Front fighters. A criminal Schützengilde trains himself to living characters in Sharpshooting! In the famous order state workers are fair game. Not enough for the victims in the Ruhr coal mines, not enough with the numerous daily victims of the capitalist system of exploitation, the fine beast crashes on peacefully demonstrating workers and mistreated by proven way of fascist executioner-International.

The brutality of Niedner Justice coupled with the bestiality of Zankoff methods. Class-conscious workers, who can not be achieved through the slings paragraph, are represented by the summary justice of the gun barrels of combined monarchists and the Severing gendarmes done. This is the real face of the bourgeoisie and their State apparatus dominated by the Dawes Pact. At the same time get messages from all over the empire, stating that all such made raids in part to Red Front Fighters, partly on Reichsbanner people were. In any case, the fascists dared to steep in open battle. Always disconnect they did before, under the protection of Severing police to murder treacherously, with revolvers and daggers equipped, they dare the workers from ambush backwards to fall. Not all have succeeded them carry out their plans. In many cases they feel the force annoying Workers fists. Manifold are the cases in which Red Front fighters and workers from the Reichsbanner came together to red class front in defense against the increasingly bolder expectant reaction.

With great concern that the leadership of the Reichsbanner considers this looming Brothers in arms of the workers. The command that no Reichsbanner man only may carry a stick as a defensive weapon with him, this guide provides hesitation their comrades the fury of the reaction. Severing declared: "The historic mission of the Reichsbanner is satisfied."

Well then, we are of this opinion! but is not fulfilled the historic mission of the Proletariat to carry out the overthrow of this brutal society. Especially does this struggle of the proletariat the rabid murders of monarchist reaction. After the murderous mass murder of Hall of treacherous attack in Teltow! In both cases it was the Severing system in conjunction with monarchists, the bloodthirsty to peaceful workers rushed.

The proletariat has received bitter lessons. Massive and concluded there must march to effective mass protests against the reaction and their Ally, the Social Democrats and the Reichsbanner guide.

The whole proletariat must stand for the total compensation of the wounded victims at the expense of the state, and the granting of an ongoing pension for survivors of treacherously murdered in the amount of earnings. Million times the sound must resound:

Away with the Severing system!
Down with the murderous reaction!
Arrest the assassin!
Dissolution of the fascist organizations!
Release of the proletarian political prisoners!
Long live the united front of all workers!
Long live the class struggle!
Long live the Red American Legion!

*Roter Frontkämpferbund The National Board*
1A: Ernst Thalmann

"The Red flag"
11 June 1925th
The steady growth of the Red Front Fighters motion makes it easier for the party to
imperious duty to deal seriously with this issue to all
Forces and commonality of approach to harnessing the Red Front Fighters Movement for
to approach general revolutionary development. The party may join to this question
Never hang around if they do not want to suffer damage. The opinion, which every now and
reappears that the RFB was a military bauble and therefore a threat to the party,
is completely false. Likewise it wrong, the growth of Red's
Frontkampfer movement, which is more rapid in different districts than the
Party to look askance. The comrades who are not the growth of the RFB
be welcomed and supported, have the problem of mobilizing the broad proletarian masses
not conceived through the creation and support of revolutionary organizations.
The RFB is its composition and leadership to a purely proletarian and his
Goals and aspirations for a revolutionary organization of class struggle. He is
no communist organization. It combines next Communist workers a
relatively large percentage of non-party political and other organized workers.
But the RFB is his aspirations for a part of the communist movement as a whole.
He has to fulfill tasks that as such can not fulfill the party in whose
Implementing the party but must promote in every way him.
Let us keep in mind, is created under which conditions the RFB and
has developed, and the above argument is immediately understandable. After this
Parade of fascists in Halle in May created in 1924 in the early summer of the year
County Hall Morse castle the first Red Front Fighters organizations. After the defeat
the German proletariat in the autumn of 1923, for a non-guided fight where the
by revolutionary movement even under the strongest political and economic pressure
Government and entrepreneurship was, after thus became possible strengthening of
reactionary law associations (helmet, werewolf, etc.) and the flourishing of
Reichsbanner, the proletarians have spontaneously in individual districts of the kingdom as
Countermeasure created the first Red Front Fighters associations. The workers
instinctively the military-political importance of legal organizations and the Reichsbanner
recognized as a civil war organizations of the bourgeoisie. They created the RFB against this
Human reservoir for new imperialist wars and against the protection of the troops
Bourgeoisie, representing the rights associations and the Reich Banner, the necessary
revolutionary counterweight.
Founded sporadically and spontaneously Red Front Fighters' associations in individual
Districts of the kingdom led a miserable existence for a long time, isolated from each other and
ignored by the party little or, despite the fact that in this time of the first
Development of the RFB, the strengthening of the rights organizations and the Reichsbanner falls.
The Reichsbanner and standing behind him republican parties had characterized the
given way to demagogically as the only serious opponent of
aufzuspielen growing monarchist danger. The Reichsbanner has characterized,
especially in the rural districts, large proletarian masses in a serious fight
were interested against reaction, unites in itself and therefore under the ideological
brought influence of the SPD. Only towards the end of 1924 started the party of Red
turn Frontkampfer movement more attention. In the election motions end
the last and early this year had the RFB, the appropriate policy
Field of activity. He has consolidated organization during this time and is numerically
grown very rapidly. In some parts of the country he represented outwards towards

almost the face of the revolutionary party formed in each district of the kingdom
spontaneously between proletarian Reichsbanner elements and Red Front fighters
Fight against the Communities rights organizations. This fight Communities were against
the will and opposite arrangements of Reichsbanner leaders formed. Until the
last time take these trends continue in Reichsbanner has also after the election movement
understood the RFB, campaigning in urban and rural areas by organizing Red days for
acting revolutionary movement. Just what some timid and petty bourgeois
See inspired minds in the party as a military gimmick, has in these days Red
ever invigorating effect upon broad proletarian strata, has given them new moral
given support and faith in the victory of the revolutionary movement. Also on the
Teams have these events not miss its mark.
Of course, should not the emphasis at RFB well disciplined rallies
be placed. Who the value of RFB by its purely external manifestations
judged ignores its political value. If the RFB and only with parades
would employ marches, he would inwards collapse very soon. The RFB
is a viable organization only when in close contact with it
revolutionary party works and met political tasks for which, owing to his
is organizing character particularly suitable.
We want to deal briefly with a number of such tasks. Given the
threat of war is the RFB the appointed organization that the revolutionary struggle
can lead and organize against war and threat of war. Through an intensive
Employment within the RFB with the problems of the revolutionary struggle against the
War will herangeschult the appropriate elements in the members of the RFB, as
first are called in other proletarian organizations (trade unions,
Sports organizations, etc.) for the fight against the war to act. To hang
Tasks of the RFB against the nationalist organizations and against the Reich Banner closely
together. The RFB has the task of the numerous supporters of the proletarian
Rights groups its role as a slaughter of the bourgeoisie in new wars, against the
external or internal enemy explain, and try them for the proletarian
regain class front. The proletarians in Reichsbanner must the RFB in
Connection with the threat of war, the mendacity and hypocrisy of the pacifist idea
prove and of the necessity of the revolutionary class struggle of the red
convince proletarians front against the bourgeoisie. As for an effective, serious
Struggle against the war, the national and international trade union unity the
elementary requirement is the RFB must for this purpose to a greater extent
be used. Once in that one individual within the RFB each
Comrades convinced of the necessity of the trade unions and for the members
same win and that, moreover, the Red Front Fighters at the premises of the zealous
Advertisers for trade union unity and for a revolutionary leadership of the unions
will. They must also at the premises of the revolutionary working class
jointly defend the interests of the entire proletariat against capitalism and
Moreover, and again and again to win the battle for better wages
create working conditions. Related tasks have the Red Front Fighters in

to solve sports organizations, since they in addition to the war victims and Kriegsbeschädigten-
Organizations that are most appropriate to engage with them in a cartel money.

A special chapter is the youth. To capture the youth is within the RFB in
Red Jungsturm a special section has been created. act on the youth

naturally the external character and taut disciplined rallies particularly

attractive. The youth in the RFB is for the most part still not enough for political work
been used and chooses often purely emotional. The Red Jungsturm has

Relation to the Communist Youth experienced a very strong inflow. The

Communist Youth has - if she knows how to do a good job in the Red Jungsturm
- Opportunity to fulfill their duty to become a mass organization.

Quite Excellent, the RFB with the party in the field of
afford land agitation. In each neighborhood, the Red Front Fighters have under the
smallholder and farm workers population already good work in the field of
done revolutionary propaganda. This type land agitation is all the more necessary as
both the rights groups as well as the Reichsbanner their strongest organizational
have support in the small towns and in the rural districts. The proletarian and
semiproletarian elements can be in these places the ideological and
organizational influence of legal organizations and the Reichsbanner only snatch by a
effective occurrence of the revolutionary workers and by a good political work.

This of course is the object of the circuit RFB only in its most essential points
circumscribed. The RFB has become in a short time into a mass organization. Of the
Percentage of non-political followers of RFB is not low, namely, the said
be of the youthful elements. The organization of the RFB is also very young
and does not have too little political experience. The political penetration of the RFB omits
to wish these reasons still much left, just left to be desired clarity
about the real aims and tasks of the RFB among the broad mass membership. These
Defects are inevitable teething problems, the occurrence of which was the more inevitable,
because the party of the movement for a long time no and now often too little importance
has attached.

Almost without exaggeration, one can say that the opponents of the RFB its importance for the
better understood revolutionary movement have as part of our own comrades. The
it is apparent from the deserts of persecution by the authorities and the police and toxic
Language of bourgeois and Social Democratic press against the RFB. The
Bloodbaths in Halle and Teltow in particular, police commands and reports from Berlin and
other parts of the country suggest that a part of the government
systematic witch hunt against the RFB was staged for the purpose of his ban
and currently amplifies the Search is powered by prosecution material. If the
Government and its agents provocateurs, they join the ranks of the revolutionary workers
the RFB sends, their plan would succeed, then a storm of indignation in the
German revolutionary workers be inevitable. Also, the procedure of the SPD
and Reichsbanner leader proves that they are beginning to fear the RFB. The
"Reichsbanner", the federal body of the RB, from mid-June deals with the tactics of
RFB against the RB and says that this new tactic of "pandering" to the
proletarian elements of the RB is not dangerous for the same was. The procedure of
has Social Democrats in Berlin in their last meetings of the Customs usury

demonstrated that the social-democratic leaders make every conceivable effort by such
Clashes as they have occurred there, the gap between the proletarian
Reichsbanner elements and the revolutionary workers, particularly the RFB, under all
expand circumstances.

Task of the party is, centrally and locally, the development of the Red
promote Frontkampfer movement by any means. On the political revival of RFB
come by the party in question common occurrence in all events and
Demonstrations of the party and of the RFB, the RFB attraction for work in
interest of the revolutionary Move lie (Country- and Press agitation,
Signature collection for Red Aid, antiwar week, working and sporting events
like more). It must again be emphasized that the organizational
Independence of the RFB must be ensured. During extended scheduled
Cooperation of Communist comrades in RFB within a fraction below
Control of the whole party must political and organizational gaffes of RFB
be an impossibility. At this scheduled work of the party in the RFB has
so far been lacking. It is now up for lost time, the development of the RFB is still
far from being reached at its peak, it is still rather in ascending
Line. The closer the danger of a new war, the naughty monarchist reaction
her head rises, the more cowardly the Reichsbanner leadership against these dangers to
Cock feeding, the more are all honest proletarian class-conscious next to the
KPD in RFB the only and the most appropriate organization to combat reaction and
the threat of war behold. Especially in the present situation, where, by the Guarantee Pact
Germany's entry into the League of Nations requires, the danger of war is exacerbated and
Germany, the staging ground against the Soviet Union may be, it is the task of
KPD, together with the RFB this Hindenburg-front that the plans of the imperialist
wants to realize robbers oppose the red lively class front.
The ideological and organizational capital that the party into the Red
Front fighters moving into it, it receives with compounded interest back through the
Growth of the revolutionary movement, by the victorious advance of the Red Front.

"The international",
July 12, 1925, special issue for Nazi Party.
X. CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Berlin, 12 until July 17, 1925

Opening Address

July 12, 1925

Party members and party comrades! The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party Germany is hereby opened. Today's meeting has so far a historical Important because is held here in the same building, in this Congress, before 6½ Years, the first leader and the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat also met and the roots laid to the root, which has grown into a tree. When in December 1918 under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the ballroom this Building the revolutionary workers of Germany met to the struggle of the German Working class and all political tasks to comment, because nobody thought that from this small group, a large, powerful section of a world party should be. Still time knew not that those intellectual and theoretical leaders in the struggle for the World proletariat among many thousands so soon on the battlefield of freedom would fall.
From 1918 to 1925 we have a chain of great historical events for recorded the world proletariat. As in 1920, also in Berlin, the revolutionary
Part of the USPD merged with the Spartacus League and as here to the different political issues has been taken, as you already saw that this party to a tree had grown, in the development of the movement of the world proletariat a would play great revolutionary role. Today the composition demonstrates the Congress, the fact that out of all parts of Germany the revolutionary workers represented the large farms that we in our party, the class-conscious workers want to take the position of the most important present and serious Future problems.

The entire Congress shall meet in a situation where already by the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party in January and May, as well as the decisions by the was documented extended executive that the pacifist era on a world scale has been completed and that with the growth of imperialism the warlike conflicts exacerbate. We see that with the tremendous development of the idea of the Comintern Communism throughout the world pushes ahead. Two years ago, our leaders Lenin, who was wrested from the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat by the death, announced that the focus of the revolution could be transferred to East Asia, and he was thinking of those mighty revolutionary development of the colonial peoples in China, Morocco and India.

The party also recalls the fact that we have a year of so-called have stabilization of Germany behind us. We see that the German working class, the German working people in the Dawes Colony not only of the German bourgeoisie is enslaved, but also by the provisions of the London Agreement the international bourgeoisie have been established.

We see that in recent weeks and months, the first effects of the Expert's report showed in Germany, we see that after the wave of inflation in 1923 a monetary crisis was a credit crisis emerged and today a really serious production crisis in front of us, which is in the not enough outlets shows for the German economy. We see that the German working class to recognize begins that the Dawes Agreement not only the enslavement of the German Workers, officials, small farmers and the middle class means but that the Impact their political significance for the whole of the proletarian masses have world. I just want to point out that the English trade unions and velvet especially the view are that the expert opinion too for a means aggravation of the economic situation. The English working class will understand that also its location just intensified as the German workers that they too is just suppressed.

In recent years, we have lost thousands on the battlefield of freedom. I believe that it is the most important task of the Party Congress, these thousands, both of Leader of the revolutionary proletariat as well as the great mass of butchered Proletarians who fell on the battlefield of freedom to commemorate. Further, we have to also remember our fighters who today and in the dungeons languish strongholds of the bourgeoisie and from there the greeting to the Congress send: that they and their internal political belief and the idea of communism hold up in the dungeons and defend.

I think I can say that the Congress the many thousands of our brethren, languishing in prisons, sends revolutionary greetings struggle, and I hope
that the German working class will have the strength, not only for the implementation
an amnesty to fight, but to open even fight those fortresses, thus
our fighters welcome freedom.
I have seen that the delegates have risen to honor all the fighters, and
speak you hereby of the thanks.

We see that the both the apparent stabilization on a world scale, with the growth
Imperialism, tighten at the same time the internal contradictions. We know it is
inevitable that armed conflicts arise, the jet flames coming
Conflagrations already seen. It is confirmed today what Lenin in his speeches and
Scriptures foretold that especially in the current era with the outbreak of war
is highly expected. The proletariat is given the opportunity, the capitalist state
smash and put in its place the proletarian dictatorship.
Today we see the first serious political conflicts in the fighting in China
and Morocco show. How Leninism not only in the so-called cultured peoples
has influence gained, it is the struggle of a 400-million people, as the
Chinese, a new revolutionary character.
The fact that today millions of fight that the Chinese and the other
Colonial peoples are no longer of the imperialism of the capitalist countries
want to suppress, shows more than ever the need for the Alliance of
Workers and peasants around the world.
The same we see in Morocco, where the Riffs with military measures
Attainment of freedom against the Spanish and French imperialism proceed. Of the
Fight the Riffs costs French imperialism immense funds, difficult
the financial position of France again, meaning the flare of revolutionary
Movement in France. The French Communists ask the French
Militarism against the methods of struggle, as it has taught Comrade Lenin.
I recall that the comrades of the French Communist Party, both in the
Parliaments as at various conferences and meetings recently, the Torch
International have raised as Karl Liebknecht first time on 2 December 1914 and
has then done on May 1, 1916, the revolutionary youth in the streets of Berlin. If in
the French Parliament and in the last Congress in Paris, where about 2200 delegates
met from the establishments, representing 1200000 workers, against the great danger of war and
against the capitalist offensive in France Front was taken, so is this
Mass Congress again a sign of revolutionary power that the party in the
Workers is. I believe that at the same time, the German working class and the
German Party, the tasks need to be aware that these imperialist in
Conflicts the German working class recognizes its importance it for the future
has global political revolutionary development. We see that currently the
Negotiations on the guarantee pact on the security deal on entry
Germany in the League of Nations in the bourgeoisie some disagreements
exist. We also recall that at the same time try the German bourgeoisie -
evertheless they the masses deceived by their national demagogy -, by a
so-called tail imperialism the warlike intentions of world imperialism
to join. If Germany enters the League of Nations and the Guarantee Pact
is assumed, this means that Germany should be a staging area for the 
Case that the imperialists of the world militarly attack the Soviet Union. However, the 
Today's era is quite different from that in 1914. We know that one-sixth of the 
World, the Soviet Union, is in the hands of workers and peasants. That the Soviet Union 
There, at the same time means the aggravation of internal contradictions of imperialism. In 
China, Morocco and other areas, the influence of the workers of the Soviet Union 
great importance, and British imperialism tried vigorously, firstly economic 
to take measures to block the Soviet Union, and secondly,
military strategic plans to draw up the fight against the only country 
prepare proletarian dictatorship. The German working class is really in this 
serious movement slowly added over, at international airports unity campaign 
to support trade union movement, which is also a serious revolutionary weapon 
with the world proletariat affiliated strongest working class against the aspirations and 
means measures of the entire world imperialism. We believe that also the German 
Notify Party in conjunction with the clear drawing of imperialism everywhere it 
must that the international bourgeoisie tried to destroy the idea of communism. 
undertake the measures against the proletariat in the various countries of the world 
the German working class and the Communist Party, on the largest 
use attention. We see in the Rhineland we see in Poland, India and 
Elsewhere these reactionary measures. Especially in Bulgaria are proletarians 
dejected and peasants massacred. about einhunert death sentences have already 
enforced against the Bulgarian workers and peasants against the bloody Zankoff-
Regiment rebel. In Germany, shows under the leadership of Luther 
Stresemann government that the judiciary is trying by all means, the judgments of the 
State Court and the judgments that like for example due to the October struggles 
were to apply only to the Communists sharply. If we judicial terror 
our best brothers robbed and brings in the prisons and penitentiaries, it is because 
one fears these brave fighters. We are a few days ago succeeded in our comrades 
Heckert and Pfeiffer elicit from custody, I will, on behalf of the 
Congress these two comrades who are here to welcome joyfully. And if we now 
collect signatures for the amnesty, so in the knowledge that our imprisoned 
Heroes particularly the October fighters in Hamburg and Saxony in 1923 - in the 
Fights have really applied the serious revolutionary force, which we 
Organizing the revolution require. 
Further, we have to at the party to the foreign and domestic situation position 
to take. We believe that this Congress in the line of development of the German 
Working class will help to ensure that it represents progress for the internal 
revolutionary strengthen the German working class and the slow progress of the 
class-conscious workers against the still greater part of reformism. We 
have to discuss various domestic problems of serious nature. Serious internal 
Consideration, theoretical clarity is necessary to analyze the perspective right 
and from it to find the practical implications of the tactics. We believe that this 
Congress at the same time not only a revolutionary advance for the German proletariat, 
but will also be for the world proletariat. If the Russian Communist Party 
of 1903 is continuously marching on the blood-stream of tsarism and after
first lost Russian Revolution of 1905 until 1917 over defeat and Victory forward strode away, so I think we are in the development in Germany - although currently this is not such a serious combat situation in the foreground stands - undeterred the same path. We need to address more virtue, next generation that it is brought up in communist sense and in their ranks more courage, bravery and faith in the victory of the proletarian revolution shows. And when we discuss any other matters still that in the present and future practical are challenges ahead of us, I am confident that this congress with a Party will be the one in the line of revolutionizing the masses and organizing Revolution will have an international significance. We see that the bourgeoisie a Capitalist offensive prepared. The general course of the bourgeoisie - despite all Differences - a reactionary, but the impact of the Dawes reports still show up not to the extent as it will bring in the coming years with him. Despite this, the German Communist Party is now of the opinion that, if even today a large proportion of workers in the ranks of reformism is, we march forward. Because we believe and know that the future in the Developing these masses become detached from the flags of reformism and red to the Flags of the class struggle will rush. The congress under the slogan "backwards never, ever forward "to flesh out the tasks in the various are economic and political battles necessary. In this sense, I want to welcome the end those delegates who are different from the Parties around the world are present here: the representatives of the French, English, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Italian and other parties with an at the same time might be interested in the meeting of the German Congress and will help to ensure that to that bond of solidarity that the sections of the III. International connects, and more more consolidates. Today is the III. International a world party, today the idea of marching Communism throughout the world. In this sense, this Congress should help the idea of Bolshevism more and more to delve into the German working class, and the decisions which will be taken here, to us in the development stage of the revolution his motto for the theory and practice of Bolshevism, in the fighting that the German working class are still outstanding. In this sense, I welcome the present Delegates and I hope that this Congress of under the revolutionary banner Class struggle serious and promising work is done, that the measures that we in have carried out the next time, carried by Bolshevik spirit. We will march forward and in the course of the various struggles and skip combat situations to knock down capitalism and the proletarian establish dictatorship.
Comrades

The focus of the Congress is not just the correct assessment of national and international situation, from which the tactical tasks of the Party for Present and future yield, but the most serious problem, which the Party to has treated, in the first place is the question: How and on what basis and by what in Eligible organizations we win the masses for the proletarian revolution? In connection with this very serious problem at the same time is the question of how we will remain as a mass party Communist Party and against the SPD and the entire working class in the future broaden our base. The union is the question important political issue that belongs within the scope of the entire Party work. Especially in today's development between two waves of the revolution, we must the more of the character of a mass party and a revolutionary to the end, proletarian party clearly are. The longer the process of organizing the revolution is, depending difficult, the methods of struggle make, the more need in the masses the sense of power and faith to be awakened to the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. For this purpose it is necessary first of all, union members by the leadership of the struggle it to the nearest service tasks to the tasks of the political

Fight to win for the revolution. Therefore, part of the Bolshevisation Communist party the theoretical and practical understanding that the Union work must be at the center of the political work of the whole party. In the current era, the international trade union movement has a very different Importance than even at the outbreak of World War II. The trade union movement has, regarded internationally, made numerically immense progress after the war. one expects a membership of about 16 million in the Amsterdam Trade Union International; the Red International of Labour Unions affiliated Associations have 7 million members, plus get 3 million members Minority and propaganda commissions with the Profintern 26 are closely linked. Within the world is expected with a figure of over 45 million organized Workers. What then is the role of trade unions in the struggle of the working class both in Germany and in the world? In the past, until 1900, were German trade unions organizations of struggle against the bourgeoisie. Although we see earlier trends that the union bureaucracy tries on the issue of Mass strikes, the May Day celebrations, etc. take a stand, of the class struggle differs. During the war, the price of the trade union bureaucracy changed, the unions were to exploited imperialist purposes and were auxiliary forces of the capitalist state. I need only recall the burgfriedenspolitik, to the Subsidiary Diligence Act, to the Ban on strikes, which strikes are conducted with the approval of the General Command could. We have then seen in the course of development during the war that really serious imperialist approaches on the part of the leadership of the trade union bureaucracy emerged. I remember Paul Müller, the former editor of the "Courier", the under

26Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern 1921 to the end of 1937..) - The RGI united the revolutionary Unions of different countries. She struggled constantly with the ITUC joint actions carry out and fought consistently for the class interests of the proletariat and for peace. The RGI sat tirelessly for the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement on a world scale.
alia resigned in an article: "The German flag flies over Antwerp hopefully forever. "In the revolution and in the subsequent major political Battles were the unions by the reformist leadership of the largest Drag any revolutionary development. Not only in Germany but throughout we see the capitalist countries a similar trend. As in Initial stage of union between Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx serious showed differences in the question of the existence of the need for trade unions, as was also in the subsequent development, though only a short time, the struggle of General Commission of the trade unions with the SPD in the question of political Mass strikes out. Already on the Trade Union Congress in Cologne in 1905 was the Resolution for the political mass strike rejected, in that time, when the Social Democrats even temporarily attempted the German working class to fight against the bourgeoisie mobilize. Already at the congress of the SPD in Mannheim in 1906 appeared in this question, the reformist face of the SPD and the influence of the trade union bureaucracy in the Social Democratic Party. While the Party as the highest form of class organization only the conscious fighters includes, the unions are the first primitive form of the fundamental Abeiterorganisation. First, understand the workers that they share their professional interests must represent organized with their colleagues; win this primitive knowledge it in and out of the production process itself. Moreover, the political knowledge, they come only by the party. Only by the party they understand that a Class organization to represent their class interests is necessary. The rise of the labor movement is always with the growth of trade unions connected, every setback is reflected in the decrease in the number of organized. After the great suffering and sacrifices of the World War we see a general radicalization of Working class, sponsored by the Russian revolution and the hopes that the Revolution in Central Europe raised, and through the concessions, the bourgeoisie made to calm the masses. I recall that the German proletarians have won the eight-hour day within 24 hours in the revolution of 1918 that the works council law, albeit with all capitalist rules, against the Bourgeoisie was fought and the substantial progress in various fields Achievements of the revolution were recorded. The mass movement of international unions

After the war, we see in various capitalist countries a large influx to the unions. I would like this quote a few figures: In England we had 1913 3600000, 1920 7200000, and now have just under 5 million Union members. In France, we had 1913 400000, 1920 2700000 and have currently, where the trade union movement is fragmented, which in CGTU 400000 and in CGT 27 300000 members. In America we had before the war 2600000, 1920 4200000

27The CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail - General Confederation) was founded in 1895 on the Congress of Limoges founded. She stood for a long time under the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists and Reformists. In their ranks developed during the first imperialist world war one revolutionary opposition, the growing after the Great October Socialist Revolution influence among the Masses won. Within the trade unions formed the Committee of the revolutionary trade unionists. Some trade associations, who were under the influence of the revolutionary trade unionists, were at the instigation excluded the reactionary trade union leaders from the CGT and founded in June 1922, the CGTU (Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire) that for the attainment of the objectives of the Red Trade Union International fought.
and currently have 2400000 members. In Germany there were 1913 3100000, 1920 8800000, and today is expected to not quite 5 million in ADGB organized Members. The Amsterdam Trade Union International, in 1913 about 12 million had members counted in 1920 28 million and currently has 16 million members.

Reformist degeneration

The organizational growth of trade unions in no way corresponds a growth of political influence, protecting and expanding the achievements of the revolution. We must submit ourselves the question: How could such a development of Unionism arise? With the influx of the masses to the unions, with their organizational and financial strengthening, was also the tendency to reformist degeneration, to form a vast, well-off, on the quiet Inventory of capitalism interested trade union bureaucracy. The bourgeoisie used this bureaucracy for corruption of a part of the workers, the labor aristocracy in order to divide the working class and sections of it on Capitalism and interest on the imperialist policy. This tendency was already before the war very much. The Gompers unions America tried before the war together with the bourgeoisie to crush the economic struggles. The English trade unions were entirely in the wake of imperialism. In Germany was the trade union bureaucracy, the support of the rights in the social democracy. With this reformist degeneration also showed an opposite trend, a conscious Left Opposition within the modern labor movement. This tendency has been to the stronger, the more the reformist degeneration of the bankruptcy of the trade union movement disclosed, the larger the class antagonisms were, the more the workers the approach great fights felt.

Union opposition to reformism

After the war appeared in the ranks of the trade union bureaucracy they left Tendency very strong, I remember Fimmen etc. So, for example, D'Aragona in Italy ready to enter the Red Trade Union International. played in Germany Dissmann a radical opposition, and the links pivoting of English Unions was a consequence of the crisis of British imperialism. These

28 This refers to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the association of one part of the Trade union federations of the USA, the and 1881 by Samuel Gompers, a bitter enemy of socialism the Soviet Union, was founded. Gompers was president until his death in the AFL and influenced decisively their policy. The leaders of the Federation shall issue an agency of American imperialism in the trade union movement of the United States constitute and operate a splitting activities within the international Labor movement.

29 Eduard Fimmen - Dutch union official; was from August 1919 to November 1923 Secretary the Amsterdam Trade Union International and then Secretary General of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF). Within the ITF, he represented especially in the years of the revolutionary Postwar crisis the idea of a united front with the Soviet trade unions and other
Associations of RGI with the aim to fend off the threat of attacks by the imperialists against the Soviet Union and to lead the fight against war, fascism and reaction.

D'Aragona - one of the leaders of the reformist wing of the Italian Socialist Party and the Unions. With the growth of the revolutionary movement, he entered words for a uniform Unionism one, but the mid-twenties went to the extreme right wing and over actively supported Mussolini.

Dissmann - 1919-1926 Chairman of the German Metal Workers' Union. Belonged to 1922 the USPD and then to the SPD. His "left" maneuvers were intended by the workers revolutionary struggle to hold.

Leftward movement promises permanent and to be deeper, it has an international assumed character, because the international development of imperialism, the Workers of all countries threatened. The escalation of the imperialist antagonisms wars are inevitable.

International unit movement

The reactionary course and the offensive of world capitalism produce in the ranks of Workers new resistances. this opposition phenomena are for Revolutionary unionism have a great importance. On the III. Congress the Red Trade Union International, the to the decisions of the Fifth World Congress Communist International took place, were on the issue of international Unit a number of serious steps taken that the struggle for the unity revolutionary unionism forward brought. The struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement came around the sabotage and resistance the reformist bureaucracy.

I want to try the following are some important phenomena on an international scale to identify and show in what form since III. RGI-Congress and the V. made the unity motion progress Congress of the Communist International Has.

In France

In August and September of last year, the French associations went Printers, teachers, hairdressers, textile workers, miners, leather workers and others that the belong reformist as the unitary confederation, to about the issue of Unification of the two confederations and international unit movement roll up. It took place central bargaining, but by dodging Reformists were fruitless. On 30 January this year repeated the revolutionary Unions its proposal and suggested the reformists, in September a deter Association Congress and set up a mixed commission, the Preparations should meet on the conference and the unification of the Confederations. At the February 12 rejected the reformists from and declared that they in on their Congress September would respond to such questions. Nevertheless, various people said reformist organizations such as the railwaymen of Orleans and Tarbes, the Transport Workers Syndicate of the Paris circle, sailors from Dunkirk, the National postal, telegraphic and telephone employees and others for the union and stood on the position that you have to promote the unity movement. The
French Communist party took themselves of the international Trade Union Unity movement and mobilized everything in September, when the two Congresses - one day in Paris - take place, arriving at an agreement. It is a part of the reformist organizations that already have a strong tendency to union, most likely join the revolutionary organizations. In the then remainder is even then a split inevitable. On 4 July in Paris Works Congress instead, which was fed by more than 2200 delegates, 1200000 Workers represented, and the position adopted on various political issues, such as the Morocco crisis and the question of unity. The Belgian Socialist Union Secretary Liebert, of an interesting brochure about the lying reports about the Soviet Union written Has, called there the Association of Union movement following the Anglo-Russian Committee Unit

Unit movement is determined to make progress, because in conjunction with financial and Morocco crisis developing serious in France revolutionary Approaches shows. We see everywhere a strong dissatisfaction in the reformist Associations because this attempt led by Jouhaux, a new burgfriedenspolitik to do with the French bourgeoisie; defends already half of the organizations against this nationalist imperialistic tendencies. We can for the future the movement in France predict that expected in September a part of reformist organizations with the revolutionary will come to an agreement.

**In England**

The most significant achievements of the unit moving show primarily in England. In England are organized around 5 million, in about 1500 organizations and 200 Federations are summarized. The reasons for their success are, firstly in serious economic crisis of England and secondly, in the imperialist foray England to seek against the Soviet Union. There is a strong coal crisis, and in many other Industries is also unemployment on the rise. Currently it has about 1½ million unemployed. Since November 1, 1924 are only 361 mines with 72000 Employees have been closed. With this economic crisis grows Revolutionizing the working classes of England, particularly in Scotland. If it Chamberlain has not succeeded now expel Soviet diplomats and the cancel diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, so only because of the energetic Resistance to the British labor movement opposed him. With the onset of Employers' offensive that threatens to assume a brutal character, one wants at the Miners, at the shipbuilders and the railway workers a wage reduction of 10 perform up to 20 percent. This movement will continue to make progress. At 4. June this year was held in London a conference held at which more than 100 union leaders were present, the 2½ million mining, metal, transport workers and railaymen represented, and took the decision to set up a so-called quad Association. The means that the unions want to try the upcoming fights centrally summarize. Whether there is a possibility that this association even at the four
clear that in such circumstances the movement for the international unity of
Unions more and more foot summarizes.
Among the well-known events of the conference in Hull
33 The travel of the English Trade union delegation to the Congress of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, their
Reporting in England I recommend the delegates of the party congress, the brochure
Comrade Heckert on the unity of the international trade union movement and the
particularly verify report of the British trade union delegation and to read because in

32 The Anglo-Soviet or Anglo-Russian unity committee (United consultative committee of
Unionism Britain and the USSR) was at the initiative of the Central
Unions of the Soviet Union to the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference, which from April 6 to 8
1925 in London convened formed. The committee included representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions of
Soviet Union and the General Council of the Congress of the English trade unions. Because of the treacherous
Policy of the reactionary leaders of the English trade unions heard the committee in the fall of 1927 on to
exist.
33 At the 56th Annual Congress of the English trade unions in Hull (1 to 6 September 1924) forced the
revolutionary opposition, stood at the head of Harry Pollitt and Palme Dutt, the General Council of the Trade-
Unions to speak out formally at least for the international trade union unity. The Congress brought
the British and the Soviet trade unions closer together and resulted in the formation of the English-
Soviet unit committees.

The report about the development of the international trade union movement
is included.
In a minority conference, which was held in London on 25 January this year - on the
567 delegates representing about 600,000 workers and on the one to the Soviet
Proposals adopted position -, you proceeded to be resolved: 1. a program for
to call for union activities and 2. the candidate proposed by the Soviet
accepting unionists. Recently, significant progress in the question
the compound recorded, so that today the Soviet trade unions in a much
closer relationship with the British trade unions are when there was the beginning of the year
the case was. Meanwhile, a delegation of women from the ranks of sewing workers
and the textile workers went to the Soviet Union and has been among women in
England report refunded. If currently a new delegation of MPs from the
Labour Party travels to the Soviet Union, as is also the delegation after their return
argued in the circles of the Labour Party, of which in the line of delegation
English unionism is. In England, however, have strong aspirations of
Reformists available that try this slow Revolutionierungsprozeß to
inhibit. If individual union leaders who as a minister in the MacDonald government
occurred, due to the statutory provisions of the Trade Unions in England from the
had to resign leadership of the trade union movement - as, inter alia, the Secretary
Railwaymen and also the chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International,
Mr Thomas - so now, after the MacDonald government is eliminated already
led efforts in the ways these leaders again in the General English
Unions hineinzuwählen. The General Council, which against a few votes a request
has assumed a world congress of representatives of Amsterdam and the RGI
convene, tried every means, by its pressure on the Amsterdam the
perform. This Decision, which is unconditional to Congress, is of the
reformist trade union bureaucracy in the Amsterdam Trade Union International
It showed themselves in the Movement of England, especially in the Movement of England, different tendencies, but also sharper contrasts between the Labour Party on the one hand and the trade unions and the General Council on the other. In England, where the question of the unity of the trade union movement really a serious Motion triggers that firm foothold in various unions and businesses, in Cooperatives has so acted, we see the real serious internal political Belief in the masses, that it is necessary to the capitalist offensive and the Aspirations of British imperialism, a revolutionary united front of the Working class to face. If Thomas is gone over with MacDonald to recommend that one should try to use the German workers an English-German to form alliance, so he does it, therefore, a new block to the Anglo-Russian to form alliance. We see that the bourgeoisie in England to these lackeys already reacted and, as in Germany, in solidarity with MacDonald, Thomas and reformist trade union bureaucracy. It has a non-binding negotiation between some leaders of the Labour Party and the General Council of Trade Unions held. at this occasion was discussed whether one not beyond the scope of plowed up now should proceed negotiations with the Soviet trade unions addition to try also with the German trade union movement and its leadership any negotiations to lead in the way. On this occasion, members the General Council declared: We will go to the German working class later. It show also opposites in the question of the struggle to eliminate unemployment. The British trade unions to go on without them, the Labour Party with support, host great unemployed demonstrations that countermeasures against the Conservative Baldwin-government, which tries to expenditure on reduce unemployment relief. The demand of the trade unions, on a to open credit basis to trade with the Soviet Union and to increase the to develop production, is also not supported by the Labour Party. also there is in the formation of the alliance various tendencies. On the issue of centralization of economic struggles by the trade unions, the Labour Party by all means try these efforts of the opposition union leadership against their enforce reformist attitude.

In assessing the Dawes report there are strong differences of opinion. Of the Scottish Trade Union Congress, which represents more than 1 million workers, has a resolution adopted against the Dawes report because the British workers felt very strongly start that the Dawes report they are also a worsening of living conditions means. The closure of several mines, the closure of other plants that growing unemployment, etc. are the first economic and political upheavals, which show the effects of the Dawes report.

Another difference is in the position to nationalize mines. The Labour Party's position is similar to our Social Democrats in the years 1918 and 1919, that is to go to find a compensation form to on this way make the socialization, while the executive branch of the miners on the point is that one should carry out the nationalization confiscatory. Other Unions have on this resolution, the Executive of the miners this also taken issue and taken similar decisions. There is also
Disagreements in the position of the General Council for the Labour Party, in the Assessment of the fight in Morocco and China. If MacDonald goes to his apply full force to combat this oppositional flow another compound initiate, it is because the Labour Party sees that it to crumble in their ranks begins and that the Anglo-Russian bloc is gaining importance. Clearly it must be noted that the Leader of the II. International and related reformists of the Amsterdam Trade Union International try by all means against the revolutionary opposition the unions and the relatives the Communist Party of England to advance. Currently the strength of the revolutionary movement is still rising. But we must Pronounce here that it is not impossible, if the balance of power in General should change when the former Minister accede to the General Council, such as Thomas that then threaten after all danger of the reformists. But the forthcoming really serious economic struggles in England, the bring British workers to apply all their energies to this process of promote international unity movement in the strongest terms. Interestingly, it is in England, that the Communist Party with only 5000 members those vastly go-ahead motion passes. These 5,000 members try with all Strength to support this movement everywhere in England, and so to be expected is that the Course of development through the process of internal revolutionizing the unions the same time the British Communist Party in political and numerical will gain importance.

\textit{In Holland}

I will now try some characteristic phenomena from other capitalist countries of the world to mark. In Holland, where the seat of Amsterdam Trade Union International, we see serious differences between the leaders of Amsterdam unions Oudegeest and Steenhus one hand and Fimmen other. In Amsterdam, the oppositional movement within the trade unions has already walk taken. An indicator for the fact that also in Holland currently moving marching forward is that, for example, the board of NAS 34 tried Fimmen ask to convene a conference to the left free in the to strengthen unions.

\textit{In Belgium}

Here we see since April due to the struggles of the miners complete Conversion. The reformist trade union center in Belgium demanded, among other things of the Brussels central office of the Metalworkers' Federation the immediate expulsion of Communists. The General Assembly of the Brussels metalworkers has one vote against rejected the proposal, and it is the union headquarters in Belgium until now not able to apply any organizational measures against the communists exclude and Communists. In early June, according to various economic struggles, has from the Metalworkers' Federation, a committee of twelve officials without
Communists formed that tries within the Belgian labor movement initiate efforts of the unit trade union movement and to promote, and to the sharpest against the exclusion of Communists protested. Recently, in the of founded opposition left trade union newspaper "The Unit" a call published against the anti-Soviet block and the Anglo-Russian Committee.

In Italy

The most interesting phenomenon in the field of trade unionism is Italy. There we see that since the factory occupation in 1920 with increasing force of fascism same time, the unions were weakened and that first, especially in the Months Mussolini to passed to suppress unions. In place of former trade unions joined the fascist, and they tried in various Situations the struggles of the working class not only smooth dodge, but also to inhibit. I want to give some examples of trade union work from Italy. In April, a Conference of Textile Workers held at the hundred delegates from all districts participated and where the various polls showed that the rising influence the Communists made itself felt. For the communist resolutions were over 30 issued percent of the vote, for the resolution of the maximalists 23 percent and remaining 46 percent for the reformists. At last year's conference, there were only 11 Percent for the Communists. We see in one year a tripling of the vote. The same signs show up in other organizations, for example in the Board election of the Chemical Workers' Association, in which the reformists 2000 votes received, the maximalists 800 votes and the Communists 548 votes. At the last Choice we did not have a hundred voices. With the rise of the communist Influence in the various trade unions at the same time we see the decline of Fascist unions. Then has a tremendous campaign against the Communists used; standards with which its own lists in the councils election the Communists expelled from the unions. In Italy, where the reformists

34NAS (National Workers Secretariat) a Dutch trade union organization in 1893 was founded and in which prevailed the anarcho-syndicalist direction. The NAS was for a short time (1927) at the RGI.
35Maximalists - the representative of centrism in the Italian Socialist Party. The maximalists under the Led by Lazzari and Serrati made during the First World War and then the majority in the Socialist Party.

and the maximalists are determined, the most energetic measures against the to undertake communists who split will be inevitable in the near future.

In the Nordic countries

In Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, we see that the not very strong party of Communists but has a great influence on the trade union movement. Until recently it was not possible to establish well-working groups. Today there are in 18 associations fractions, and the recent economic struggles in Denmark have already
shown that the union bureaucracy today is trying by all means, as with us in the years 1922 and 1923 to make the split in the trade unions. In Finland we see despite the White Terror a great influence of illegal working Communists in the Finnish trade unions. From the Board of total Unions, which counts 20 members, only 4 sympathize with the reformists, 16 with us and take the position of a united front on an international scale. In Norway there is a legal Communist Party, but three groupings within the trade union movement, which weaken the unit work tremendously.

In Romania and Yugoslavia

Here we see that in spite of the suppression of the revolutionary trade union work more Making progress. When in Romania, the revolutionary trade unions today 30000 Members include and the reformists 20000, so this is a sign that - although the Communist Party is forbidden - the trade union movement has enormous significance.

In Hungary

There must be emphasized that the Social Democrats to passed over, with the government a to contract, according to the future in the agricultural workers not unionized to are organized so that the Social Democrats openly as accomplices of reactionary Horthy government occur.

In Bulgaria

The entire trade union movement is completely dissolved, and it is in the next Months be very difficult, seriously at the bloody Zankoff Regiment in that country to gain a foothold.

The union development in various other countries in Europe is not as significantly. Also worth mentioning is from Asia that in China the negotiations so far are advanced that the 450,000 organized members of the unions proceed to are to join the Red Trade Union International. Even in Japan shows the Movement advances that pose a radicalization in the early stages.

In the Soviet Union

A few remarks yet about the Soviet trade unions. are in the Soviet Union currently 6 million organized members in the unions, perhaps there are today already more than 6 million. The trade union movement of the Soviet Union has of course a very different picture than the trade union movement in any other border in the world. While revolutionary unionism in the capitalist countries the target has, unions convert back into class struggle instruments capitalism to destroy the Soviet trade unions have the task of responsible employees to make the building of communism. The Soviet trade unions,
have a decisive influence on the production and the steering of the state, determine the standard of living of the Soviet working class. The Soviet working class is not an instrument of the state, as claimed by the reformists falsely, but the proletarian state is an instrument of the working class. Incidentally, to dissipate Lying reports, the common are, the first German union Workers delegation which has now arrived in Leningrad, after their return in the Reporting give the German workers clarification on the progress in the Soviet Union has been made.

I want in the discussion of international affairs of the trade union movement now to speak briefly about the councils movement on an international scale.

The councils movement

The councils movement that has indeed taken root only in a part of Europe, is in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia founded by law, whereas in France only starting to get practical political significance. begins also in Italy this movement to take stronger roots. I have noted that despite in Italy, the actions of Mussolini, the councils movement that so great in 1920 had meaning, begins to rise again, and that the first revolutionary approaches Show the councils movement.

The most important seed the development of works of movement on an international scale is France, because in France the Revolutionierungsprozeß the unions Works movement more and more gaining ground. We recognize the different Decisions of the conferences, that the issues with the eight-hour day, Workers wages, the strike strategy and recently on July 4 in Paris by the Moroccan crisis, etc. has therefore engaged in really serious political problems, so that the Works of movement in the international unit movement serious for the future will have meaning.

International characteristic

There can be international four characteristics in the trade union movement notice: 1. We see a growing revolutionizing the unions in the largest imperialist states of Europe (England and France). 2. With the better Living the Soviet working class and the increasing geopolitical importance the Soviet trade unions grows the desire for the international unity of Trade union movement throughout the world. 3. Even in countries of the white terror, as in Finland, Poland, Hungary and the Balkans, where the communist parties cruel are suppressed, the unions are almost the only area on the Communists can achieve great success. The last few months have shown that the Communists in the trade unions publish those ideas they elsewhere in the Public can not discuss because the communist parties are banned. 4 Despite the revolutionary experiences in the German proletariat civil wars Raised, Germany has been almost the only large country in which the Links pivoting of the trade union movement not yet reached the breakthrough in Contrary, the ADGB is still the strongest bulwark of reaction within Amsterdam. To sum this whole situation in a plastic image together: English Imperialists sitting in London, prepare the new war of aggression against the Soviet Union.
Calculate strategically and militarily her strength she reckon with the fleet, with the
War planes and with the imperialist vassal states, and they expect the
counterrevolutionary union bureaucracy of the various capitalist countries.
One must ask: To whom it may be a stronger tool in addition to the English
Warships against the Soviet Union count on the English trade unions or
ADGB in Germany? I think we German Communists should openly on this
bring Congress to express that today under the banner of the leaders of the Guarantee Pact
ADGB are the safest instrument of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. On the
British trade union movement can Chamberlain lost count, because there the
has used Revolutionierungsprozess because there such strong emotions are present that
a pressure on the Labour Party, on the English bourgeoisie and the government
is applied so that this even before serious attack measures against the Soviet Union
cringe. On the ADGB Chamberlain and Luther can still count today because
no strong left wing in the German trade union movement is present, the
mobilized the masses.

International importance of German Trade Unions

This we see the whole world broad meaning of the German trade union question.
Precisely because it is of such international importance and because they all so important for
World, therefore the union question must put at the center of the X. Congress
will. We have to examine what the reasons for the lack of a left-wing
are ADGB after 4 years of war and 7 years of revolutionary struggle - given the
international movement for trade union unity in the face of growing
Importance of Soviet trade unions, in view of the Versailles peace,
Dawes Plan and the impending guarantee pact. The main reason is the school of
opportunist Social Democratic Party, German by the millions of workers
went. Also in the German Communist Party, we see in the
Union question even the pains of Brandlerismus strongly appear, relying
generally indicated, in the not sufficient activity of the communist work in the
Unions express. We must, if we want to understand the question of the relationship
explore and examine the social democrats to the unions. Today, their
Main points in the trade unions, the trade union bureaucracy and the
Stewards of the social democratic union officials in the unions
and establishments of an immense internal political influence on the entire life
Workers exercise Many comrades in our party think that only the
Union bureaucracy the mainstay in the reformist trade union activity
is. In addition, the popular press of the unions also exerts a tremendous
ideological influence on the masses from, for it is one of the most "intellectual"
Weapons that firmly in the union bureaucracy in all political affairs of
Hand has.

Structure of ADGB

We want to determine on the basis of figures, how large the scope of the narrower
Union bureaucracy at all, your number will be largely overestimated, both in
our party as in the circles of the total workforce. Some comrades declare: We
Tens of thousands of employees in unions. A recent statistic is that with
Only technical personnel are about 5,000 employees present in the unions, the
spread over 26,000 paying agents, on a membership of about 5 million, that is,
that 1000 members comes an employee. If we count 5000 employees, of which
remain are employed alone 4500 in 50 major German cities with 2,000 paying agency, still about 24,000 imprest left where no employee is. This 24000 paying agents Germany, where so small stewards of social democracy, where the Union officials from the establishments exclusively and volunteer at the top are there and the apparatus, have in hand, are in my view with the important political support and strength of the SPD within the trade union movement. We have also to examine in connection with this question of how the influence Gewerkschaftsbürokratismus be explained. The mainstay of the trade union movement are undoubtedly the 600,000 unionized workers in SPD ADGB. We see that it is precisely these 600,000 organized Social Democratic workers the entire have union apparatus in hand, and we only gain a true picture of the Structure of trade unions if we and the power influence of the trade union bureaucracy Compare the stewards system. The actual bureaucracy is 0.1 percent. they in percentage terms much weaker than the Communists, without having about 200,000 members, the sympathizers, whose number is difficult to determine, 4 percent of ADGB account. The 0.1 percent union bureaucracy can their apparatus unions just about mastered, because it relates to the 12 percent of Social Democratic workers and Officials in the unions and businesses rely. So mastered 0.1 percent Bureaucrats, based on 12 percent of Social Democratic workers and functionaries who un-uncanny mass of 85 percent non-party, neutral workers ADGB. These 4.2 million Members of the German trade unions - which is the average German worker to whose soul we have to struggle, which is the elite corps of the German industrial proletariat, without which we, the communist vanguard, can not win. Of these 85 percent while not politically fixed proletarian masses have more than half at various Situations with the Communists not only sympathizes but also with them marching. I only recall that in 1923 at least half of these 85 percent was ready to fight with the KPD against the bourgeoisie. Just as the middle class in 1923, the always fluctuates between bourgeoisie and proletariat, already partially ready was to go with us, it is with these nonparty within the Unionism that are safe even easier to win when the Communists it just seriously understand to give practical work in the trade unions, as the is political importance according to need. Part of sympathizers is today even in the unions in different situations at different decisions with us. I want from just to the excellent result of the Berlin metalworkers elections Sunday remember that clearly enough shows the communist influence. There has our little group got almost 50 percent of the vote, only a few hundred votes less than the local government with its social democratic apparatus. The Metalworkers choice in Berlin can be considered the first real breach, we the Date October, struck 1923 characterize. Generally must be noted, that our union work broke is that we with the re-entry into the Unions still at the beginning of the political solution of our union duties constant. Our party is still the majority of the millions of workers in the Unions Germany isolated, and one must with much more energy and attention to the Work go so just brought this 85 percent nonparty under our influence will. The isolation of the party is one of the strongest guarantees for the power of Bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders, in a word, the whole
will increase. In the country itself, the situation should worsen, because the German competition is subject to the global economic market, more and more, because currently Germany is only able to make payments to America, England, Italy, Belgium and France - from the reparations - liquidated by deliveries in kind. And already the first Discussions at the Brussels Chamber of Commerce conference, where by the English banker Stamp has been expressed that various crises of overproduction due to the Impact of the Dawes Plan in America and England are inevitable, show all the increasing difficulties. Conversely, we have to isolate the 85 percent notice nonparty: If we succeed to break through this isolation and to destroy, we succeed, the million average worker in the German trade unions on to bring our side, we manage the inevitable wage and labor disputes the next time - which is already evident in its initial stages - the leadership of the conquer nonparty union masses, then staggers the whole capitalist Stabilization.

For example, if 120,000 construction workers are locked out today in Germany, when the gas already threatening and waterworks employees in Berlin with the strike and the next in the Months with the rise in food prices and the decline of real wages new Struggles are inevitable, it will be necessary that the Communists finally more than ever understand really exert their political influence in the trade unions. This political leadership of individual economic struggles is at the same time also the tendency of the bourgeoisie thwarted and made substantially naught; because everyone smallest, politically led economic strike is already a crack in the stabilization of capitalism. So the union question is the hub of all political Problems. The union question is the basis of our tactics. Through them, the Ratio of party and class decided the ratio of our party to German Working class. We have also noted in this question, that in the moment we win 85 percent of the non-Party people for us, also the ratio of the links in development the masses and the ratio of the links development in the guide is another. Instantly you can not in by the existence of a serious left wing ADGB speak, although some trends are there. For example, if Dissmann in Question of organizing education industry associations in ADGB fights Schumann, so these are not really serious oppositional revolutionary tendencies, which one same could give political attention, such as when the Communists understand, a really serious links development to produce in the masses of union members - For example, in Belgium, where two or three months ago, as there the big fights were, there was no Social Democrat was willing to for the unity of the trade union movement fight. Now the Social Democratic Union Secretary Liebert occurs vigorously for this Towards unity one. If the Communists understand it, their political work in the to strengthen trade unions, so you can expect that we short after all Development, in the economic struggles will befall undoubtedly progress
The work of the KPD

This problem practically to solve requires at least 75 percent of the work force of the Total party, as it is indeed very very sharp, even in letter of the executive. The Delegates of the Congress and the party membership should due to this right Hint that is given there, understand that precisely this work of the work Total party in the political frame.

But we also need to perform this task in all its complexity see. We must not cling only to the recovery of 85 percent non-Party, but we also need to ask: What are the factors of power of the bureaucracy in the Unions? I have already pointed out that the mechanism by Social Democracy the power of the German trade union bureaucracy is tenfold what a huge difference to the English trade union movement. exercise in Germany social democracy in all institutions of the union a strong influence, and conversely are the leaders of the German trade union bureaucracy by a whole network of threads with the tips of the Social Democracy in connection what in England to the extent is not the case. For example, of 130 Reichstag the SPD 46 Union leaders; the board of the Reichstag sitting several outstanding Leader of ADGB, as Grassmann, the second chairman of ADGB; also Schumann, Dissmann and others belong to the Board of Reichstag. Furthermore, the chairman of the Workers' Association, Brey, a member of the Inspection of the SPD. This link between trade union apparatus and Social Democratic Party machine goes down to the district, the local organization and the functionary cadres in the factories. The Control Commission of the SPD is to Example on the next congress of the SPD on the state and the differences within the SPD because of the "left" Setting the Social Democratic leaders in Saxony position to take. Part of the trade union bureaucracy is so there's reformist influence can exercise, and other leaders of the trade union movement within the Social Democratic Party are its other fields in the same measure make reformist influence felt. It follows the doctrine that our union tactics is inextricably linked to our Tactics towards the SPD.

The union question - no departmental question

We can not conquer the 85 percent non-party workers, without at least a portion of the 600000 organized socialist proletarians ADGB for us to win, while the foundation of the 600,000 organized socialist proletarians remains without that we to undermine this foundation, begin to erode, as long as the Recovery of 85 percent nonparty encounter huge, big trouble. That's why we have to try to undermine this SPD apparatus, the Social Democratic detach workers from their leaders, and that is all the more possible, as our
political line promotes the fighting spirit of the proletariat. We must in practical work
with all methods and means the Social Democratic proletarians the Communist
Search party to win. Therefore the union question is not a departmental issue as
earlier unfortunately was the case in the party but a political problem in the broadest sense
of the word.
Our union successes depend primarily on two factors:
From our political work against the SPD, for example, on the issue of
Eight-hour day, of customs duties and taxes, the appreciation, the fight against
monarchist danger and in other really serious political issues.
From the political and organizational strength and activity of our communist factions
all cartels, associations, local committees and imprest ADGB in Germany.
We have in these two important factors at this congress the party again
Frankfurt remember. In Frankfurt we saw a very strong "ultra-left" flow whose
Representatives not yet sufficiently the political importance of union work recognized,
and we tried from the headquarters in Frankfurt with various honest, not yet
sufficiently confident workers from the factories on these issues, the seriousness of the
speak overall situation and make them understand what role the union question
will play in Germany and in the International in the future. The former
Currents have course today its aftermath in the party, so that today
not enough recognition of the political importance of the party is present, as
The importance of this work in the trade unions and companies. And as long as such
"Ultra-left" tendencies are emotionally available yet, they are of course a
Drag on for augmenting activity, they prevent us from these difficult questions as to
to solve, as befits the political value of the work in the factories and trade unions.

False union policy

Add to that the new "ultra-left" Publication of Comrade Scholem, Rosenberg,
Katz that forward to other areas where the party tried in the strategy and tactics
to make advances and perform various maneuvers, in the specification of the
make decisions of the tactics of Frankfurt trouble because they do not understand that
one politically in exposing and fighting the SPD in this situation
other Leninist methods against allied with their trade union bureaucracy
must apply. These two tendencies are essentially symptoms of
Brandlerismus in the party as a whole, and we have these symptoms of
Brandlerismus that in recent years of both "ultra left" as a right
have caused wrong tactics in the union question to consider, and their causes
to fathom.
I will therefore try to the causes of these symptoms in the four stages
of false trade union policy in Germany to characterize:
1. Au the founding congress of the Communist Party (Spartacus League) in December
1918 was Comrade Rosa Luxembourg, who tried in various issues - in question
the relationship with the unions and the participation of the Communists on
to fight against the strong "ultra-left" tendencies without time - Parliament
to enforce. She was therefore unable to prevail because the
Workers from the factories under the influence of revolutionary struggles emotionally were set. They felt emotionally that the proposed acquisition of Communists in parliament without the support point simultaneous actions of the party to organizing the revolution hung in the air. They felt with respect to the Bolshevik basic problems the then existing gap in the party, because the German labor movement had for decades through the swamp of reformism through marches and was not about the serious problems of the proletarian dictatorship and organizing the revolution taught. Therefore, it was understood that these emotional, but false and anti-Bolshevik sentiments back then the majority were at the party. It was decided to withdraw from the trade unions and to set up new unions. That came in the founding of the General Workers Union.

2. It is common ground that the relevant opportunistic tactics in general, and their wrong methods of application of the united front tactic in the trade unions after Unity Congress in the KPD showed its aftermath. Two examples I want indicate how this tactic proved to be false in combat situations: first, in the Rathenau demonstration that often treated in our party and in the executive has been, and secondly, when opportunistic and on the basis of a pure spontaneity constructed application of the United Front in the Union question in particular and in the recovery of the masses in general.

3. This logically had caused the opposite, the opposite extreme: the Formation of new splinter organizations without large masses in the years 1922 and 1923. Furthermore, must be ordered at the party that the resolution, which in the executive January 1924 was agreed, even of the summary of Parallel organizations speaks what is already associated with the then had ratios wrong. We see that in the course of development Schumacher, Weyer, exercised Schmidke and others a certain influence that they of the other face Brandlerismus, politically speaking, showed: Brandler and comrades with their political Right tendencies on the one hand and Schumacher and comrades with "ultra-left" tendencies the other side. This has harmed the party greatly in union activities. At the Frankfurt Congress to such tendencies still showed so strong that a uttered Much of the delegates for the views of Schumacher and tried in the resolution that was adopted there, to bring in such tendencies.

4. Today we have overcome the shoemaking for the most part, but we understand still not unionized in the unions and union politically work, I repeat, to work in trade unions and trade union policy.

_Weaknesses of our union work_

Comrades These four main symptoms of wrong and not concrete Union work - from the founding congress of the Communist Party (Spartacus League) on the Unity Congress continues to Frankfurt and to this day - is the entire party must realize well that today the aftermath of this disease emotionally to 60 percent are present in the party. Today we can with great joy on the X. Pronounce Congress that no differences of principle on this issue there are more that
but the practical results are still missing, the party - the Party cell below in operation would strengthen - to the head of the party headquarters. Because these practical achievements yet missing, we have to take in particular, to those things that show us where and in Precisely how we can make progress in the future.

Besides this absence of fundamental disputes we have from Frankfurt to still showed some favorable progress today: 1. we have in Frankfurt a Resolution in the union question was adopted unanimously, 2. We have in October 1924 Central Committee, each member of the party committed to the union enter, and 3. we can in the strategy and maneuverability of the party today a dare step more, as it was possible nine months ago. Also, the process of liquidation of independent organizations is ending slowly. The Weyer-Schumacher associations have no more right to exist in the eyes of the proletariat: 1. because they played no role in the economic struggles and because especially in politically sharp battles absolutely not appeared on the scene, to the proletariat in the struggle to support; 2. they have over the development of the past two years not can absorb masses and separating them from the free associations. What their liquidation As such, we have recorded tremendous progress in recent months, so are for example, in different districts, the comrades from the outside rail union in the German rail union converted, and existing local groups were dissolved. If bushel at the last congress of the German Railway Association, In early July this year, to about went, not to include the outdoor rail union, so this is a sign of real cleavage intentions of the parties Union bureaucracy are strongly present today. If our unit campaign

36 The III. RGI-Congress (July 1924), the measures to restore the international Trade Union Unity decided also led to the resolution of 1921 created "Union of the hand and Knowledge workers ". Paul Weyer and Wilhelm Schumacher, two of their leaders, sabotaged the decisions and set up their own trade union federations, the Weyer-Schumacher-organizations, but remained insignificant and soon fell apart.

been increasingly carried out among the masses, as Scheffer would have had this incorporated organization.

We also see that the sailor collar attempts to deal with the transport federation of Germany to merge, and that the union bureaucracy on the Verbandstag in Munich is likely to also proceed to the sailor collar not take, as the chairman of the Federal Transport, Schumann, and others do not to wish. We must do everything in the interest of the unity of trade unions to the Delegates who are there on the Verbandstag to cause, advocate that the Sailor collar is received. In other independent organizations, such as the Farm Worker Association, your Textile Workers’ Union, etc., the process of dissolution is further advanced. Greater difficulties are only at the liquidation of Construction Association and the Miners’ Union exists. This process of liquidation will go something more slowly. In Bauabiteverband the ratios different in that it is in Saxony, in the Rhineland, in Solingen more fight and factor in the fighting nevertheless plays a role. The chairman of Baugewerksbundes, Päplow, is the biggest devourer of communists and sabotaged each unit with all severity. We believe that all independent organizations, except the miners union and the
Construction Association will be liquidated in the next quarter.  
The liquidation of the miners' union is still in it and in political importance  
Ruhr has lost in recent months, take some time to complete. In  
Central Germany, the Union is already dissolved, and its members are the  
Miners' Union has been supplied.  
In addition to these general descriptions of the most important phenomena, national and  
International, now I want some things about the candidate tasks of the Party in  
union work cited. The tasks that the party for the future  
has set, it is necessary for you to clearly primarily the fact that the foundation  
our political platform and work in the trade unions, above all the  
Foundation of the organization. We have to consider when discussing the organization,  
which are the pillars and the bases of this organization foundation. I already have  
noted that the SPD and by their free union representatives their  
Works exerts an enormous influence in the trade unions. Until we to  
pass, increase the confidence men system at the premises, until we to  
pass, the operating cells in closest contact with the masses in the factories to  
bring as long as it will not be possible for us, type in the factories and  
unfold unions.  
I want the various organizational matters not mention in detail, but the  
pick out key features, which serve on the organizational platform  
to achieve those successes, facilitate us to carry out the mass movement. Comrade  
Geschke has already tried to point out in his report on the operation of challenge and hold  
explain. We need when discussing the operating cells work in conjunction with the  
free trade union work here at the party really some serious things in the  
lead the whole party, to indicate how lax our own work despite the  
sometimes really serious sympathy at the premises is. The district headquarters  
Ruhr reported for example by June 22 this year at the headquarters the following:  
"In the German Metal Workers' Union, administrative bodies Dortmund Hörde and Witten,  
is the Delegate General System; we have unfortunately recorded,  
that we in this administrative bodies is not a single communist delegates  
have, and therefore is in the candidate selection list of Amsterdam in all three  
elected administrative bodies unanimously. "  
Delegates to the General Assembly are to a large, indeed likely to  
mainly of shop stewards in the factories, and it comes from

above shows that the Communists in all holdings of this important  
Industrial area not a single confidant posts in the DMV  
Metalworkers' Federation. The Red.  
This example can be seen, in that we, anyway  
other occasions significant progress was made, in this election absolutely  
no candidate received because the comrades not the necessary interest for work in  
the unions showed.  
In Siemens Berlin, where approximately 40,000 proletarians are engaged, there exists the  
free trade union shop stewards body of about 220 men, of which only about 12  
to 18 communists, although the Communists at the works councils elections about 40 percent  
of the votes cast combined to be. So if we then 40 percent of all  
received votes and now only 18 Communists were elected, it proves too
clear that our comrades do not understand, in the factories and trade unions to work. In AEG-operation Brunnenstraße, Berlin, with more than 9000 workers are about 70 shop stewards, which are only 5 or 6 Communists, so that in all important matters, which are carried out in this mode only by official bodies, the communists did not come into play. The councils elections previous years the Communists have 45 percent of the votes cast combined and this year 38 percent of all votes. This example also shows in alarming rate, that our comrades not the importance of the work in the Unions and recognize at the premises. From these few examples that would be a hundred times to complete, I just want the identify poor work of our comrades and the absolute necessity that our comrades understand finally need to understand more emphasis on the union activity in the workplace and on the Group work in the to create unions. There are fetzt theoretically the conditions created for first politically to approach this task. This in turn are the created conditions to facilitate the task of our comrades conceivable. Further, we see that even the reactionary bourgeoisie tried at the premises in the form other cells to take organizational measures. For example, the plant fire brigade, the called Pinkertongarde that for a time played especially in the shipyards a role Work police Technical Relief and other characterize the role of the bourgeoisie in the factories. The political mirror image of these groups outside the establishments are the fascist organizations and the Reichsbanner. If we give them the Red Front Fighters Federation facing, we must recognize that it has a meaning in the premises, because he in the economic struggles of the discipline for the deployment of Strikers, is responsible for the order and unity so. There is already a characteristic example before. In the attack on the union headquarters in Remscheid, where the fascists were trying to bring down the red flag, have the Red Front Fighters the fascists expelled. Of course, the American Legion can serve as an addition to the KPD standing, with her sympathizing organization not only worry about the summarize frontline fighters to take against the threat of war position and to take measures to combat the reaction, but the Red Front Fighters must also ground the vanguard in factories and trade unions, to the under the leadership Party really politically to work for the organization of the revolution. As to the question of work in the trade unions, it is not sufficient that each Member of the KPD member of the union is, but this emotional Setting that the comrades are members only of discipline must be overcome, and they must be convinced that it is necessary to form factions of to afford these fractions from political work and thus the circle of expand sympathizers. In each union, in any establishments each
Subdistrict lines, on the other hand to schematic at the purely organizational
Group work. Fractions may not only a numerical summary of the
be members of a line, but they have especially active, very lively
his organs and moving organs, for which there is the working interests affecting
may be matters that are not immediately in the Group, then in the union
or treat among the members and masses depending on the focus
political work provide. Also with respect to the summary of the unions
by Red cartels our group work must be strengthened considerably. We must
try to make not only good fractions, but we also need the political groups to
give political content. And I just want to mention that it is necessary, particularly
in the chemical industry, as well as in the ammunition industry and the railroad,
tackling the formation of revolutionary cells with increased energy and above all there
carry out political work. This work is therefore so very seriously, because they
the same time a preparation for the real struggle in holdings against
means imperialist war. Just as in Russia Comrade Lenin after
Defeat of the first Russian revolution in 1905 understood, in the famous
Essay on the Moscow uprising, the political significance of the communist labor
in the munitions factories, to show the chemical companies and the railways, it is also
the object of the German Communist Party to make those already working today, in
will be the period of imperialist conflicts of truly revolutionary significance.
We have also to consider whether the headquarters, the district lines
Subdistrict lines and the larger local groups do not have to proceed to the
to observe larger organizations and catching. It should be noted, as the
Unions in discussing the economic struggles and at various
policy decisions seek to enforce a base that the generally
Decline of the energy and the strength of the German proletariat must mean.

the works

In conjunction with the trade union work in the factories I will briefly nor the
speak the Works. We see that our comrades not the value of the
Concentration of its own powers over the concentration of forces of capitalism
understand. I want a few examples of the evolution of the concentration of capitalism
lead on the basis of the companies in Germany. We have several major
Corporations. The AEG Group comprises 444 companies. The Group Siemens Rhein-Elbe-
Schuckert-Union comprises 134 enterprises, the Klöckner Group including Haniel and
Mute Group 91 farms and the Friedrich Krupp Aktiengesellschaft including
Rheinstahl Arenberg Group 91 companies, the Thyssen Group 43 farms. All companies
are the different branches of industry and mining in Germany
distributed. I throw at this congress the question on whether the comrades already everywhere
have interested in it, which that are available in these groups works from the
summarize various establishments to the unified approach of the various
to discuss working in the various establishments and a concentrated
creating fight basis against their capitalists. The things that are in operation
play, measures in of the line of the Production control, exam of the
Trade secrets, dividend surpluses and general balance to the foundation our reward strategy are made.
The councils movement has of course currently not the political ground, as it is showed at the stage of revolutionary upsurge in Germany. But even today must in conjunction with the work in the trade unions, the works council are summarized free union, and they have to combat duties in the provide economic, political struggle, because the works in the case of reinforced get struggle another all the more important if it also not a substitute for real first foundations of the revolution. There used to be party views, that councils could replace the political workers' councils. But the revolutionary practice has revealed that the works not the revolutionary factors in the process of can be immediate revolution, but that the revolutionary struggle on elevated Stage new political workers' councils arise as a base of the party among the masses to guide the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

Other fields

I want to pick out a few things in the tasks of the party now that the Play connection with the future tasks that we face as a party involved will. yet come to the almost 5 million organized workers in the ADGB Members of depreciation Federal with well-350000 and the ADB [General German Civil Service Federation. The Red.] with about 150,000 members. In these last two organizations, our Communist comrades have little or no influence, because we do not just yet understood to extend our influence also among the officials and employees. The Officials and employees have in the future for the mass movements Meaning, as we have seen it earlier in the railway struggles. We must try in this area to increase our political influence more and more. In addition, our influence in the Christian organizations is very low and it would be Duty and task of the Party, particularly in the areas where Christian organizations strongly have to try it in the spell of the most important tasks of economic revolutionary struggle implicate.

Labor movement

We need to direct our attention also to the trade union women's work. If we take the view of the political equality of women, we must
We also committed to providing that the workers also economically the workers Their wages to those of men be adapted assimilated and not forced are to be the man opposite Lohndrücker.

Youth movement

The same we see in the youth, who today even more than the older ones in Germany Capitalism is exploited. Even the youth work in the trade unions, we have to devote our best attention. The bourgeoisie is for example in the Staggering of wages possible, on basis of collective agreements with ages, millions to save money, because the young people who will have to do the same work, very often a get lower wages. That is why we Communists must ensure that the Graduation of the wages of young people and older ceases. Considering that all the reformists in make the union collective bargaining no effort, this injustice
set aside. Furthermore, the labor conscription law have the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, introduce for the young people produce the sharpest resistance.

**unemployed movement**

We must also consider the unemployed movement in our tasks. One is finds that the unemployment in Germany in recent months in general has declined, so that we now have a lower percentage of unemployed in Germany, as was the case before the war in general. The number of unemployed is in the future is increasing. We need our special attention to the movement judge and to support the unemployed councils to the aspirations of the bourgeoisie and the reformist trade union bureaucracy to thwart, the fragmentation, the want between the companies standing and unemployed workers. Each Fragmentation in the ranks of the workers must be avoided in the strongest possible will. We must try to further that the unemployed m the production process with be classified, even if it is with great difficulty and very rarely possible.

**The ADGB Congress**

I will now briefly to the tasks of the Communists to the ADGB Congress position to take. Among the eight agenda items that have been announced for the Congress, is in generally not a single point, showing the workers a way out of the situation. On the agenda of ADGB Congress is not the question of the struggle of Workers to the improvement of wages and working conditions, but are those Issues such as economic democracy, that is to say the merger with Bourgeoisie capitalist wirtschaftsfriedlicher basis. Instead of the struggle for the eight hour day is the abstract question of Social legislation. The leader of the Free Trade Unions fear, before the workers to account what the ADGB has done for the eight-hour day and will do. It is clear that the trade union bureaucracy, which at the Nuremberg Trade Union Congress in 1919 by the commitment to the consortium the way to reduce the Eight-hour day has cleared, it is determined to do anything today to the eight-hour day recapture. The sums that are members of the initiation of a campaign a referendum on the Washington Agreement, have paid seems, for this purpose is no longer to be used. Perhaps the ADGB Congress is about must give enlightenment. The trade union bureaucracy is silent today on the Eight-hour day, and is afraid to ask this question open to the masses. With the major policy issues, such as customs and tax policy, the revaluation question, the Release of political prisoners, the general amnesty, with the Dawes Pact and its disastrous consequences, the Guarantee Pact, the League of Nations, etc., want to the leaders do not deal in the Congress. To more clearly, we must still Communists put in the time before the Congress these questions before the masses and in the unions. Office of the Federal Congress of Free Trade Unions are among the leaders of ADGB-Federal Executive differences on the issue of formation of industry associations erupt. The Leipzig Trade Union Congress has instructed the national board, a commission set up in order to examine the question. The appointed commission could not agree, because there the view of Dissmann and comrades was present, organized a
Redesigning the unions by industry associations demanded while Schumann
and comrades a voluntary agreement of the unions among themselves demanded.
Lately we see that Tarnow, the chairman of the Woodworkers Association, and
Brey, Chairman of the Workers' Association, already threaten real serious
to take action when on the Federal Congress considers Dißmanns - the
Redesign of the organization by industry associations - which in all likelihood
victory is realized. Tarnow even with a certain division in ADGB
threatened. We have it at the same time us be clear that the
will succeed union bureaucracy, on the federal Congress to any compromise
find, by these two groups, despite sharp contrasts in this issue
will bring on a platform.
The main question that will be discussed at the congress, the international
Unit moving the unions. We see that in Germany the Communist
Party tried to create the first steps in this direction in the various organizations,
to this movement to be a serious international platform. The Congress will
so far for the German working class have a meaning, as there provided the request
or the question is decided whether the representatives of the Soviet trade unions
be allowed. Already tried the bureaucracy in their union press for
Express to that you will not allow the Soviet trade unions. But
the presence of the representatives of the British trade unions, which is well known to 80
Percent finance the Amsterdam Trade Union International, is at the same time a
have serious political international significance. English union representatives
will comment on the Congress their opinion on the entire movement of England, and
We will see if the Federal Congress, after the German workers' delegations to
the Soviet Union have gone and taken there, will dare admission
the Soviet delegation of unions reject. The workers' delegation which
in all likelihood, before the beginning of the Federal Congress comes back,
is in effect the developing trends within the left
Unionism have an immense importance. We have already
proceed to create more delegations, the development in which
Soviet Union view with their own eyes, and report on their impressions.
In connection with these tasks are those serious problems that currently in
Germany ever on the agenda. One can work in the
Unions never part of the overall work of the party, and as the Communist
Party is the only workers' party that the working class for their class interests
mobilized naturally makes the trade union movement and for our fighting tasks a
enormous role. We see that the difficulties of the bourgeoisie by the day
increase, we see that differences in the implementation of the Dawes Pact available
are. We have seen that difficulties in tax, customs and
have shown appreciation question. Further, we see that today the Luther government
Stresemann himself learns of circles of the bourgeoisie difficulties. And when the
Communist Party political work in the political arena, and particularly in the
strengthened trade union movement, then of course, will this work for
international unit movement be of eminent importance.
I just want to remind you that the Communist Party an open letter to the ADGB
must try in favorable occasions to the centralization of wage struggles in the way to guide.
In addition, we have over the borders of Germany and the international to identify problems, and we have the entire revoluitären Union work connect. There are serious world problems before us: imperialism or Revolution; Amsterdam split the trade union movement or international United front; Counterrevolution or fight on the side of the Soviet Union. As with the Outbreak of World War Amsterdam the firmest bulwarks of imperialism were, so now is the right front of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the reliable auxiliary of the reactionary front of British imperialism in the fight against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary workers of the whole world. The stronger the Links development of trade unionism in Germany, is the greater the risk for the plans of the international bourgeoisie, because Germany will be the country that possibly at the outbreak of armed conflicts against the Soviet Union can be a staging area of Entente imperialism, similar to Belgium in World Wars for the passage of the troops was.
And just because the Amsterdam together with imperialism the open document counterrevolution and on the other hand, the Soviet Union in alliance with the international revolutionary united front of the workers of the world is, it is necessary that the German working class is separated from the reactionary front and the revolutionary front of the international proletariat angliedert. For this
Basically, we need to harness all the forces in the party to the trade unions to to give revolutionary character. The comrades must, if they are willing at any time, to fight with the rifle on the barricades, in the factories and trade unions Barricade fighters for the entire proletariat be. In tough unremitting struggle Klein must the erection of barricades of revolutionary front in the unions and are preparing establishments. If we are really serious at this congress clear party political issues and at the same time in the field of practical Union work recognized more than ever seriously the political value of this work, then the Tenth Congress of the German party is a step forward, a new battle cry mean he will call the comrades, to use all the tough guerilla war to each Proletarians brain rings, on the various battles and battles addition to Main battle for victory, for the proletarian dictatorship. I believe that in the Complexity of the whole complex of questions the comrades must try in Talk some more to complement, and from the experiences of their daily work Struggles to bring examples and suggestions to ensure that the Party is capable of in the Union committee appointed to deal with all these things and so the resolution
perfecting that a really practical, political and trade union platform is that gives us the task of changing the reformist face of ADGB that reformist workers to fulfill the work for organizing the revolution over pull. The fact that we also in the political line of our work that advances make that give us the assurance of us to the big responsible work adjust international revolutionary line, that is to win. It comes to this shortening stage of the proletarian revolution, so that the party with all her Power and energy is understood to carry out this work with pleasure and love, and with the Faith in the victory of the revolution in this work to approach!

Conclusion

July 17, 1925

Comrades Before coming to the discussion on the political report and the Union question addresses the issue I want to allow myself the following Preamble: Comrade Voigt has here asserted that the Congress is not the mirror image of Membership abgebe. This statement means:
1. an insult to the entire Congress and the membership of the German party,
2. a mockery of the delegates present from the West Saxons, which strictly to must express. If in the West Saxons mode have been passed over, that the members select their delegates to the district party conference, for on then the election of delegates Congress is made, so it is necessary that the delegates present from Westsachsen to comment. I think it necessary, on behalf of the Centre this Determination to make, especially on all district party conferences at which I was present, Membership has chosen their delegates.
Some trade union Question: I express my regret that just in the Main question of the whole party, which is treated at the Congress, in the Union question, the delegates not enough suggestions and positive angle have given that would have the unit in some aspects can complement. This is either a confirmation that the unit includes pretty much everything and so to political work in the trade unions is needed, or else, as I assume, the discussion has the general weakness in the whole party on the question of work in the trade unions reflected.
I will try not to do some positive things, so that delegates will be able are, with the membership on these important issues to discuss seriously and set up work afterwards.
In addition to the trade unions, there are other large mass organizations, for example, sports organizations, consumer cooperatives and other sympathizing with us Organizations, such as the war wounded, the Red Front Fighters Federation.
Of course one has to those political and organizational work’s at the union question showed transferred to the sports organizations. Even the Communist Party has a great interest in the sports movement. You do not educate the young workers and the workers as the bourgeoisie to exploit them and use for imperialistic purposes, but to the workers physically for the tasks of the proletarian revolution toughen. In this line of Red American Legion has the task of the youth and standing on the ground of class struggle workers physically and otherwise educate, as also does the bourgeoisie of other fascist organizations. So it is with the consumer cooperatives, where one attempt by cell formation has to make political work, because they not only nationally but internationally by Importance. In addition to the huge trade unions we have in the Soviet Union, large consumer cooperatives and sports organizations on an international basis international unit moving the trade unions pursue. You will thus help to individual sections of the world party of those Wall sympathizing organizations summarize international.

I hope that these brief indications suffice to understand that the Communists are also required in this sympathizing organizations in to afford future a much deeper political and organizational work than the previously has been the case.

Although no fundamental disputes came in the debate expressed so were there are other important political and organizational questions completely from some comrades were wrongly put. Comrade Galm, Offenbach, for example, criticized that the Resolution that is before the Congress, was not discussed in my report. It contains the Principles and baselines of my presentation, I have dealt with in detail. On enter into detail in the resolution, was not my job, but is particularly the task of those elected by the Congress 21köpfigen Union Commission, which also tested in this field various points in the resolution and real serious political additions has brought in. The rapporteur of the Commission is afterwards show the areas in which the Commission has sought political additions insert in the resolution so that the resolution the principles and baselines serious union work contains. In addition, but the party is a second resolution newly submitted because the first was not comprehensive enough and in their practical Tasks were not shown enough. By this is already apparent that at the party in the union question everything has been done, what the interests of the party and the German Workers is necessary. I hope that even after the party our comrades in the understand districts to appreciate the seriousness of this work. Furthermore, the party will be presented by the Trade Union Commission received a request, the means that we Decision of ZA [Central Committee. The Red] from 20 October 1924 to bring vote, that is, that each organized in the party member, as far as is organization capable must be unionized, while in the Unions will have to make policy work. This request is still far completed, as we must proceed to in the coming months to 1 October a really serious to make ideological work in the party, so that all members of the party without disciplinary action, enter with inner conviction in the unions. At the
October 1, we will then carry out a general inspection, which means for the headquarters, to make a decision, what will happen to that percentage of party membership to which is not willing to join the unions.

I think it will be expedient that the Party that request not only unanimously takes, but that the comrades throughout the few months really until October 1 use to induce all Party members to join the unions.

In another application, the same time strengthening and concentration of political means work in the trade unions, we require a special day of the month in all districts, sub-districts and larger local groups as union conference set, as in Berlin and water edge is already the case. On this day, on which all Union groups and union officials to come together, have to the entire apparatus of the party, all party functionaries participate so that this day only is placed in the range of tasks around the political union work.

Then I want to what Comrade Galm has particularly criticized the following notice:

One must always remember that the most difficult in the implementation of the tactics of the party Work is to be made in the trade unions. For example, how does the revolutionary cell in operation and in the trade union faction to the political problems position, and which tasks have to be made. We do not take the view of ADGB- and SPD bureaucracy that the unions have to stay politically neutral, but we have the policy carry into the proletarian masses, in the mass organizations the unions. It is therefore necessary, when discussing the political work to comment either from the cells as in the trade unions on the amnesty, to the economy struggles, the tactics of the party in connection with the current Problems that are about to emerge in front of us. We must not for fear of the Union bureaucracy cringe, but must vigorously against the reactionary Views of the reformists proceed. We need our revolutionary work not only expose, but creating us at the same time new positions in the working class.

But in general, the tactical measures are rejected, it proves that you not intended to work in a new way. That is really a policy on Tail of the SPD drive. Comrade Galm has been here expressed that it is sufficient if We only record the demands of the SPD and fight for them. This is completely wrong. Of course, we can not always reject or mitpropagieren the demands of the SPD or advocate, if it does not pass through. We have to go beyond it and the political demands of the party in the factories, in the unions, in the Parliaments, in the municipalities in relation to economic struggles as struggles in the Tax and customs issues and any other questions with questions to the fore. If we We go only to the bottom of the platform of the SPD, just make these claims and defend, so this is a completely false position, the slow of us on the basis can bring reformism. If Comrade Galm explains that by a Union apparatus in the party has the option, the real work in the better to make trade unions, so even that is not quite right. Of course, the party must intensive control work make in the field of trade unions. It means that from headquarters to the districts, sub-districts and local groups control really is carried out. If Comrade Galm thinks especially by a union apparatus will improve the work, so the facts of the past even talk about it. The degree
political opinion must be increased in our own membership they must be convinced of the necessity and importance of union work. The Comrades have to go with the same desire for the factories and trade unions, as are willing to take on a higher level of struggle the rifle over his shoulder. That's just what the party suffers what we lack: Those tenacious, tireless legwork afford to wrestle every Socialist brain. If we do not understand, from isolation come out, by the resolutions of the Party Congress a step above Frankfurt also continue, as we are at the next party convention same see insufficient activity as at this congress in the union question had to be found. Since we have no fundamental disputes more today, it can just about be to make positive, active labor. It is not today to the principled struggle, how and by what means we win the masses how to the time when we fought against Brandler, who is also in the application of the united front tactic in the trade unions had an opportunistic view, but a clear Understanding of this work. This will help us do all the work. I agree with Comrade Rosenberg agree who pointed out that the concentration of capitalism be imperialist character is enhanced. The imperialist character reinforced by the power of corporations, yes, because the corporations more and more gain political influence on governments and therefore its influence on the increase groupings on a world scale. The working class must everywhere this Development pay attention and try their power influence internationally to strengthen and organize the masses on an international basis. From England is up - for example, the miners - tries, with the Belgian and French unions to find a basis for the struggles internationally centralize. The fact that the international unity movement in the unions going forward, the struggle character of the union movement is increased, which in the Practice in international conflict can be expressed. I would remind you that we at the outbreak of war, the international connection are other ways to undertake efforts against the bourgeoisie. I hope that the comrades not only the causes of the recent state of the tradition of the German party from the beginning of fathom Revolution to the Tenth Congress, but learn that for the Bolshevik is martial necessary new life, a new way of organizing work in the

Union activities Into Accommodate. Therefore, the Party must not only consent give to the resolution and the proposals, but must of all devices available via Power to solve all the tasks that stood in the center of the work of the whole Party Congress have.

I will now make some conclusions on the political and tactical General Situation at the party. I think from the discussion of the tactics following having to pick out special characteristics: 1. Comrade Rosenberg is one of those comrades who have shown their views most clearly who has proved that he really a political platform. It has, for example, in connection with the spoken Leninist theory of the state about the fact that the position of the center like the in Questions republic and monarchy, in the tactical measures was expressed, a Position like that in practice, a review of the decisions of the Fifth World Congress means. Has Comrade Rosenberg such a political platform, so it means that after
it considers the executive 1. accused 2. against the headquarters of the German party
Charge do that they would be willing to revise the decisions of the Fifth World Congress and
the January Central Committee to make. So, we are dealing here with a really
political opponents in the party to do, has a different political opinion. The
understand Leninist theory of the state, they interpret Bolshevik, ie, that the party's
Changes in the system of government must pay attention to the development of symptoms in
the Republic who are pushing for establishment of the monarchy, etc., must be recognized and the
Change in class relations in the situation are exactly concrete,
thereafter each determine our tactics.
Depending on how the relations of forces and the proletariat responds depending on how
change the conditions in the bourgeoisie, depending on how the proletariat and its power
increases power, did not respond as a rigid body, the party, but according
the given situation, in strict detention to the Bolshevik principles
with all the forces their strategic measures to strengthen the power of the working class
perform. We have, after the defeat of the Russian Revolution in 1905
seen in the development to the victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917th In that
time 1907-1912 was a similar development in Russia, a depression in the
Workers, a reactionary stricter course of tsarism. We know that even Lenin
at that time made a mistake, which was really a rarity in Lenin. He had then
the participation of the Bolsheviks in the first Duma elections under the pressure and the
Nature of development rejected. But Lenin noticed immediately after the Bolsheviks
had not participated in this Duma elections, that it was a mistake. He informed the
Central Committee, criticized his own wrong position and fought for the fact that the party itself
must participate in the Duma elections. So we have in Russia a number of measures
saw the Bolsheviks who also with the liberal bourgeoisie runoff Agreement
abschlossen to act together against the tsarist reactionary bourgeoisie
can. Comrades Did not we also in Germany different groupings in the
Bourgeoisie, a right, currently still closed wing of the bourgeoisie, which
Luther-Stresemann government supported by all means? Of course, the bourgeoisie is a
reactionary mass against the proletariat and against the revolution. Of course,
she with the Social Democrats united against the class struggle of the workers and
fight against the Revolution. But within the bourgeoisie there are differences, both in
foreign policy and domestic policy, as different in trade relations with the
capitalist countries and also with the Soviet Union, on the issue of the Guarantee Pact, in
the Disarmament, on the question of the League of Nations and in other major issues.
2. Comrade Scholem explains that since Frankfurt today absolutely in world history
nothing has changed. It is the task and duty of the Congress to consider whether in
recent years has really changed anything politically. Yes, also the class relations

it changed. I recall that at that time no Luther-Stresemann government
existed. I recall that the Dawes Agreement in London after Frankfurt
was adopted, I would point out that the impact that off to the
Dawes opinion arise (see dismissal of railway workers, etc.), not yet show
could. I would remind you that the government of the due to the impact
Expert opinion sums required for the coming years, in the form of
Usurious duties and taxes are to be brought in, not needed to apply.
I recall the struggle against Prussia government, difficulties in foreign policy, Guarantee Pact, the League of Nations and so I do not understand how to produce here as politicians and can say that in Germany the class relations and the state machine have not changed. You have changed significantly, they are still changing daily. We see that the groups in capitalist circles through the have changed collapse of the Stinnes Group significantly. Heavy industry was formerly closely connected to the agricultural capital. Now that the Stinnes Group has collapsed, we see that finance capital back energetically to the plan occurs. If Comrade Scholem further says that the situation has not changed, it has unfortunately nothing added learned. The situation has changed significantly in a year that has been seen, and we must make observations and our Bolshevik tactics changing tactics facing the bourgeoisie, while maintaining the Bolshevik principles. Instantly wrestle in foreign policy, two of the world existing power factors to Germany. The Entente imperialism tries by all Means, to bring in the German bourgeoisie in the League. The Entente tried the German government to enter the League of Nations by perhaps small Facilitation in compliance with the reparations, important by eviction making areas of French troops tasty. If it is possible - which in the coming weeks and months already will be the case - that the German Government agreed with the Entente imperialism, then that means at the same time a sharp Front against the Soviet Union. This is an old front of the reactionary bourgeoisie completely new phenomena. The Soviet Union tried the German population, particularly the German working class, provide information about it, that they which of get Entente imperialism since Treaty of Versailles no relief and has not to be expected in the future. Since the German Communist Party against the Dawes report and the Treaty of Versailles in various located resulting foreign policy issues took the right position, so we must also now understand that this struggle between the Entente capitalism and the Soviet Union has a completely different meaning than a few months ago.

3. Comrade Weber, representing the third trend that has come here to express has stated that it excludes the application of the united front tactic of up forever and for all Eternity rejects. We must also deal with this issue more seriously than Comrade Weber them on the Congress has provided. If no mass movement is present, unless the Possibility that we or the masses of the factories by the unions organize otherwise to fights, it's our job to check whether it has not yet is possible somehow through new methods a mass movement to kindle. there remains a prerequisite that the united front tactic from below to be the first has political significance for the party. If still no mass movement of can be achieved below if an absolute depressing situation is present, in which the Mass does not respond, the control panel and all instances of the party must also in this Situation by all means try anything to the difficulties in the bourgeoisie exploit, the accomplices of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats, as the hidden Enemy of the working class to characterize, to thereby enhance the red class front.

There may be situations in which there is by any open letter the way,
when one turns at the same time to the workers, a mass movement by these
trigger letter. However, it must understand our comrades, with more conviction
and type our conception of defending political and and at the premises
to represent unions. Of course, if a central case no satisfactory
finds support if our comrades do not react sufficiently, if we do not
understand the masses explain our policy intentions, so it is very difficult
be to mobilize the proletariat for the tasks set in the open letter.
Of course, there must be no system of open letters. Thus we would be in front of the
make masses ridiculous; but so far have been from the central two open letters
issued, while the district lines and local lines much more use of it
make, as we have done. An open letter can only highly important political
Events have a meaning, where we assume that its impact
Mass movements can be triggered. It can also happen that by
to reach a mass movement from below using the united front tactic from above
is.

Then Comrade Weber said: Nevertheless, we had a crappy situation, we have our
Prior organization claims. The position of the Communist Party must be the,
that we have to move in a period between two waves of revolution to
at the same time to give our party a mass character. Of course this is very
heavy. Comrade Meyer even believes a parallel between the recovery of the masses against
the war and to draw today. He says he will not speak of 1918/1919 and 1923,
since that time the conditions were more favorable than today. His opinion is, however, that before
War conditions were less favorable than today. That's true in any case. Today, the
Situation but far more unfavorable than the party must try, despite all the difficulties,
the bourgeoisie are you doing, despite the influence of the reformists, the party not only in
to get their inventory, but also include new materials in themselves. And,
Comrade Meyer, as it was before because and in the war? Could be because the left in the
quickly develop the Social Democratic Party with inspiring mass consent?
Must they not in the war against the development in the SPD executive committee hard
fight? How long have Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg struggled to a
to form real factor that could develop organized? Comrade Bebel
always tried to bridge these opposites, and all results were the Left
little progress. From this movement must start while the
recall difficulties the leftward movement in the SPD in the war, then realizes everyone how
hard it is only in the present situation, to increase the number of party members. a
to raise general scale, the relationship before the war today
equal footing, is totally incorrect and smells of demagoguery.

4. To Comrade Giwan. Giwan seems to be one of those who emotionally with
the comrades of the "ultra-left" to go without a really serious political platform
have. We have at the Frankfurt Congress a whole number of delegates from the
had holdings that are not even the position of the party in the union question
Roger that. They did not understand that to in the trade unions, among the masses Politics
has driven that one must detach the masses from the clutches of the reformists. If the
not understand comrades, that the tactics of the party of the given situation
must change accordingly, they are simply not Bolsheviks. The actions of the party
change the conditions in accordance with, as well as the bourgeoisie their maneuvers permanently
changes. The bourgeoisie has tried, for example, before the war, slowly
to draw union bureaucracy in their sphere. During the war, went the
SPD to above, to support the imperialist policy completely. After the revolution fit
the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary conditions. It was a time cowardly,
leaving the task of maintaining and slow temporary fixing of
Capitalism of social democracy. The Social Democrats led the maneuvers of
Bourgeoisie by that lurked in the background and the Social Democrats gave the order, so
to act. In the October defeat in 1923 it was the government, in which the
Socialists were, in the form of Legislative Saxon and
Thuringian workers bloodily by the Reichswehr. Today, we have
other ratios booty, the bourgeoisie has a completely reactionary course, which
Although likely to change in foreign and domestic difficulties. But, comrades, a
Central, which does not change the situation in accordance with their tactics is not worth that
Communist Party and thus to lead the revolutionary working class. Comrade Meyer
stands up as the representative of the current policy, nevertheless between Meyer and
present tactics of the whole party, there are still differences, as from the platform
Comrade Meyer announced. Meyer stated that United Front headquarters only
means debunking tactics. If the panel would take a such a position, it would be
truly catastrophic. United front tactic only to expose, means you prepare the ground for the
take winning over the masses completely. One applies the united front tactic to the next
Unmasking to win the masses for the revolutionary struggle. But the application of
United front tactic goes beyond that; also unified fights are to take to the
to enhance strength of the KPD. I think, if not at the party of the revolutionary elan
so expressed, as was usual in other sessions of the case, so you can
it absolutely can not draw conclusions as Meyer does, by general of a
Defeat mood speaks. Where there is a defeat mood? ( Interruption: "With
Meyer! ") In the party, there is no defeat mood. In the theses yet the
Combat duties substantiated enough. Meyer says that the battle tasks in the
Theses are not substantiated enough. Under II -. Action Programme KPD - are those
proletarian demands as a fight against the demands of capital and the dictatorship
progressive capitalist offensive. In addition, in the next section are those revolutionary
Demands made sufficiently clear how: Fort with the League! Away with the Guarantee Pact,
the Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of London! Evacuation of occupied territories!
International trade union unity! Disarmament of the bourgeoisie, arm the
Proletariat! Alliance of proletarian Germany and the Soviet Union against the
World imperialism! Comrade Meyer has the party days of out in the debate no
submit to major policy proposals as a struggle demands, while in the theses
really acute combat tasks are included that represent the future ahead of us. How we the
Situation according to a preliminary action program have resigned, have just
we detail in the resolution on the union question the tasks ahead
specified.
I want to emphasize in conclusion that the delegates not only have the task of the
to give points and decisions of the meeting of the Congress their attention. they
sometimes having to worry about minor issues at the party
were cut and the effect of the practice have serious political significance.
For example, Comrade Weber explained: fights can be performed only on the road be, but they will not be fought in Parliament. The political program of the
Communist Party calls natural that in the higher stage of serious fighting the
Politics is made primarily in the factories and on the road, when this
Conditions are available through our practical work. In the current
But the situation it would be impossible to make policy on the road, without relying on any
other methods of unconditional legwork, the trade union and labor operation
support, etc., of which consists of the possibility of the base of the class struggle to
widen. As is known, it was Karl Liebknecht, who be before the war by
were carried out. He created, with the support of the Social Democratic Party, a living connection to the ground outside the Parliament. Even Lenin's policy was connected to extra-parliamentary activities, so that the few Duma deputies in the period in which they occurred against tsarism, the Friends of the Russian workers and Farmers were. The Russian Duma deputies were the few Bolsheviks, where it - A short time was possible Bolshevism in the - from the rostrum of Parliament toiling masses hineinzuschleudern. So isolated and rigid in the party and among the Mass work, as Comrade Weber calls this means slow decline of the party. We must all try the masses of the SPD to separate. Because it is more difficult in the current situation, to win it, so we have all means and methods of Bolshevism apply to more in the masses penetrate. You all know how Lenin in 1918 when on the various fronts which Judenitsch-, Koltschak- and Denikin-armies had invaded the Soviet Union, in the negotiations with the German government in Brest-Litovsk, the conclusion of a peace with her occurred. Because that meant for him a respite to strengthen the revolution, which he to wanted to take advantage of an inner reinforcement of the revolutionary forces. There was then a difficult fight in the Central Committee. A large number of delegates of the left wing then understood the correct political line of not Comrade Lenin. Those who the Seriousness of the situation on an international scale is also not seen today and how the Comrade Scholem and Rosenberg by their directed against the executive position the struggle against the Communist International lead - in their political position in Polish and Italian question, for example - should be but this more seriously consider relationships. The position of Bordiga on the various World Congresses should each be in connection with its current political position food for thought. Bordiga represented very often an incorrect theoretical standpoint. He understood today is not that economics and politics belong together, he always took a antiparliamentary position one, he did not accept the theses on the united front tactic and much more, and he now takes turn in the position to the executive a completely Trotskyist position a. Comrades Scholem and Rosenberg, as the comrades who solidarity with Bordiga considers are not yet decided on the floor of the decisions the Fifth World Congress. The majority of the delegates to this congress has been recognized that the traditions, as radicals of reformism were taken over from the Social Democracy, still considered Germs in the party are rooted and must be eliminated by all means. they will get even with the current Maßnamen certain difficulties in fulfilling the Tasks prepare that stand before us. On the line of Bolshevism, the struggle of Party against the bourgeoisie and their accomplices in the world, against the "Ultra-left" and right currents, we must support the Comintern fully. Just as the German bourgeoisie begins in the system of imperialist plans insert, it is our job, we contrast in the international revolutionary Class Front classified with the own revolutionary, living force, which means: Collection of the masses for the revolutionary tasks, gain energy and strength the German working class against imperialist war and for the civil war; tireless, tenacious legwork in the factories and trade unions to obtain the proletarian masses for the tasks of organizing the revolution;
Creating an organizational base in the factories, trade unions and all other
Mass organizations that steels the strength and forge the revolutionary tools
to attack the bourgeoisie and for the decisive victory of the German
Working class.

"Report on the negotiations of the Tenth Party Congress
the Communist Party of Germany
(Section of the Communist International)
Berlin, from 12 to 17 July 1925"
S. 271-275, 519-544 and 627-637.
For the 11th International Youth Day

Ten years have passed since on the Berne Conference of April 1915 for the first time
Youth International was decided in all countries on the first Sunday
September to celebrate International Youth Day with great demonstrations.
The German Workers' Youth was in this year's Youth Day to have any victories, but probably
everyone feels that despite the difficulties, despite the gloomy existence of the Workers' Youth in
first years of capitalist stabilization, despite all persecution, despite the
Police batons and prison bars in the German proletariat a new collection to
new fighting begins. Youth must march in the first place!
Our Party has far too late and too hesitantly the importance of the struggle for the soul
young workers recognized. There are in Germany no less than five million
Young Workers - 20 percent of the entire German working class. Of these, one million
Apprentices: the most exploited among the exploited of German capitalism. From
these millions of young proletarians is only a pitifully small number unionized
organized: 264000 whole man. Our young communist youth organization, the
KJVD, is far too weak. Large organizations are opposing against him.
The socialist youth that despite the honest revolutionary will of many of its
proletarian members is an auxiliary of the worst social democratic leaders,
counts 90,000 members.
Hundreds of thousands of young proletarians are still in the camp of capitalist
Parties. But the Association of Catholic Youth and Young Men organizations - a
Pronounced clerical organization that kills the class consciousness of the working youth
- Counts 3835 clubs with 363,206 members. Together with the 620,000 members of the
The Association of Catholic virgins Germany is now so close to a million,
mostly laboring youth, under the influence of gehirnverkleisternden
Clericalism.
That's a bitter solemn fact that you want us to shake all.
The essence of our Bolshevik tactics is the conquest of the proletarian
Masses for communism, for the proletarian dictatorship, for the revolution. These
we could not meet without the ausgebeutetste, kampffähigste tasks of the
opportunistic traditions of legal prewar freest layer of the working class
This year's Youth Day is not only for the Communist Youth and the entire Young workers significance, but he must be a wake-up call, an alarm call for the party, for all their organizations and districts, be. He has to kick off a fundamental change in our relationship both to Communist Youth League as also to the entire young workers. The Slogan of this year's Youth Day is for the German Communist Party: The most attention, the most intense work, the most powerful forces in the struggle for the proletarian youth! We need our young, still weak Communist Youth League ten times more support than before. The collaboration between him and the party has to be ten times more energetic strengthened and expanded from both sides. The Bolschewisierungsthesen of last expanded Executive of the Comintern calling with full rights of all parties who wish to Bolshevik call:

"One of the tasks of Bolshevism is completely working class youth around the world to conquer, that generation of workers in the conditions of the imperialist World War and of the beginning of the world revolution has grown. If the Social Democracy itself mainly on the most gentrified top of incurred in the period of peace Labor aristocracy based, so the communist parties around the world have, among other things Task that rest loosely organizing the entire proletarian youth of the new era under to strive for our banner. "

[ "Advanced executive, March / April 1925 theses and resolutions", Berlin-Hamburg 1925 27. The Red. ]

The Youth Week from August 30 to 6 September must both the party organization as the organization of the youth organization arouse them for all future work period to prepare. The Young Communist League of Germany must better expand its organization, they consolidate internally, raise their ideological level, their clout countless in Day struggles of the working youth in factories and trade unions steels. The Youth Day is a day of struggle against the threat of war, against the preparations of the new Attack on the Soviet Union, the only country in the world, in the same time with the entire proletarian class freed the young workers and peasants from all fetters is. The Youth Day is a day of struggle for the interests and demands of the most pressing exploited, oppressed young workers, apprentices and young workers in all Establishments. It is a day of struggle, which, not only for the burning questions of youth but for the entire proletariat has meaning. For this reason he has an expression the common will to fight for the united front of the young and adult workers, be for the international trade union unity. The Youth Day has attracted the attention of German young proletarians in the Soviet Union to steer. The first workers' delegation is from the land of the proletarian dictatorship in the country the policeman, the Reichswehr, the protective tariffs and Lehrlingsschinderei returned. It is imperative that the unionized young workers a Delegation sends to the Soviet Union to the unhindered by the slander Social Democratic press a real picture of life of the Russian working class and particularly the Russian working class youth to win in the eighth year of Soviet power. Our party must defend all of these solutions in the broadest masses; they must all
Forces the Youth Week, support the International Youth Day. Above all, must they tirelessly in the trade unions, together with the youth representatives, and independent fight for the interests of the proletarian youth against the reactionary bureaucracy. Communists must in all plants, the champion of the interests of Young workers and apprentices. You must at the works to meet the jungproletarischen demands urge. You must cooperate with the Communist Youth League devote all their selling power to ensure that the five million German Young proletarians go to the unions, rather than outside the proletarian Mass organizations to remain a plaything of entrepreneurs arbitrariness. Long live the International Youth Day! Forward for the organization of the entire proletarian youth of the new era under our banner, the banner of Bolshevism!

"The Red flag"
of 3 September 1925th

The importance of workers' delegations

We welcome the delegation of German workers who today claimed from the Soviet Union Germany returns. Each member of the delegation will be aware that he Participants of a historic step was. They were not statesmen and world leaders, who traveled to the Soviet Union, but simple German workers, mostly from the Establishments, in the vast majority of Social Democrats, members of a party whose occur leaders more than once machine guns against communism in activity left. The more than fifty German workers went to the Soviet Union in order to convince one who speaks the truth about the Russian states: We, the Communists, the Defender of the proletarian dictatorship, or they, the Social Democratic leaders, the "Forward", the mortal enemies of the Soviet Union. The workers' delegation had the opportunity to free and unimpeded to roam all corners of the Soviet Union. They were in Leningrad and Moscow, in the Central Russian textile area, in the Caucasus, in Georgia and in Ukraine, in the Urals and in the Donets Basin. The most powerful impression could collect the German workers, was probably the jubilant reception, fraternal sympathy brewing solidarity with them in all Cities of the Soviet Union received from the Russian proletariat. Who accidentally had the opportunity to attend these rallies, which could only laugh at the Allegation that these were "artificially made demonstrations". The Soviet workers and Farmers were aware that this delegation of more than 50 ordinary workers historical
The "forward" is written: It has shown you "Potemkin villages". But here makes the "forward" a calculation error. One can tens or hundreds of Potemkin villages build, but if all the hundreds of thousands of Soviet villages are potemkinsch, then, please nice, we make Germany such Potemkin villages.

The "forward" will write, the workers, the delegation their satisfaction and their Pride showed on the Soviet power, were bribed. But forgiveness, you can find some Tens of thousands of workers are outfitted with participation in the capitalist profits as the Western European bourgeoisie with the labor aristocracy is doing, but if the many Millions of the Russian proletariat "bribed", then, if you please: we do not want anything more than the fifteen million German workers "in this way", that is to Bolshevik manner "bribe" as we are throwing the capitalists and the Factories just passed into the hands of the fifteen million workers.

Ernst spoken: The trip to the Soviet Union has the delegates of the German shown workers that the stories of the "forward" and the whole Social Democratic provincial newspapers throughout Germany about the "Russian conditions"
Lies and deceit are.
It is now, to draw the lessons from this finding. First, the participants have the
Delegation even draw some lessons.
First, the delegation has taken no pleasure trip, but she went in
And on behalf of the German working class. It may not be the individual
Recording their impressions content, but must before their mandate donors, the workers in
the factories and unions report.
Second, more than fifty workers who have traveled to the Soviet Union, have for
the consequences which they from what they saw, pulling, running. You need thousands,
educate hundreds of thousands of German workers, tell them the truth.
Thirdly, the delegation, as their recent remarks in the Soviet press
show witnessed and publicly stated that the Soviet power is better
when capitalism. You must take a further step, if they consistently and in
The spirit of Marx and Engels will be international. You should not only their solidarity the
victorious communism in the Soviet Union, but also the oppressed, persecuted,
imprisoned, fighting Communists in Germany have placed.
We ask any Social Democratic workers that he readily his party
turns his back and a communist membership card purchases. But we ask
anyone who is convinced that in the Soviet Union "Asiatic barbarism", but the
victorious proletariat prevails that he together with the Communist Party
Germany the red united front of the German working class to fight against the
Bourgeoisie closes.
The whole German working class must these teachings of the first German
Workers delegation returns home today from the Soviet Union, make his own.
Finally, we must own, the KPD, some lessons from the trip to the Soviet Union
pull. Namely:
First Part of the Social Democrats, who in the Soviet Union with the proletarian
fraternized with the defense of the victorious Communism, drove from Stettin as honest,
but inveterate enemies from communism. The incoming and conscientious
Studying the real situation in the Soviet Union was enough to open their eyes.
What goes resultant? The Social Democratic Party, at least as far as the
relates to the working masses of its members, is not Fixed, nothing immutable,
nothing eternal. Fixed and immutable is the counterrevolutionary, treacherous
Role of the Social Democratic leaders that give the party its official character. To
win, convince, mentally to conquer the other hand are the social democratic
Working masses in operation.

We must take serious steps to solve this problem. We have to also
correct some mistakes that we made previously. We can not only
Social Democratic and nonparty workers win, but we need to win,
if we want to win. This big goal we need more than ever our whole work,
all our agitation, adjust our political slogans. Brandler tried by
an affair with Zeigner, detached from the factories to win the workers. Be
Run ended with ignominious defeat. But it does not follow that we
arrogantly renounce the real recovery of the Social Democratic working masses
have to. On the contrary. We are only the only Workers Party, if we
approach this task with the utmost energy. We need the new currents in see proletariat and understand estimate. We need our agitation the dry, take hoarse tone and give it the voice of the working masses. We have our all propaganda for the Soviet Union, for the proletarian dictatorship, for the revolution the patient agitation for now forcefully onrushing day and wage struggles the proletariat connect.

Secondly, the workers who went to the Soviet Union, were not only in the majority Social Democrats, but they were invariably free trade. The teachings their journey do not affect only the SPD, but especially in ADGB itself. Each know what consequences the journey of the British trade union delegation led Purcell had in the British trade union movement. The situation in Germany is difficult. But it is the most urgent task of our Party, in the German Union movement to create an English development. The journey of Workers' delegation must be the first starting point for this.

We have our own power consciousness (nothing with arrogance and has lifting to do uncritical) to the German working class that proletarian Consciousness of power play, which you through the decades of opportunistic Degeneration of the Social Democratic leaders was stolen.

These are the most important lessons of the journey of the first German workers' delegation to the Soviet Union, and in this sense we welcome them on German soil in the hope that they also contribute to accelerate the victory of the German working class in timeless revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and their accomplices.

"New Newspaper" United Thuringia, of 4 September 1925th

To the course of the Berlin organization

*From an article*
The discussion below is carried out in agreement with the executive. The executive calls in its letter to the German party membership a clear decision of all organizations of the KPD for or against the resolutions of the Comintern. The great majority of the Party, its leading organizations have chosen for the letter of the Comintern used.

The party understands what is at stake. You understand that it is neither an attack on the German Left still is a struggle against individual. She understands that it comes to basic questions of Bolshevik policy is:

1. The defense of the Leninist theory and tactic against Maslow and his "Revision" of the III. World Congress is making a foray.
2. The correct ratio of the Communist Party among the working masses. The emergence of a left wing in the German labor movement.
3. Our trade union work, ie core and knots of revolutionary politics in the current period.
4. The democratization of internal party course, normalization and proletarianization of our party life, its freedom from all cliques and personal dictatorship.
5. The unity of the party, the eradication of factional reminiscences, creating a Bolshevik Party of a piece.
6. Recourse and broadening of the leading cadres of the party. The formation of a real party leadership, which consciously to thousands of Communist operating workers supports.
7. The correct ratio of the German Communist Party to the Comintern. The ruthless defeat of all anti-Bolshevik, anti-Soviet tendencies - was it in theory or in practice, whether under right or "left" flag.

All these seven questions are not of secondary importance, but there are basic problems of Bolshevism, the basic problems of the party, the basic problems of Revolution.

To nothing more than these basic problems is the battle for us.

For this reason it is a very serious fact that in the Berlin district administration and the Berlin Central BOARDS found a majority against the letter of the Comintern has.

37 It is the central board of the district Berlin-Brandenburg Communist Party Germany, which after the unification congress of the KPD and USPD (December, 1920) was born. The Board was in addition to the district administration and the district party conference of the governing bodies of District Berlin-Brandenburg. It was composed of the members of the district administration and the political leaders of the districts (equivalent to counties) Greater Berlin together, the Corporate Executive Committee were additionally except the representatives of the Brandenburg province nor the representatives of the communist factions of different organizations and the representatives of committees delegated, for example, the Councils, trade unions, consumer cooperatives and other, further representatives in Berlin-Brandenburg elected Reichstag and Landtag deputies and the Group of the City Council and the Representatives of women and youth.

The board was thus a higher authority than the district administration, controlled the activities of the District headquarters and the decision remained in important political, organizational and personnel questions before.

In the district party conference on 17 and 18 November 1925, the Central Committee was disbanded; in its place entered the district headquarters.
The district of Berlin is the most important organization of the party. In the years of struggle, we have held together against Brandlerismus, it was the good revolutionary Tradition Berlin, together with us hamburgers, the Ruhr and the advanced industrial districts of the party to the Comintern line against all enemies defend.

Brandler went bankrupt, when he tried the Comintern against Berlin and the various districts in the kingdom played "play off". Berlin could be neither Levi still make by Friesland, nor by Brandler his fidelity to the Comintern astray. The Berlin workers that Berlin Communists, among the pioneers of Bolshevism in Germany, as in the party leadership of the worst opportunism prevailed.

We ask: Are the workers of the Berlin organization who have gone through a hundred battles are who defeated opportunism of all shades in years of wrangling, the have defeated the KAPDismus who overthrew Brandlerismus - these are Berlin, the pride of our party, willing to with its tradition as a pioneer of the Comintern break? We firmly believe that all counties, all groups, all Departments and all operating cells Berlin are like a man answer: No! No way! Nevertheless, the fact remains that the majority of the Berlin district administration Letter of the executive - crucial decisions of the Comintern in a decisive Situation - has declined. The Board has followed this example, and has also with 48 votes to 22, rejected the letter of the executive.

The significance of this decision can be mitigated by anything. Neither characterized in that the central board in a further resolution of the "political endorsement the letter of the executive "speaks. Not even the fact that he declared that Berlin Organization "will prove that, in the implementation of the decisions of the Comintern" - the same decisions they rejected! - "At the top is".

We want to break with the old methods of diplomacy and concealment. Therefore we declare with full openness: No workers, neither a communist nor a non-party, will understand that it simultaneously rejects the letter of the executive and "politically approves" that you are prepared in the same breath, vote down the resolutions of the Comintern and "In their implementation to be at the top".

The group Maslow-Ruth Fischer made precisely because of its method of "double Accounting "against the Comintern bankrupt. We can these methods no day continue longer.

Members of the Berlin organization must waive any game of hide and openly express: For or against the Comintern, for or against her letter, for or against the new line. An opinion "for" with concerns and "against" with reservations in the Basic questions of the party is impossible and unworthy.

For the negative attitude of the majority district headquarters, there are only two explanations: Either: The comrades, the severity and depth of the questions have not yet been fully made clear and therefore cling to people where it comes to the politics of the whole party goes.

Or (and this applies to the narrower group Maslow-Ruth Fischer): Although you do not want to open battle, but the tacit resistance to the new line.

We do not doubt for a moment that most of those comrades who against Executive voted fluctuated only from the first reason. You are in another recognize the course of the party discussion very quickly that the Comintern's right and not the group Maslow-Ruth Fischer.

It is already apparent that the Berlin organization their best Kominterntraditionen not has forgotten. Moabit, one of the oldest districts left has, for the letter of the executive explains and disapproves the vote of the majority district headquarters.
Our Leipzig organization, a stronghold of the old left, has unanimously an appeal addressed to the Berlin comrades, "not by sentimental, purely personal to be guided feeling moments, but together with the other districts of the error and shortcomings, as it has established the executive with legal eliminate ". The Central Committee agrees wholeheartedly this on appeal. Finally with all anti-Soviet aspirations in Berlin!
An end to the hidden opinion against the Comintern! An end to the opposition against the new policy, which also in Berlin pave the way for us to conquer the masses should!

"The Red flag"
10 September 1925th
The teachings of the Hamburg uprising

Two years ago today, on 23 October 1923 Hamburg went on the warpath. Gearboxes the misery of the inflation time, urged by the unprecedented suffering of the toiling masses, supported by the spirit of Bolshevism reached the best, most revolutionary part of the Hamburger Workers for his gun and took the fight against the capitalist oppressors on.

Two years have passed since 23 October 1923. Much has played in Germany and changed throughout the world. We, the Communists, beaten been with us the whole German working class. The stabilization of the bourgeois Germany has succeeded to some, limited extent. The bourgeoisie draws new Hope. The proletariat went through a year of discouragement and the retreat. If we today commemorate the two-year anniversary of the Hamburger Straße struggle so happens not from the mere reason that the calendar of October 23 recurs. anniversaries are not empty for the communists and the class-conscious section of the proletariat Observances, but guidelines for the class struggle, guides for action. Especially the political situation in which we are today, with calls imperious compulsion of us that We fully the historical significance and the teachings of the Hamburg uprising clearly seen.

What were the causes of the Hamburg fight? Was it only the agitation of the Communists, it was the decisions of illegal secret organs such as the civil Courts say? No! The causes lie deeper. The uprising sprang neither the blind chance nor the free will of a few conspirators. The Hamburg Uprising sprang the revolutionary situation in the autumn 1923rd.

The fall of 1923 brought the deepest, most comprehensive Germany, all the layers and Classes of the population poignant crisis of the bourgeoisie. had the Entente imperialism his destructive work completed. Ten-month Ruhr War was for the German lost bourgeoisie. The Mark currency, on the accession of the Chancellor Cuno standing on 8000, later increased to one trillion. The workers could no longer for their wages buy. Even "the most faithful servants of the state", the officials began to rebel. The Middle classes were ruined. The specter of famine passed through Germany. Powerless were the governments of the bourgeoisie to disintegration. Stresemann, former foreign minister, said after the Cuno strike, "that his government his last bourgeois government in Germany would ".

Already in the spring of 1923 began gigantic strikes in the Ruhr area and in Upper Silesia., New waves of class struggle rolled up throughout Germany. The Workers fought not for power, but only the most urgent Immediate demands to eliminate the most burning need. The struggle still took place mainly in "peaceful" forms. While the right Social Democrats, the target man and Severing, already in alliance with the Reichswehr generals and the chief of police for
upgraded bloody crackdown of the proletariat, placed the "left" Social Democrats 
foib phrases, they "peaceful" on, the parliamentary forms of struggle of 
Prewar push back. But the logic of five years of revolution was stronger than 
villainy right and the cowardice of the "left" social-democratic leaders. 
From the moment of the fall of the Cuno government to spark civil war jumped by 
Germany. Earlier had an der Ruhr, in Hannover, in Upper Silesia, in Bavaria and 
other parts of Germany been shot. Now it became clearer with every moment, 
that a peaceful decision was no longer possible. The merciless, violent 
Struggle between class and class became inevitable. were from the strike 
Collisions, from the rallies were bloody battles between workers Klein 

and police in dozens of German cities. There came a moment in which showed how 
Lenin in his "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" in 1906 said: "... that the 
survived general strike as an independent and main form of struggle that the movement 
elementary, irresistibly breaks through this narrow framework and a higher 
Form of struggle, the revolt, gives birth " [VI Lenin, Selected Works, in two volumes, Vol. I, Dietz 
Verlag, Berlin 1954, p 544. The Red. ] 
This moment we approached in October 1923 with uncanny speed. A 
immediately revolutionary situation existed. All conditions for the victory of 
Working class were there, except one: the existence of a clear, iron 
federated, indissoluble With the widest masses associated 
Communist Party that was determined and capable of the spontaneous struggle of 
Working masses together to organize it, to guide him. 
The leadership of our Party failed in the decisive hour. Admission leading 
Communists together with the "left" Social Democrats in the government of Saxony 
was only correct if this step was a single goal: organizing the 
Revolution, the movement of the masses, the recording of the fight in Germany. 
Just this goal lost the then leadership of our party from the eyes. Our guides 
used their position in the Saxon government not to unleash, but the 
Avoidance of the struggle. Coalition politics, it was not that they in the Saxon government 
occurred, but that they were outwitted and lead in this government, rather than the 
Working masses to lead in the fight against the German government. 
They forgot that the movement had to go through "into a higher form of struggle". they 
were limited to the "narrow frame", yes they even tried the narrow framework of 
economic and political struggles part still "close" to stretch. They gave the order, 
cancel existing strikes as "the decisive battle was imminent". 
Our party as a whole was still too immature to prevent these errors of the guide. 
So in the fall of 1923 failed the revolution by the absence of one of its most important 
Prerequisites: the existence of a Bolshevik Party. 
The Saxons policy ended with the defenseless retreat. The Reich executive, 
Invasion of the white generals, sealed the defeat. 
If so, the story of October 1923 exhausted? No and no again! Man committed 
later multiply the error, in resolutions and articles, and even in speeches before 
civil court to point to one of Saxony, when you spoke of October 1923rd 
But there was not only Saxony but there was also Hamburg! 
Hamburg confirmed on the largest scale the Leninist doctrine "that the movement
elementary, irresistibly breaks through this narrow framework and a higher
Form of struggle, the uprising, giving birth. [Ibid. *The Red.*]
The Hamburg Uprising formed, as it says in the theses of the January executive from 1924,
"The antithesis of Saxony".
Those in the history of our whole Party to Frankfurt only the inability betrayal
behold and opportunism, forget the tremendous doctrine of Hamburger struggle. They
forget that the broad masses of our party members not in passive helplessness
dahindämmerten, but that they establishing their lives for to win the battle of power
were determined. And the Hamburg workers can better right than any other
say: It was not just the burgers, but also Berlin, the Saxon and all
other communist workers in Germany, who were willing to fight.
The water's edge had gone through the same development as the rest of
Germany. A wave of strikes and wage battles chased by the whole coastal area.
On 20 October mighty unemployed demonstrations took place in Hamburg. In
different districts it came to looting of grocery stores and bloody
Clashes with the police. The exclusion zone was for years for the first time by force
breached. On Tuesday, October 23, in the morning, item 5 am, were soon in
all Hamburg outskirts police stations occupied by revolutionary struggle squads,
the police officer disarm all. All Vorräte of arms and ammunition from the
twenty-six overpowered police guards took the revolutionary struggle with squads
themselves. As the police headquarters his raiding parties and from outside already
fetched reinforcements sent, were the battle areas in armed fortresses
transformed. Hundreds of workers and working women built in the streets barricades.
Immortal is boasting of red Barmbeck. Police troops marched in whole
Companies and battalions, but they had to repeatedly without having achieved anything
repent because their losses at each assault were larger. The Barmbecker workers
had cut down trees, torn up the pavement, with tree trunks, stones and sand
street entrances barricaded. Behind this rampart they fought like tigers.
The first combat troops were unarmed when coup to the police stations. They
itself brought the guns and the ammunition only by the police. 300 men were in the fast
and barrage of 6,000 mercenaries of police, of the army and the navy. They
There were three days and three nights. They shot three days and three nights. They attacked them
fell, they went backward, but they did not surrender. They saved the honor of
Communist Party of Germany. They were the price the German fencer
Working class.
Hamburg was beaten. The barricade fighters were knocked down. Although there have been
just killed the best part was captured, persecuted and scattered. Sitting Today
they in penitentiaries and forts. They gave by their heroic defense in
Hamburg trials for high treason a prime example of how communists before the
to bourgeois class dishes occur.
The proletarian revolution has endured more than a bloody defeat. It is never
it bleeds. It is stronger, prouder, more resolute paced. The Paris
Commune was trampled. The Russian Revolution of 1905 ended on the gallows
the Tsar, in the dungeons, in Siberia. And she woke up anyway anew! also Hamburg
is not dead, but Hamburg is invincible. New uprisings of the proletariat, new victories
The counter-revolution followed the German October. In Poland, Estonia, Bulgaria stood on the workers and were beaten. And yet they will win! The uprisings of the proletariat are stages on the victorious march of the revolution, not only by their immediate positive results, but mainly due to the great teachings, they hammer into the whole working class.

What are the main lessons of the Hamburg uprising?

1. A numerically small crowd of proletarians who with great valor under the Banner dictatorship Fought has, could be used successfully against the twentyfold superiority. Keep the shiny organized and armed troops of the bourgeoisie militarily.

2. The imperishable glory of Hamburg October fighters is that they in a revolutionary situation to take up arms attacked, although they are not to 99 percent in the victory the bag had. Leninism teaches that one must take up the fight, if serious present opportunities for victory. A guarantee of victory there is never in advance. The Defeat in such a struggle is a thousand times more fruitful and worthwhile for the future the class struggle as a retreat without striking a blow.

3. The uprising led to the defeat because he was isolated because he was not in Saxony and in whole kingdom was immediately supported. Let the workers in a single location with the greatest heroism, supported by the most powerful mass movement, take up the fight: you be beaten, if not the proletariat in the whole country goes with them. Just the fact in the organization and summary of the entire working class in all

Industrial centers and major cities throughout the country beugtet the role of the Communist Party as a vanguard of the proletariat. Precisely for this reason we need an iron, completely closed, completely fused, strictly disciplined party.

4. It is not true that the Hamburg uprising was a coup, but he was supported by the Sympathy of the broadest masses supported. Even the police Senator Hense had angry admit that the Social Democratic workers in Hamburg, this rightmost organization the SPD, and with them "the widest circles of the population, to the Communists held ". Our weakness consisted in the fact that we did not understand, these masses firmly around to rally us, they pull over time in all partial struggles to us that with them United front to close against the Social Democratic leaders.

5. In order for the inevitable coming recurrence Hamburger struggle in much to conquer a larger scale, we must like a wedge penetrate into the masses, they unite a thousand brackets with us, a real proletarian united front with make millions of workers. In the trade unions, in all non-party organizations Working class must grow a great revolutionary wing, which together with the Communists to support the upcoming fights will.

6. A particular deficiency was in the Hamburg days of October, the lack of a strong Rate movement felt. This fact is not yet sufficiently understood in the party been. The councils are the organs that in a revolutionary situation, the vast masses summarize the proletariat, which are the backbone of the struggle. This teaching may we do not forget even in the current period between two revolutions.

7. The seizure of power by the proletariat is not a single act. It is not only in the military fighting against the troops of the bourgeoisie, but they must go through years of
prepared perennial work of the Communist Party and the whole proletariat will. The next winner over the bourgeoisie must by innumerable partial struggles, Organized educated, prepared. This is our main task in the present period.

8. It is not true that by the October defeat of 1923 a unique revolutionary Situation was "missed" for all. The defeat of 1923 was not permanent, any more than the defeat of the Spartacus League in Nosketagen of 1919 a was permanent. The stabilization of the bourgeois Germany has no staying power: Despite Dawes Plan and guarantee pact - or rather because of Dawes Plan and guarantee pact. The capitalist stabilization in Germany is experiencing now their first "difficulty breathing". The great result of the Hamburg uprising is that the workers of the seemingly invincible Seen class enemy three times twenty-four hours in all its weakness have. In the Hamburg days, workers have the bourgeoisie on the brink seen. And they will never forget this moment! We do not go a Stagnation, but new battles, we go with iron necessity in Germany the second revolution counter. Therefore the Hamburg uprising belongs not "the History " to, but it is a sample for the future.

9. The uprising was a prime example of the glossy, smooth-working Organization of the revolutionary struggle. But he revealed at the same time the largest organizational failure of our party. The Hamburger fighters had the full sympathy of the workers the factories, but they had no organizational link with them. It showed all the uselessness, the fatal backwardness of our old social democratic living organization. The voting machine is not suitable for the barricades! The most serious gap in Hamburg Battlefront was the absence of communist factory groups. A fighter flock, as the Hamburg, the the on entrenched cells in all establishments and the Association widest working masses is based, the future will be invincible in a similar situation.

10. The largest, most valuable teaching of the Hamburg uprising is the grand fulfillment of Role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. The Communists were not in words but in fact, the vanguard, the guide, the guide of Working class. They gave the movement a clearly defined goal, a precisely formulated Program: the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, the Hamburg fight is on a far higher level than any previous movements. The March Action of 1921 for For holding out no comparison with the Hamburg uprising. Just because the party Leading the struggle had firmly in his hands, was of the Hamburger Revolutionary for the first time in Western Europe understood the Marx-Engels doctrine and realized that the insurrection is an art and the principal rule of this art, the daring, unshakable resolute offensive.

These are the most important lessons of the Hamburg uprising. The cruel teaching money we paid for them was death and the imprisonment of our best. And yet: These sacrifices will be worth hundreds of times. They were not only to build a party of Bolsheviks brought in Germany but for the future of the entire working class. Instantly we are not in the period of direct storm, the immediate Struggle for the conquest of power. We are in the period between the first and the second revolution. If we analyze the world situation and the specific situation in
Germany, so it is clear for any serious people that the present “Respite” will not last long. We must take advantage of them well, in order to learn our to expand forces to train ourselves and the working class, and the working class politically and organizationally prepare for the new Hamburg dates in all German cities are experiencing a tremendous recovery. Especially in the current period of the patient small struggle, tough, slow-growing we must part movements a minute the meaning and teachings of Hamburg Supervisors Tande Forget Our party takes a decisive change from the top down to the lowest depths. You eradicate from the sham revolutionary, word radical spirit. they eliminated the remnants of sectarianism, the contempt for the masses in their own ranks. they change their tactics to even tighter, more closely with the Social Democratic workers, to connect with the masses in the trade unions and in the factories. She goes to the complete transformation of their organizational bases zoom. She is working to create a large left wing in the labor movement. To fulfill these tasks we need especially the patient, painstaking, tenacious Daily work. Does that leave the line of policy of the Hamburg uprising? No! If we lose them, we are lost. Due to the transition to the policy of Mass production and the mass guidance we forge the class basis for another Hamburger uprising incalculably wider scale, of much greater importance, of more deeper historical significance as it was the first. More than ever, must in this period every German Communist, every party member, every Member of the Communist Youth League, every revolutionary workers and always adamant the image of Hamburg October fighter in mind have: cold blood, death-defying, the cause of the working class boundless devoted the gun in his hand, before the barricade, ready to receive the enemy and to look at a single target directed to the biggest, proudest goal that there is a communist: the dictatorship of Proletariat!

"The Red flag"

October 23, 1925th

November 7 - a new era of history

For the 8th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

1. The international significance of the October Revolution

November 7, 1917 the start of the greatest turnaround in the history of Mankind. The decisive victory of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers on the allied landlords and capitalists has changed the face of the earth. Today there are no significant political phenomenon in the world that is not represented by the existence Soviet Union is affected, has a new epoch in the history of class struggles
Consider the movement of all oppressed classes on a world scale, we see that it has a different character since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. Colonial uprisings there were before November 7, 1917. Even before World War ferment in Morocco. In Turkey and China completed national revolutions. Undoubtedly it would be even without the existence of the Soviet Union to a great upheaval in China, to mighty liberation struggles come in all African and Asian colonies. The power of the imperialist oppressors is ten times weaker, the strength of revolutionary colonial peoples is ten times stronger, since in the Soviet Union, the proletariat prevails.

There was a national issue even before the war. Across Europe fought suppressed minorities to their autonomy. The existence of the Soviet Union gives today the movements of the oppressed nationalities in the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, in Poland a new content. Strengthened by its mere existence and tightened Soviet power the resistance of all oppressed nations. Large sections of the peasantry in Europe and around the world were already before 1914 dissatisfied with their position. The existence of the Soviet Union provides the toiling peasants of all countries a vivid picture for the fact that their interests thousand on the side of the proletariat be satisfied better than under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry wins for the first time for the masses not only the lagging, but also of the capitalist countries a concrete sense, since the hammer and sickle the arms have become for one sixth of the earth's surface.

Above all, starting with the November 7, 1917 a new era for the class struggle the proletariat in the advanced industrial countries. The international working class begins increasingly to understand that in this era no longer part of reforms, not more minor changes within capitalism are the goal of the class struggle, but the conquest of political power, the establishment of the Soviet Republic. The goals the proletarian class struggle, his character, his methods and his outlook have changed profoundly since 7 November 1917th. This is the most important of Russian October Revolution.

2. The power of the working class

Between the publication of the Communist Manifesto and the Russian October Revolution are almost seventy years of the proletarian class struggle. A row of popular revolutions took place in different countries. Until November 7, 1917 ended all these revolutions for a longer or shorter struggle with a decisive defeat. The Paris Commune was drowned in blood and fire. The Russian Revolution of 1905 ended in the orgies of the White Terror. The Russian February Revolution of 1917 threatened inconclusive to fizzle. For the first time the proletariat on November 7, 1917, not only a world-historical Second, but seized power for the duration. For the first time the proletariat not only a battle, but an entire war, the hardest, cruelest,
This teaching must be indelibly every communist in the eyes. This doctrine we must incessantly the whole working class memorize. This doctrine pull - anxiously and wuterfüllt - all exploiters.

Which explains the furious hatred of all capitalists against the Soviet Union? He explains from the fact that the working class, the one despised, the class struggle is mocked, whose victory was believed to be impossible, for the first time the power took their hands and ruthlessly anwandte against their enemies.

The Russian proletariat has triumphed, because it is the in decades of fighting acquired unshakable will to power. A number of proletarian revolutions went to the World War perished because the working class in Western Europe this will to Power does not already own. That is why the proletarian surveys in Finland, Hungary, were Germany, Bulgaria and Italy defeated. The awakening of the will to power is the most important task of the Communists in the coming era of proletarian Revolutions in Western Europe.

3. The Soviet Union after eight years of proletarian dictatorship

When the Spartacists after November 9, 1918 by the German People's Representatives the demanded immediate establishment of relations with Soviet Russia, said Kautsky, this requirement is meaningless, because the Soviet power "by all reliable information" in be overthrown within six weeks will. Meanwhile, not only six weeks years but eight years passed. Overthrown were the Social Democratic People's Representatives, and at the top of the German November Republic is now Field Marshal Hindenburg. Kautsky, however sitting in Vienna and writes there, just as eight years ago, Hetzbroschüren against the Soviet Union that nobody takes seriously anymore.

The Russian workers and peasants but threw the counterrevolution with weapons in their Hand down, repelled the intervention of foreign imperialists, ended victoriously the Civil War, overcame under going all out famine and work today with the greatest force in the construction of socialism.

Four years have passed since, under the leadership of Lenin with the New Economic Policy began. The policy of the Russian Communists not led to the fall of Soviet power, but to his ascent, which developed much faster than the Bolsheviks themselves adopted.

The big industry produced in 1920 17 percent of pre-war levels, today it produces 70 percent. Agricultural production fell in 1921 to 50 Percent of the pre-war standard, today it is 80 percent. Inflation is complete liquidated. The Soviet money today is more stable than the pound sterling. But not only the economic rise itself is of importance, but the Direction of this advance to socialism. Within the overall rise grow the socialist elements of the economy more than the capitalist. The Cooperatives unite now over 30 million members. The trade, which at the beginning the new economic policy was dominated by private capital, is now the Soviet State and cooperatives up to three quarters conquered. The banking and credit system, the Transport are concentrated almost 100 percent in the hands of the state. The wages of Worker who had fallen three years ago to 42 per cent of the prewar standard, has already
now reached an average of 80 percent. He has been in Moscow before the war wages
already surpassed by 20 percent. 62 percent of all means of production, in the
Big business, even up to 99 percent are in the hands of the proletarian state
concentrated.
Hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and peasants lead the state. But in the Soviets
are elected every year over a million workers and peasants.
A new generation of workers and peasants to grow under the leadership of
Communist Youth League zoom with its 1.2 million members.
Even the enemies of the Soviet Union, the enormous success of the proletarian dictatorship
recognize the cultural areas. Undoubtedly still difficulties exist on the
Way of socialist construction of the Soviet Union. The Russian Communist Party
clearly sees the potential sources of danger: intervention of foreign capitalists, certain
Contradictions between the proletariat and the individual layers of the peasantry, risk of
Loosening the connections between the Russian center and the national
Border areas, risk of detachment of the state apparatus of control of
Communist Party, a risk of temporary estrangement between the party
and the needs of the broad masses.
Just because the RCP (B) sees these dangers clearly, they will fit into any given stage of the
Developing the necessary measures and means to counter them. To this
Way it applies the Leninism as charioteer of the Soviet state, as the leader of the
Working class of the Soviet Union, as the victorious vanguard of the international proletariat.
Despite the terrible difficulties, the successes of the Soviet regime are after eight years
proletarian dictatorship so powerful that even forced the international Social Democracy
is to change the slogans of their anti-Soviet campaign. It sets out its
anti-Bolshevik struggle already no longer with the appeal to "the overthrow of the
Soviet power after six weeks", but under the banner of defense against
"Red imperialism". The social-traitors now see the main danger in the strength of
Soviet Union.
In order to serve the social democratic leaders with the interests of international capital,
the Locarno 38 an imperialist world front against the Soviet Union has created.

4. The change in the Western European proletariat

While in Locarno the rulers of Versailles with the capitalists of the defeated
Germany have united in preparation for a war of aggression against the Soviet Union,
while the Social Democratic leaders intensify their anti-Bolshevik campaign
takes place in the ranks of the Western European workers a profound conversion.
The results of eight years of proletarian dictatorship exert their effects on the
Class consciousness of all workers in the world. The re-emergence of the Soviet
Economy, their development towards socialism is the international working class that
the Social Democratic leaders have lied about the Soviet Union. hundreds of thousands
and millions of workers or the Soviet state just two years ago with suspicion
Indifference were, begin to be interested in his success.
Within the social democratic parties themselves awakened the attention of the
Soviet Union. The posting of workers' delegations from England, Germany,
Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Belgium is the beginning of a
Reorientation of the international proletariat against the Soviet Union. The idea of
Workers' delegations, the sympathy for the Soviet Union take ever broader masses.

38Treaty of Locarno - completed at the conference of Locarno (Switzerland), which from October 5th to 16th
1925 met. Represented were the UK, France, Italy, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and
Germany.
This is a phenomenon of the greatest importance for the future of the proletarian Class struggle. The lesson of the proletarian dictatorship is stronger for Socialism than seventy years of patient work of agitation until November 1917 were able.

The question Soviet Union is the dividing line between the reactionary leaders and the Social Democratic workers in enterprises. It is the beginning of a class differentiation of great extent within the social democratic parties. In England, the stronghold of European capitalism, the new pro-Soviet tendencies proved the Workers already stronger than the opportunistic traditions Social Democracy. The British Trade Union Congress has overwhelmingly Majority for the alliance with the Soviet working class pronounced. In Germany we only see the first seeds of a similar movement. It is the task of our Party, this development to speed with all forces. This is the real meaning of those major political change that we have finished with the last party conference. Incipient sympathy for the Soviet Union, producing the international united front of Proletariat, breaking the coalition with the bourgeoisie, the struggle for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship - these are the four main stages, before which international Proletariat stands. The internationalization of the Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917 - This is the content of the present historical epoch.

5. The role of the Bolshevik Party

How is it that the proletarian revolution is not in one of the most modern Industrialized countries, such as America, England or Germany, for the first time won, but in the backward, peasant Russia? Lenin taught us that the proletarian Revolution not only the result of internal development of this or that each country is, but the result of the contradictions in the world system of imperialism. The proletarian revolution does not win there first, where the industry, culture, Democracy are the highest developed, but where the chain of world imperialism is weakest where they can be blown easiest. In 1917 was the Chain of world imperialism in Russia weaker than in the other countries. She tore because in Russia the most powerful people's revolution unfolded, headed a revolutionary Proletariat marched, the one hundred twenty million exploited and repressed Farmers was allied. The collapse of tsarism, the lost war, the collection the peasant masses, the rebellion composed of peasants and workers tsarist army, the revolt of the oppressed nations, including the heroic Battle of the class-conscious industrial proletariat created an immediate revolutionary Situation of singular focus. At the same moment the enemies of the proletariat were utterly weakened. The tsarist landowners were by the February Revolution overthrown capitalist democracy had not yet found time, their power to Fasten the foreign imperialists were cleaved by its own contradictions, paralyzed by the world war.

The best conditions were created for the victory of the proletariat. Yet today we can say with certainty that the working class on November 7, 1917, not the power would have conquered, if not a factor would have been present, whose engagement the Decision brought about and thus the history of the world gave a new direction. This Factor was the Russian Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership Lenin.

Only the Bolsheviks were able in the eight months from February to October
to conduct counter-revolution to summarize all the forces of the revolution, on the
focus an object of the proletarian seizure of power and crucial in the
Hours of October to organize the uprising. Without the Bolshevik Party had
keep the Mensheviks the upper hand in the Soviets. The Russian bourgeoisie would have
with the German generals who were already in Riga, united; the uprising of
Proletariat and the basic surveys of the peasantry would in a sea of blood
suffocated.
November 7, 1917, the most powerful incarnation of the Leninist doctrine of
leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the proletarian revolution. This doctrine
the October Revolution is the exact counterpart of the main teaching of German
November Revolution. The first German Revolution was desperate after five years
Mass struggles, from Noske-days over the Kapp Putsch to Saxon
October defeat to Hamburg uprising of 1923, based, because the German
Proletariat lacked the leadership, the Bolshevik Party, which would have been able to
to direct struggle of the masses and organize.
comprehend 7 November 1917 is not only the fruit, but also its roots
recognize. These roots lie in the decades-long struggle, Lenin and the old
Guard of Bolshevism for the development of a revolutionary party led. The
Prerequisite for October victory was in the years 1907 to 1914 in the period
created between the defeat of the first revolution and the start of World War II.
We celebrate today, along with the eighth anniversary of the October Revolution, the twentieth
Return of the first Russian revolution of 1905. The 1905 was, in Lenin's words
the "dress rehearsal" for the October Revolution. Due to the vast experience of these
Rehearsal the Bolsheviks established their revolutionary theory, they worked the all-round
Leninist tactics to conquer and lead the masses out, collected and brought up
it the iron worker cadres who later head of the revolution.
From a historical point of view, the entire previous history was the German
Revolution of November 1918 until October 1923 only a "dress rehearsal" for the
coming second German revolution. We have our 1905 already behind us, but our
1917 is still ahead of us.
Our party is now working on the creation of conditions for the German October.
Due to the experience of our first revolution we need a party emerge,
which is able to lead the German proletariat to struggle for power. We are
us in a similar period as Russian Bolshevism 1905-1914
going through.
However, there are fundamental differences between the German and Russian
Revolution. Capitalism is in industrial Germany infinitely stronger than in
backward Russia. Its strength is reflected in the great influence which the
Social Democratic leaders still exercise on the proletariat. The policy of the German
Social Democracy is much more dangerous, much more reactionary than the Russian
Menshevism was.
Therefore, the main task of the Communists in Germany in smashing the
Influence of the Social Democratic leaders on the German proletariat, and in particular the
Unionism.
The difference between the German and the Russian revolution is not one-sided in the stronger power of German capitalism to search. Even the proletariat is in Germany more than it was in the petty-bourgeois Russia. Both fronts, both the Revolution like that of the counter-revolution, are wider and stronger in Germany. That is why the revolution in Germany long, complicated and laborious than in Russia. The German proletariat is all the stronger because it already experiences the three Russian revolutions and the eight-year practice of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union possesses. The German proletariat has two world powers to allies to Time of the Russian October Revolution did not exist. His first ally is the Soviet Union itself. The second world power that is on our side, is the Communist International. The Created Comintern whose first beginnings of Lenin right in the imperialist world war were, is the revolutionary child of victory of 7 November 1917. It brings together the Experience of Russian Bolshevism, the teachings of the victory of the Soviet revolution with the results of the struggle of the international working class. It is our greatest leaders. Now more than ever needs the eight-year commemoration of November 7, all Communists, all revolutionary workers call the prophetic words to mind that Lenin in 1919 wrote. "The formation of III, the Communist International is the precursor the international republic of Soviets, the world victory of Communism." [Lenin, Selected works in two volumes, Vol. II, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1954, p 505. The Red. ]

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"
of 7 November 1925th
Against the Treaty of Locarno

*Speech in the Reichstag*

*November 24, 1925*

I want, before I go on the real issue, some remarks preface.
We will put in the debate on the Treaty of Locarno three speakers in three principle and definitive position on the various issues directions will. I myself will try the Treaty of Locarno in the basic geopolitical and domestic political contexts in connection with the League of Nations to describe and its impact on the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union.
A second speaker, our group is to the speech of Chancellor Dr. Luther received to determine simultaneously with what great optimism Dr. Luther Arguments tried herauszuschälen from the contract, which in the course of development be thwarted by the facts. A third speaker will address what the Overall debate is brought by the various speakers expressed here, namely in Connection with the development, in England, in the Soviet Union and also in itself Germany shows.
The Communist faction has already stated on several occasions that we in the Development have experienced several stages since 1918, where the German Bourgeoisie together with the Social Democrats through the measures of the Entente imperialism was defeated. If we here on the rostrum of parliament currently, I believe, as the only serious and fundamental opponents of Locarno Treaty appear, especially after the Soviet Union, by the representative of the foreign policy Chicherin, has spoken in the same sense, we believe that serious in this Situation especially our really serious political arguments sufficiently hearing should pay. We bring them in connection with those methods of the English Imperialism emanating at the same time of Germany for the coming years seriously bring in the imperialist front. If a step towards Locarno Securing peace, for social and national liberation of the oppressed and exploited classes and peoples, the Communist Party of Germany, the
Communist International, the only proletarian state, the only friend of all oppressed classes and peoples, the Soviet Union, every Communist would unconditionally advocate Locarno. With the same energy with which we are now the oppressed classes and countries before Locarno warn with which we organize the fight against Locarno, with the same energy we would enter for Locarno. For the workers of the world, the oppressed hundreds of millions of farmers and workers in China, in India, in Africa want freedom from the shackles of capitalism and imperialism. They all fight for the Conquest of social and national freedom, for by the power of the working people all countries truly secure world peace.

A few days ago the "forward" called on the occasion of the Italian by police fictitious assassination of Mussolini, Mussolini a murderer. On Friday Hilferding spoke in Reichstag against the bloody regime of oppression Mussolini. The system of terror under Implementing this murderer is not only directed against the workers and everything bourgeois is democratically minded, but also against the Germans in South Tyrol. Coming in from the Socialists of all countries vaunted peace Locarno Pact contains the signature this murderer. The Rep That Mörertums guarantees together with the England Peace between Germany and France. The signature of the fascist Guarantor of peace located in coequal company on the piece of paper for the Social Democracy is the new era of peace, with the signature of the Minister of Foreign Affairs French Government, the newly commissioned by French banks in noble Community scheduled a people exterminated with the Spanish dictator at Rif which in Syria, the Mandate of the League of Nations, with tanks, guns and gallows for to make League propaganda investigated. The peace pact also carries the signature of the Representative of the imperialist English bourgeoisie, against the domination Hundreds of millions of Chinese and Indian peasants and workers revolt. Of the Peace pact was signed by the representatives of the Czech and Polish Bourgeoisie, which not only brutally their workers and peasants exploits, but also brutally the national minority raped. The peace pact carries finally the signature of Representative of the German birgerblock government, the representatives of German heavy industry and Junker that of the consent of the General Civil block, the President Republic and the Honorary President of the Stahlhelm, and in agreement with the German Social Democrats, the German workers and peasants as the mercenaries provide interests of British imperialism available. Not officially involved in Locarno are the American bankers. No representative of the American bourgeoisie with signing the contract. But the American Financial capital that sees Europe as a large colony from which it enormous profits can pull out, has worked very actively in the realization of Locarno. In the Estates of the bankers, the industrialists and the big landowners, the representatives of the given to understand American finance capital unequivocally that the American Imperialism Locarno wishes. Between Stresemann, the Foreign Minister of the German bourgeoisie, and the Social Democracy, the party of a stopgap, an avid betting dispute has arisen, who is the father of Locarnopolitik. Herr Stresemann thinks he's a genius politician, of Germany on Locarno leads to old power and glory, and the Social Democracy, which has once felt the genius of Stresemann,
when she namely got from him a kick and flew out of the government, declared triumphantly: Locarno is the victory of the social democratic policy. went Yes, the "forward" even so far that he accused Mr Stresemann once of theft, namely the Theft of the peace policy of Locarno. So the roles are neatly in Germany distributed. The former Foreign Minister of biirgerblock propagated Locarno as realpolitik the German bourgeoisie. Social democracy propagated Locarno as peace policy "Socialism". The German Nationalists whose industrialist and großagrarische circles for Locarno, which from my heart fell when the Social Democrats declared themselves ready jump for the foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie into the breach - this German Nationalists suddenly mimes opposition because millions of their followers bitterly over the brutal economic and social policy of biirgerblock, exasperated by the Appreciation treason under the leadership of Hindenburg - while the German princes Hundreds of millions in the throat throws - embittered about the price reduction of dizziness Government Luther begin to see the true face of Dawes German Nationalists. Under the guise of national opposition this Dawes German Nationalists million supply Peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the middle class to the interests of heavy industry and Junker. Under the guise of national opposition they provide millions of German toilers the Interests of the domestic capitalism and of foreign imperialism. Given this infamous maneuver of the parties of the German bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy we remind the German working class, the whole working class the world of the words of Rosa Luxembourg, today victorious from in Germany Reaction in alliance with the Socialists murdered great leader of the proletariat, of those words, they in the "Spartacus Letters" wrote in 1916:

"Always eager to begin the official Chargé ruling classes, the World War II the conjured up in their cheating of nations confusion and the wrong card Arbitration thought to interfere. Wilson, Grey, and of course the German chancellor - she all agree to one, the League of Nations' join, even - think! - .to the top a League of Nations to occur, which keeps the troublemakers in check. ' And, as the Herre, so's seen. As the state diplomacy, so their social democratic ' Advertising drummers. In Germany most. They eagerly spread the demagogic and Humbug plustern him to the government to be surrounded by a halo and zuzutreiben her the masses to lulling the proletariat and divert attention from its own policy. As they of the basics have betrayed the party program, so they slaughter now its individual words out only to the to provide masses under the command of the ruling classes. " [ "Spartacus" no. 3 from December 1916. The Red. ]

These words of Rosa Luxembourg meet the present situation to one replaces Wilson and Grey Chamberlain, Briand, Luther and Stresemann. What Rosa Luxembourg in 1916 wrote, it could be written today for Locarno. The Social Democrats try to provide German working class under the command of the German bourgeoisie, and the German bourgeoisie tries to Germany under the command of the English to ask imperialism. Neither Mr. Stresemann even the German Social Democrats are the fathers of Locarno. They are, at best, the mothers were, the illegitimate mothers. Because the English Imperialism has the advantage of this compound and Germany all disadvantages. Of the Guarantee Pact has not come in what is called the head of Stresemann. It is it well known that the British Ambassador Lord D'Abernon behalf
his government Stresemann made the suggestion to take the initiative. It is also generally known that Herr Stresemann, the exponent of the German bourgeoisie, Warranty policy on behalf of the British Government made. Herr Stresemann spoke once the peace offensive, undertaken by Germany. Well, the peace offensive of Stresemann that he and with the approval of the entire German bourgeoisie undertakes on behalf of the English bourgeoisie, is through diplomatic means initiated offensive England, in Europe by incorporating a Germany to form anti-Soviet block. English imperialism, the one in the Far East desperate battle against the awakening of the oppressed nations leads English, Imperialism, which wants to destroy the proletarian Soviet Union because the alliance of victorious workers and peasants of the Soviet Union with the workers and the oppressed the rule of imperialism threatened nations around the world, this English Imperialism wants Europe to organize a British front against the Soviet Union. The Contradictions between the individual states of Europe, especially between France and Germany should be exploited for the interests of the English world politics. The imperialist antagonisms between the individual states of Europe are so long are normalized, as it needs the British imperialism. In Europe should effectively a peace limited liability under the direct dependence of this Peace from the English imperialism exist. That is the real content of the so-called Western Pact, the so-called understanding between France and Germany. Of the British imperialism needs a controlled him peace state between France and Germany. But this understanding between Germany and France must not go so far that it is an alliance of these two states. Between Germany and France - as required by the interests of the English Imperialism - should always remain so many areas of friction that the English Imperialism is capable of the German-French imperialist antagonisms for its exploit world politics. French imperialism today by England and America was forced on Germany to change its methods, instead of Politics Poincaré to make politics Painlevé and Briand, of course, has his plan of Hegemony over Europe not given up, and also has the German bourgeoisie their Plan a revenge war against France not abandoned. But the German Bourgeoisie is defeated and disarmed. Just as the victory of the Russian Revolution meant annihilation of Brest-Litovsk, it means the defeat of the German Revolution maintaining Versailles. The representatives of the so-called German Realpolitik, Luther, Stresemann and General von Seeckt know that neither the weapons of Reichswehr nor the resistance of the German working class overnight this make war of revenge possible. These representatives of the German bourgeoisie hope on a other way the old imperialist, monarchist Prussia-Germany rebuild. Like the reaction now other methods for holding down the Working class and for the reconquest of the monarchy than those adopted in the Kapp Putsch, namely Monarchisierung Germany at low temperature to under provisional retention the formal republic, just trying now to foreign policy, the German bourgeoisie with Locarno apply another method. The German bourgeoisie tries as mercenary of British imperialism, the German imperialism rebuild. The policy of bürgerblock inward
German bourgeoisie hoped to payable services against the Soviet Union’s support of British imperialism in recapturing the lost territory, the
Support at a later date at the rearmament and support
to get English and American loans.
She goes to the West pact on a provisional peace with France. They committed
to be, do not make war against France, and it is this relationship with France
under English control.
The peace between Germany and France is and must come. For the peace
between France and Germany, for the Alliance of proletarian France with
a proletarian Germany fight together the French and German
Communists. The Western Pact under British control, while maintaining the
Rule of the French and German bourgeoisie does not mean peace.
This West pact means only that the German bourgeoisie at the moment where they not
has power to march against France, this bitter for the German bourgeoisie
Fact notes in the form of this West Pact. The Western Pact means for the French
Bourgeoisie that they at this moment does not have the power only the expression of the fact
to make active Poincaré policy. The English control of the so-called
Peace relationship between Germany and France - the guarantee of
fascist murderer regime not to speak - means that in the moment when the
Policy of the German bourgeoisie does not correspond to the wishes of the English policy,
French imperialism, supported by England against Germany poincaristisch
will proceed. The English control and guarantee of the Western Pact is a weapon in the
Hands of the English bourgeoisie to Germany as planned in the ring of English
forge encirclement against the Soviet Union.
We explain here aloud the German, before the French and before the entire
international working class: The Western Pact is not the peace between France and
Germany, the German and French workers and peasants with a vengeance
want. The Western Pact is not the prevention of a new, yet grauenhafteren German-
French front of infantry, artillery, gas and fliers. The West pact means the
Displacement of another war between Germany and France on later times.
The English Garant, British imperialism, it always has in his hand, in Europe the
let go of the chain of the war.
They will explain, this is all a fantasy of the Communists. Well, I’m a
cite witnesses who belongs to the party which describes itself as the father of Locarnopolitik
and will step in as a stopgap for the German Nationals tomorrow. The
"Hamburger Echo" of the Social Democrats, a party loyal board member, wrote on 15th
June - you listen carefully, this is very interesting, although it generally Quotes
not -:

"The inevitable consequence of made by Stresemann only English-oriented policy was that the
entire eastern neighbors of Germany reinforced their connection in Paris. The
Encirclement against Germany is more alive than ever, the ring around Germany is gaining strength.
How now France's debt will formulated on invasion of German territory, whether
significantly weakened or hiding - the most essential thing is not this requirement, but
France generally points as an example positive and tangible success. It has been brought and does not know what. Stresemann failed. He has not been able to perform the security policy European. He has brought limited nationalistic stupid and selfish to a dead end. His London Speculation was plump and lazy. Way with this foreign minister! 

So wrote the "Hamburger Echo" on June 15!

Yes, away with this foreign minister, the morning the Social Democrats again will give a vote of confidence. But this foreign minister is the exponent of the German Bourgeoisie, and therefore away with the rule of the German bourgeoisie! Down with Locarno, down with the spirit of the imperialist policy of the stage of preparation new wars in the guise of peace occurs, in order to mislead the working people of all countries, as well as in 1914, where the long-prepared war - with peace speeches and conferences - Suddenly stood in front of the masses and the masses drove in panic to the slaughter. So willingly Herr Stresemann was in English desire a Western Pact under English complete guarantee, as ready he was to the English desire no Eastern Pact complete. Yes, they say even generally that the rolling up of the issue of Germany's eastern borders was also created at this stage on British initiative. In the Germany's position on the question of its eastern borders are not only the clearer Intentions of the German bourgeoisie to the fore, but also the most peripheral the dependence on the British imperialism. How easy it is, the German bourgeoisie And their Lord to lure foreign minister. The British Foreign Secretary made the German bourgeoisie hopes for a revision of the eastern frontiers, so to speak, as Down payment for the pivoting of Germany in the anti-Soviet block. In order to reached following the British policy: They drew attention from Germany West gone out to the East. And by the British policy Germany the question Alsace-Lorraine can roll up to the east, British diplomacy may at any time if it it seems necessary to throw new conflict between France and Germany. Poland has a military alliance with France. The German-Polish borders are a Franco-German question. May the men Stresemann and Luther hundred a Rhine Pact conclude, the French and Polish bourgeoisie understand very well what it Namely, when the German bourgeoisie refuses to conclude an Eastern pact. Lord Stresemann calculated approximately as follows: Close, we now have a pact among Rhein English guarantee, we ensure preliminary peace in the West, we have joined hands free to an eventual bloody adventure in the East, then we can speak our "Resurgence" with recapturing the Polish Corridor, Upper Silesia, Danzig etc. start. And proudly announced Herr Stresemann as a success of Locarno that Germany had no Eastern Pact concluded and France no guarantee between Germany and Poland was.

Even the hearts of the German military reaction higher. Already dreaming the German reaction, first of all, to do away with the Polish "archenemy". We must now face the German and the international working class of the Ostpolitik German bourgeoisie unmasking. What here in the German bourgeoisie breastfeeding is organized, can become a tremendously bloody adventure tomorrow. The German workers have to be careful that the attempts of the German bourgeoisie to Recapturing the lost eastern provinces not to initiate the next
Mean war. The German workers must shift its attention that the
Trends within the German bourgeoisie grow, through the Polish Corridor in
a new war hineinzutaumeln.
Is this just a view of the Communists? Let again a
Socialist witness, the "Hamburger Echo", say:

"In fact, the splendid nature of Stresemann, to communicate thoughts of
to handle security pact politically, has acted quickly alarming in Paris. Germany has
on its western border peace and security for all time to - so might one calculates in Paris
have, but Does not that so had the Parisian further consider that Germany in the West
will establish a insurmountable for France dam to the east undisturbed a bloody
to prepare adventure?"

Herr Stresemann is very proud of the achievements of his Ostpaktpolitik which he, from the English
Diplomacy advice, let the stack. He is very proud that he no Eastern pact with Poland
completed and that France is not a guarantee between Germany and Poland. But what
in reality, the "genius" of Stresemann from? Well, Georg Bernhard, a very
zealous advocate of Locarno, wrote about the role of France as a guarantor of German
Polish border these days the following:

"But if one refrains from feeling mediocre, as was the elimination of the French
Guarantee a double-edged weapon. France is connected to Poland by a treaty of alliance.
This alliance contract does not know the distinction between the attacker and the attacked.
He could give the Poles the handle, military aid just to Germany from France
to require in all circumstances."

And also the "forward" stated that the guarantor role of France on the German-
Polish and German-Czech borders with the agreement of France
Poland and Czechoslovakia has fled. So in reality wakes French
Imperialism on the limit of its Polish and Czech vassals. Upper Silesia,
the Polish Corridor and Danzig by the French troops still
guarded. With the success of the Lord Stresemann it looks very windy. The hope of
Men Stresemann and Luther and the German bourgeoisie asks in a situation
in England Germany intends to actively use against the Soviet Union, the prices for
to demand the revision of the German-Polish border.
We will perform together with the Polish Communist Party to fight to
to prevent any bloody adventure of the German and the Polish bourgeoisie to the
social and national freedom by the Guarantee Pact of the international proletarian
to realize united front.
Germany should enter the League of Nations. The German bourgeoisie and the
Social Democratic leaders know that the League is not only an instrument of
Winner of Versailles means an instrument for increasing the authority of the
imperialist policy of the different powers, but the German bourgeoisie and the
German Social Democrats are also the importance of the war paragraphs 16 and 17
fully aware. The German Government and the German bourgeoisie are ready to take it to
to leave victorious powers of Versailles, when and against whom Germany war
has lead. The German bourgeoisie is preparing to unconditional war to paragraphs
accept. When the League of Nations under the leadership of England war in the Soviet Union
wants to lead, the German bourgeoisie has through the adoption of this paragraph
volunteered to support the war with the Soviet Union. When the League of Nations under
the leadership of England imposed an economic blockade on the Soviet Union, is
the German bourgeoisie prepared by the voluntary adoption of §§ 16 and 17 such to support the League of Nations action against the Soviet Union.
Such a policy makes already England in Austria. The leader of the Austrian Social Democrats, Otto Bauer, one of the main leaders of the II. International, resulted in Austrian Parliament a few months ago, that:

"Is not it a shame that the question of whether an appropriate rational credit organization should be created to meet the employment of many thousands of Austrian unemployed secure, can not be treated differently than under the influence of the London high finance, from the purely political purposes impose us to participate in the credit blockade against Soviet Russia wants, so that the Austrian workers with increased unemployment British policy against mitbezahlen Soviet Russia in China and Afghanistan."

The Austrian Parliament reports recorded at these words Bauers violent Cheers of Socialists.
Imagine now available: The German bourgeoisie was preparing to the German workers and farmers to the instrument of British policy against the Soviet Union, against the awakening people to use, and the German Social Democracy applauds this outrageous attempt by the German bourgeoisie applause. The German Social Democracy used all their influence that Germany volunteered the command of English imperialism spot available. One does not speak of it, that this is not the Intentions of the German bourgeoisie. I could hundreds of voices from the press the German Nationalists cite, where clearly stated that Germany to to the highest possible price to sell England. The "cross newspaper" for example, the Organ of the so-called National Opposition, wrote the following:

"Our policy has to be careful that we are not without consideration in the Anglo-French bloc are involved."

Herr Stresemann, the real present politicians of the German bourgeoisie, and the Socialists call Locarno and the entry into the League of Nations as a peace policy. We ask: Is it true that England a Ostseekonföderation all Baltic States against the Soviet Union organized? Is it true that England from the Black Sea as far north as Finland planned tried to organize an anti-Soviet front? Herr Stresemann and the decisive circles of the German bourgeoisie know exactly what played becomes. As much as they conceal it from the masses by diplomatic phrases looking, much as the German Nationals play the role of Bauer catcher here, make it conscious policies that is directed in the style of the English Imperialism the German front to oppose the Soviet Union. The "Hamburger Echo" I have already cited several times, had to admit that British diplomacy a Ostseekonföderation trying to organize with the main front against the Soviet Union. The voluntary acceptance of war paragraphs 16 and 17 means the willingness of German bourgeoisie, against corresponding concessions British actions against the to support the Soviet Union. By voluntarily accepting these paragraphs - about the Democrat Theodor Wolff wrote that consistent pacifists those paragraphs not can easily take as they carry a possibility of war in themselves that Democrats with the waive adoption of this section on the principle that only the people's representatives to can declare war - is most blatantly the pivot of German foreign policy towards the Soviet Union in. Thus the fact is revealed that we here from the Rostrum of parliament recall all workers: Locarno is not peace, is Locarno not the path to peace, Locarno is not an attempt by way of diplomatic Discussions, to prevent by concluding contracts the war, but is Locarno
Lead England against the Soviet Union and the hundreds of millions of awakening the oppressed peoples of the Far East and in Africa. Locarno is an attempt to form an international united front black! Germany and Europe should march to the awakening peoples, resulting from the domination of the English Imperialism free to help prostrate to it the English bourgeoisie to allow to their domination of the Chinese and Indian workers and peasants to back up.

The spirit of Locarno is that Germany against the side of the English reaction to swivel in the alliance of social and national revolution. The Germans Big industrialists, the Junkers, the monarchist generals hope than English Landsknechtes not only its own workers and peasants, the German revolution hold down, but they hope the same time on the suppression of the Bolshevik Russia and the restoration of tsarist Russia in order to the victory of world reaction and the old monarchist Germany to resurrect leave. Like the Horthy and Zankoff system of the English bourgeoisie was promoted and supported, hopes the German bourgeoisie to the promotion and Support in. the English bourgeoisie.

Is that only gives a particular view of the Communists? Draw the Communists here a bogey on the wall that does not exist in reality?

Listen to what is currently the Social Democrats in a good hour in Austria in their Central organ gave expression:

"But you need only British policy to pursue to see that although the Locarno Liquidation of the last war in the West, the end of the story of yesterday is that it but that as a guarantee against a future war has only a locally limited importance. one makes peace in Westerz, one makes peace on the Rhine. The story turns to the Nile, to Euphrates and the Yangtze River. They liquidated the war of yesterday to the hands free to get to tomorrow."

An excellent formulation, a really clear language! You hit the nail on the head. It marks the true spirit of Locarno and the true content of the Love mug. Locarno liquidated the war of yesterday to free to get their hands on the war of tomorrow. The war of the future is the class war, the struggle of declining capitalist world against the Soviet Union, against the social revolution in West and against the national revolutions of hundreds of millions of workers and Farmers in the Far East and in the oppressed colonies.

The German bourgeoisie feels a very wise policy to make, and keeps Mr. Stresemann for the second Bismarck because he is willing to Germany's policy on British initiative to oppose the Soviet Union. Herr Stresemann hoped very much for German Bourgeoisie, if he is traveling under the command of British imperialism.

Of course, as regards the so-called feedback effects, so they are not even in the occurred small extent as that of the German bourgeoisie as a prerequisite for Signing of the Locarno Treaties were drawn up. The government demanded: No Laying of Cologne troops to other places of the occupied territory. But the English Crew Cologne goes to Wiesbaden. The government demanded: No black troops more. Then she got no answer. The government demanded: A revision of the
Police relations in the occupied territory. This was rejected. The government called for: The setting of mixed commissions from German and Allied delegates for consultation via reduction and dismantling of the occupying forces. This was rejected. The government called: The abolition of all orderlies. But part was not lifted. The government urged: Shortening the occupation period. This was rejected. Rejected were further the granting of a special Parliament in the Saar, a former Vote in the Saar, the abolition of the restriction of German air traffic, the transfer of colonial mandates. What Germany has accomplished is substantially a return to the Treaty of Versailles. The German bourgeoisie and Mr. Stresemann hoped that her swinging liquidate in the English united front Versailles becomes. You are ready to do so much for England that they can hope to England would do much for Germany. But the whole German bourgeoisie must get clear be that a mercenary is also treated as mercenary. With each small Concession that will allow England Germany, England is a major concession Germany in the diplomatic, economic and finally also in military combat demand against the Soviet Union. Payment will be made only after the battle, and is the Landsknecht like, then the better, then saves you the money. But, ladies and gentlemen, that you feel today so be sure you are careful to You earlier, as it was not in other situations, the case of the proletariat Statement made! Do not remarkable that the German working class and also Million that are still standing behind the German Nationalists, in ever-increasing pace understand that the road to social and national freedom of Germany on the Destruction of your own rule is that the way to the conquest of the national and social freedom does not guarantee the Locarno Pact, not the guarantee pact black Front, but the Guarantee Pact red front, the Guarantee Pact of Bolshevism? The entire German bourgeoisie is involved in this policy. But for the so-called German national opposition there are only a laughter. The Locarnopolitik is and was made by the German Nationalists to the Social Democrats. The Social permit by their need, again together with Stresemann a to form government, the German Nationals for a while the further deception of Million German. The German national leaders make a miserable course Maneuver to cover the policy of heavy industry, the Junker and the banks. So pathetic this maneuver is the German national leader, yet it is the expression of Fact that many working people who stand behind the German Nationalists, unlike planning to create Locarnopolitik the policy of the German bourgeoisie. It is our his task to expose the maneuvers of the German Nationals and millions of followers German Nationalists to lead from the camp of reaction on the side of the workers. In the broad masses of workers begins the distrust of the Locarnopolitik German bourgeoisie to become noticeable. This is expressed in the Workers' delegations, in the hundreds of meetings where these delegations workers reported back, and even in the press of the "left" Social Democrats. Much as the "left" Social Democratic leaders try the hard facts not see and to draw the hard conclusions, however much these "left" Socialist Leaders distrust also wider social democratic working masses against the try to appease Locarnopolitik with general phrases, as much need
these so-called left-social democratic leaders under the pressure of distrust of Workers admit that Locarno does increase the danger of war. Writes for For the "Leipziger Volkszeitung":

"Receives the British Ministry the proposed guarantee position and this in explicit Unlike the Board of Soviet Russia, then must that necessarily in the other reflect corresponding distribution of forces in Europe and throughout the world. Insofar increase the dangers of a coming war between the British Empire and the Soviet power in Eastern Europe and northern Asia." 

The same newspaper did not write in another article, that is the impression can help thinking that the Pact of Locarno serve the interests of the British world policy should. Similarly written various other "left" Socialist newspapers. I

have just cited the "Hamburger Echo" and Otto Bauer. The more open the German pivots bourgeoisie into waters of English politics, the more suspicious is the Workers against Locarno, the stronger growing sympathy for the Soviet Union. At This fact can also Herr Wels, the "glorious" city commandant of Berlin, the tried today to keep a fine speech for Locarno and against the Soviet Union, absolutely not change anything. At this fact also the convenient phrases of the "left" are Social Democratic leaders do not change, which should reassure the proletariat so that it the easier of the official instances of social democracy and the II. International is placed under the command of the German bourgeoisie. It is the iron consequence, that social democracy, which is in foreign policy united front with the bourgeoisie, is ready to domestic politics to govern jointly with the German bourgeoisie. they threatened with the dissolution of the Reichstag; Mr. Luther remained very quiet. He expected with the defection of the German Nationals and the defection of the Social Democrats. He knew that the leaders of the German Social Democrats to go along with the bourgeoisie since 1914th Currently we see that fact that the Social Democrats still do not know whether they se involved the government or whether it should proceed to in the form of an anonymous Coalition Party to support the government. Their role is definitely the hinwegzuhelfen bourgeoisie about the moment where there is the German National expedient hold to make a little opposition. Their role is definitely on Social Democratic workers to say what Mr. Chamberlain in English Lord Stresemann said. We say in discussing the Locarnovertrages not only in the various meetings, but also in the trade unions, in our press and also from the rostrum of Parliament clearly and with great selectivity in that the assumption the Locarno Pact, the evocation of the biggest political and economic means risks for the German working class. Do you like our prediction as exaggerated, called agitational phrase. The representatives of the revolutionary parties, the representatives of revolutionary Marxism have more than once in the history proven development that it clearer and more correct than the spokesmen of the ruling Classes have expressed how the actual development proceeds. There was Once upon a time, when the whole bourgeois world on the predictions of the Bolsheviks smiled. Yet in 1916 were ridiculed Lenin and his friends only a very small band Emigrants who were abroad and this went over to analyze from abroad,
that the next attack on capitalism the advance of the workers and peasants in Russia would be and that through this initiative of the workers and peasants in Russia in the Epoch of imperialism imperialism not only weakened, but a whole new World movement will arise. Lenin foresaw that the imperialist war of 1914 could end only with the unleashing of the world revolution. Nobody believed it. The capitalist governments felt safe until in November 1918, after World Wars, and in Germany the storm broke. Lenin saw but requires at the same time, that the world proletarian revolution is not the work in 24 hours, but only on will exceed a chain heavy defeats and struggles to victory. He predicted that in case of failure of the revolutionary movements immediately after War, the united international bourgeoisie would make an attempt on the diverse fields a regime of cruel oppression of the conquered peoples, the most inhuman Ausräuberung and plunder the toiling masses perform. This prediction is really communicating with the Locarno Treaty to become fact. The German proletariat is doubly oppressed: It is exploited by the defeated capitalists of their own country, and it is at the same time the slave of World imperialism. Eggs Locarno Pact sealed once this situation of the German Proletariat despite the beautification theories that the part of the government in the masses German population are hurled. The working masses will by the word of peace and the new age of not be led astray democracy. From peace and democracy first was the Speech, as Wilson's 14 points aufstellte. We have seen how since the whole Development in the world is run. This resulted in the cease of the General Foch and the Treaty of Versailles. sought with the slogan of peace and democracy you can make the workers the Dawes Plan tasty. Today is the first year Dawes over. The first Dawes year, which was only a deferred payment and no payment year, has already the difficulties shown in the whole of German history. The second year Dawes will bring greater difficulties because we 1.22 billion marks in this year are forced to apply that of the control pockets of the working masses must be herausgeplündert. We also see that the consequences to the Dawes Agreement not only in the economic crisis, but also in other fields, such as the exploitation of the proletariat, become noticeable. Over a million people have already unemployed in Germany. Need and hunger reign, and ruled the President Hindenburg Next, the control rules, and we see that the government absolutely no measures take. The exorbitant rents that govern tax whip, and we see that by the Measures of cartels and trusts that govern even in Germany, for the minority well-off, both toiling masses of the proletariat as well as the small Businessmen and farmers absolutely no action shall be taken in this Stage are essential. Fortunately the German working class is quite another when she of it at that time was developing, in Wilson which established 14 points. We really serious seven Years behind us seven years of hard, heavy experience of revolutionary struggles. We have seven years behind us, of really serious successes of mighty opposites, which expressed in the class struggle. We have at the same term is seven years behind us, where
World imperialism is gone over to the Germans suppressed as well as the Colonial peoples in the economic, political and military field. We know that today the Social Democrats again the block with Imperialism tries to preach the new for us misery, new reaction and last means end even war.

The working class sees that the pressure of the revolution, the struggle for the revolution, the announce we Communists and organize, which is the only possible way to salvation. four Things means the Locarno Pact for the working class: First, the threat to peace, secondly, the strengthening of reaction, thirdly, a tightening of economic hardship and fourthly, the hostility of the German bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. Of the Locarno Pact represents a triple threat to peace. The conflict in the Western Limits will break as soon as England holds the hour had come, with Germany Help play its contrasts to France, and the conflict at the eastern borders breaks los once British imperialism holds come for the period, Germany in the war rushing with Poland. But not only by the immediate issue of the Western borders and the Eastern borders, through the explosive in the Rhineland and the Polish Corridor, the Threat of war provoked, but also by Germany's entry into the League of Nations. The League of Nations was founded at the instigation of the imperialists Wilson to be an "instrument of peace". But I think no day has been the existence of

39 From the President of USA Wilson on January 8, 1918-positioned "peace program". thought The fourteen points, as a countermeasure to the effective peace offensive of the Soviet Government, veiled behind pacifist and demagogic slogans, the true intention of the Allies: a bring imperialist peace. This program tried the American Imperialism, a block of capitalist states against Soviet Russia cobble together.

League of Nations passed when not at any spot in the world war has broken out, it was in the colonies, it was in the Balkans, be it in the Middle, or in Far East. I had already highlighted a fact that today no longer solely on the Communists, but also by many leaders of the Socialist International, to Example of Otto Bauer, yes, even of the most sensible politicians of the bourgeoisie is recognized: The League of Nations English-run is not an instrument of peace, but an organization to prepare for a war of aggression against the Soviet Union. Its entry into the League of Nations Germany advocates the anti Soviet coalition, the Bunde for imperialist intervention against single workers 'and peasants' state, at. It is amazing with what openness the bourgeois press purely already have the military issues of the war against the Soviet Union discussed. In "8 o'clock Abendblatt" is General Hoffmann also writes in the Social Democratic press the Republican police colonel Schützinger different products in this line, and the General Freiherr von Maltzahn notes that Germany in as a member of the League The event of war against the Soviet Union is obliged to his little Reichswehr in the fight with insert and make the kingdom to Etappengebiet France:

"This requires the development of lines of communication by the German Reich from a Longitudinal extent of about 800 to 1000 kilometers. The French are more must take railway lines with their lateral feeder strands lay claim and its administration make. Such a requirement is militarily justified. You must the kingdom, which has joined the League of Nations, to be absolutely conceded that France ensuring
wants to provide necessities of life to its front-line troops under his own responsibility. France etc. by sentries on all exposed areas, such as bridges, overhead overpasses, tunnels secure these railway lines against attacks. At all stations are mobile and immobile Station commandaturas be used with guards, which with their detachments in the Localities quartering and to eat something. "

The General goes on to describe that the black troops of the French army - the 40 percent make up - and for climatic reasons at the Russian campaign not can participate to thousands and thousands on the lines of communication in German be distributed Reich. He describes the whole mechanism of the future stage area in Germany, the measures and means of imperialist army Distribution of repair shops for guns, tanks and other material Pioneer Park, ammunition depots, airports and training areas. Although the Locarno Pact means that a small part of today's crew area through the Entente is cleared, but it also means that the whole of Germany for occupation zone the future is. I do not want to stay longer in this portrayal me. One could to hand various quotes, even from pacifists, prove that the government - particularly on the basis of §§ 16 and 17 of the League of Nations, to which the Government in Locarno stipulated - at a critical stage of the outbreak of any war very is ill find a way out.

It is equally clear is that the new foreign policy turn toward imperialism in Germany even the reaction will strengthen much more than was previously the case. English Conservatives have a furious campaign of persecution against our small British Brother party started. The Justice in London has admirably by penitentiary judges learned in Leipzig. English rulers know and we German Communists do not for a moment conceal the fact that we are by summoning our last Forces, and not only by means of words and writing, but also with his fist with those instruments that used for the extension of a strong workers Faust can use, are defending against the application of the walkthrough section. You know that we communists will stand in this battle alone, but that Hundreds of thousands of Social Democratic workers, millions of workers from the free Unions will fight in a row with us. Why have the English Imperialists today every interest to suppress the German proletariat and terrorizing. What force is this reactionary aim currently in Germany? Undoubtedly, the German reaction. The English bourgeoisie sees Hindenburg joyfully at the top of the German Reich. She has learned in centuries that the best support any colonial rule, the reactionary forces of the oppressed countries. The English Press could be no moment through the drama of the German Nationals deceive. She knows that she has subjugated with the help of Indian Maharajas India that she suppressed by the Chinese militarists China and that the means German Junkers and capitalists will dominate Germany. England continues its map not on the German working class, but to the German counter-revolution, of the Monarchists to the left wing of the grand coalition. The inevitable consequence of Locarno Pact is the growth of class justice, the attempt by the monarchists, the degradation the last democratic rights, the absolute authority of the closely-friendly country Entrepreneurship.
The third effect of the new course in foreign policy is, in addition to the threat of Peace and the strengthening of the reaction, the further deterioration of the economic location of the German proletariat. The working class and all working people in Germany have every day of their existence against the Borne by the Dawes Plan defend. Their rise would only be possible by shaking off the Dawes shackles. The Locarno Pact does not mean a step towards freeing Germany from the Dawes rule but it is yet another link in the system of Mass exploitation; it is the logical continuation of the political complement of the Dawes Plan. This means the aggravation of already with elemental force onrushing Economic crisis. The American and British loans, whose Pour in hope as much for Locarno, do not mean the rescue, but the only even stronger Alienation, the worse enslavement of the German economy. The wage and Working time conditions are not under the control of foreign imperialism improved rather egregious deteriorated. Unemployment, Short-time working, Closures grow in eerie tempo. Especially in economic relationship is the relationship with the Soviet Union is of great importance for the German working class. The continuation of Rapallo, the alliance with the Soviet Union would mean mutual economic aid, grain and raw material supplies from the Soviet Union, Delivery German-make to the Soviet Union and thus overcome the Unemployment in Germany, raising the living conditions of the working population. By the transition to British imperialism will burst the German Government this Possibility. Here too, only carry the producer and the factory-active mass in Germany the cost.

I now turn to the historically important consequence of Locarnovertages. Germany, the previously stood in a relationship of friendship with the Soviet Union, is in the range of Enemies of the Soviet Union. A thoroughly bourgeois sheet violently us Communists fights, the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" indicates the importance of this step quite right with the words:

"The decision on the security pact is the decision on the German-Russian Relations. Comes the security pact, as Russia considers the phase of Rapallovertages than to end. We can then repeatedly assure you that we in our To change the friendly relations with Russia nothing, are the most beautiful words the fact change anything that the Russian government of in the conclusion Security Pact the Western orientation of Germany sees and will act accordingly."

As I said, this representation corresponds completely and in all respects to the facts. Our soviet brother sheet, the "Pravda", stresses quite rightly that one of a turning point in the German-Soviet relations has arrived. The signing the Locarno Pact, the entry into the League of Nations mean the termination of closer Relations with the Soviet Union, with all the consequences of this is. I would like this fact at this point most emphatically, in the fullest sense of their Scope and notice. As our friend and comrade Chicherin here in Berlin very seriously on the consequences of West orientation pointing, he could have the certainty that outside the KPD widest working masses, especially in the left
Social Democracy, the position of the Soviet working class necessarily support. To divert the working masses and confuse, presented the "forward" the mendacious Assertion that the Soviet Union would also enter into the League. I refer contrast to the categorical denial of our Soviet brother press, I can fully confirm to my information. The Government of Soviet Union has no intention of entering into a League of Nations, under British leadership stands, serving the purposes of war of British imperialism against the Soviet Union. With the calls to the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations, will be the Workers pull the wool over the eyes and stand up to the Soviet Union as a disturber of the peace. It is significant that the II. International Mr. Chamberlain to perform. This clumsy maneuver willingly provides. But the maneuver is already failed. The international working class knows that the Soviet Union is not the war will, but peace. The Soviet Union has no imperialist interests. they owns and claimed not a single colony. She has volunteered as the only world power all privileges against the young Asian republics omitted. Just because they the Wants peace, the Soviet Union rejected the League of Nations. It is ready to any serious step to help to limit the threat of war. But it is also willing to share their defending independence to the death if they should be attacked. In this Battle will be available all class-conscious workers of the world on the Soviet side. The Soviet Union rejected the entry into the League of Nations because this entry waiver would mean to their independence. Germany can its independence only maintained if it likewise omitted to join the League of Nations. But the Germany's interests are already in conflict with the interests of the German Bourgeoisie. The capitalist interests of the ruling classes are stronger than the Interest of national independence of Germany. That's why you destroy with its own Hand the independence of Germany. That's why you tear up the Treaty of Rapallo enter the League of Nations. But we Communists call the working class to so determined on the struggle against Locarno and League of Nations. We fight the course

40 The clear and pertinent assessment that Ernst Thalmann on the role of the League at that time in the gave situation corresponded to the conception of the Communist International and the CPSU (B). As through the bustle of the Japanese imperialists and the German fascists in the Far East and in Heart of Europe formed new hotbeds of war and both aggressive powers in 1933 resigned from the League, to undisturbed to pursue their policy of conquest and war preparations, was the Soviet Union in the interests of maintaining peace end of 1934 member of the League. (See JV Stalin, "Accountability Report for the XVIII. Congress of the CPSU (B)", "Problems of Leninism", Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1954, p 766 and 772.)

41 The Treaty of Rapallo was during the International Economic Conference of Genoa on April 16 1922 signed by the representatives of Soviet Russia and Germany after the Soviet delegation , Of Germany also to demand the proposal of the imperialist victors reparations in had rejected the interests of German workers. The agreement, based on the complete equality and sovereignty, was a major success of Soviet diplomacy; he foiled an attempt to create a unified capitalist front against the Soviet Union, and led Germany from the insulation out.

on the West European imperialists fourfold reasons: because it leads to war, because it strengthens the response, because it exacerbates the plight of the toiling masses, because he the means breaking with the Soviet Union. In Germany is currently undergoing a decision of the utmost historical,
global political significance. The present decision is by historians later times as one of the major turning points in world politics of postwar are designated. The capitalist Reichstag and the capitalist government agree without doubt the Locarno Pact. They decide to enter the League of Nations. With this action, the German bourgeoisie hears finally on, the representative of the to be national independence of Germany.

From the German Nationalists, as now brought by Count Westarp expressed, will undoubtedly provisionally listed a comedy of rejection because the heavy industry and the big landowners who have the leadership of the German National Party, absolutely no interested to liquidate or to somehow fight Locarno. The demonstrates the appeal of the various of the economy and economists wholesalers industrial published these days in the bourgeois press. The Therefore German Nationalists just take this stance because in their circles are petty bourgeois masses exist that are of national interests against Locarno and in advance feel those thumb of Entente imperialism. We Communists refuse to give you any advice. The future Development will prove our way than the right. Our job consists of, the German working class to show the way the bourgeois Germany now treading. In addition, we show her the path she must travel even to himself to fight for freedom.

There is no gap in the history of classes and nations. At the same moment, in the stops the bourgeoisie, to embody the national independence of Germany, occurs another power to the stage of German history, from its own class interest proclaimed himself the representative of the national independence of Germany. These Power is the German working class. She has nothing in common with nationalism. they fights the German national reaction wherever it occurs. You do not want other nations fight and subjugate but it is meat from flesh and blood from the blood of working masses of all countries, be it China, Persia or Morocco, it was the Soviet Union, France or England.

The national independence of Germany, for fighting the German proletariat and whose banner we raise Communists, is different from the one that today you is sold out. Just because the capitalists and Junkers, the German people betray and sell the future independent Germany, only a socialist, only one worker Germany. The capitalist Germany has perhaps American Usurious loans, in any case, the British slavery and imperialist wars expected for the future. We will see that this capitalist Germany will perish. It will go down, and we say it should perish. But we call for Fight for the independent socialist Germany in free alliance with the Soviet Union.

What are the forces fighting currently for this idea? For a time it had in Germany seems as if the reactionary parties set russia friendly, while under the influence of the social democratic leaders great working masses the Bolshevism faced suspicion and their eyes to England and France directed. One of the great revolutionary "repercussions" Today's decision is be that this force distribution of a deep change in subject. The German Nationalists, still reject the Locarno Pact demagogic reasons today, are perhaps fall over in a few months. They hate the Russian revolution, as well as Count
Westarp said today correctly. Your battle is Bolshevism, because they know that they the fate of the Russian landowner threatened. They are together with all bourgeois parties with both arms control the West Course. The word reaction is for be all future synonymous with friendship for the British imperialists and Hostility to the Soviet Union.
The word working class but is increasingly gaining importance in the Germany: United front with the Soviet Union and the international proletariat, fight against English imperialism. Everyone knows that in the German labor movement a deep revolution looming. New layers, new energy and new people where forming the left wing of the proletariat to rise. A mighty slow process of Radicalization of Germany's largest trade union federations begins. In the strong opposition districts of the Social Democratic Party is a new political Direction which wants the alliance with the Communists. We already experienced a small sample in this development. Socialist Leader moved to the Berlin elections of 25 October, under the banner of Locarno and the The League of Nations. But we Communists fought under the slogans "Down with Locarno and the League of Nations ", " alliance with the Soviet Union ", " An independent socialist Germany ". What was the result? You know that it was not bad for us. It is no secret that we serious and growing in the election campaigns of yesteryear have suffered defeats. In the Berlin election campaign but which for the first time under the Slogans " For Locarno " or " for the Soviet Union " in front of the broad working masses was fought, we have taken hundreds of thousands of proletarian votes, while the Social Democrats suffered a blow. We, and I believe that you yourself are convinced that this first launch in the coming months a tenfold and hundredfold will find repetition. Precisely why you have not dissolved the Reichstag. More important than all the electoral success for us is the fact that in Germany - as in England for a long time already the case - the workers for strong Hoard Alliance with the Soviet Union. We welcome this Wegscheidung. May the Social Democratic leaders against their baiting the Soviet Union continue. May they with Luther and Hindenburg, with Mussolini and Chamberlain, they may go to the Conservatives. We go with the Working class of the Soviet Union - but that also means the English Unions. They have only one trump card, but we have a double. they only have the imperialists of the West itself, but we have to the cause of the proletariat not only the Soviet Union, but also the invincible power of organized Mass workers in that England itself, with its current provisional rulers yourself connect to the death. We refuse to live with phrases and utopian plans the class struggle. We ask your imperialist realpolitik not empty words contrary, but another, a proletarian realpolitik, which accommodates up to world powers to fight, because they themselves has world powers to allies and rising world powers in their clear, sober use account can. The front, in the German proletariat and the Communist Party of Germany standing, is already so strong that they neither English nor the League of Nations Imperialism, let alone the men Hindenburg and Luther with all its Police Commissioner and State courts, able to smash. Our front that in rapid growth conceived front of the German proletariat, is three mighty Armies: First, by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the state of more than 140 million workers and peasants, now one-sixth of the earth's surface dominate and possess; secondly, by all the oppressed and exploited peoples, not with lamentations and cries for help, but with guns and aircraft against the
Imperialism fight: in China, Syria and all Arab countries, in Persia, Turkey, Egypt and Morocco, in a word, throughout Asia and Africa; thirdly, by the English working class that the to the Trade Union Congress of Scarborough against League of Nations, has decided against the Dawes Plan and the Soviet Union. Twelve representatives the English Labour Party voted in the House against the Locarno Pact. 25 MPs same faction abstained. Million English workers are always capable of any conservative or liberal government sweep away once they unite in a closed revolutionary movement.

What exists today in England proletarian forces, is in relatively short time in France repeat. Just the intractable government crises, which youngest is happening at the time in Paris, the revolutions in the French workers accelerate and farmers.

We believe that our allies not weak and our outlook is not bad are. Allow me, in order to prove a key witness from your own ranks quote. In the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of 21 November writes the well-known German national Professor Sering:

"The line-up of 1½ million colored people in the world wars but from Morocco to China a mighty emancipation movement triggered. A population of about 1 billion people is their hope in Germany as the fate of comrades and the Soviet Government. Because Russia is not only aimed against the West European-American capitalism, Russia is the only empire that the self-determination by the recognition of cultural made autonomy of all non-Russians seriously and to enjoy any privileges prewar in Turkey has waived in Persia, in China."

We build our proletarian realpolitik on this about a billion suppressed People on the 140 million workers, peasants and Red Army of the Soviet Union, on 20 million British workers who gather around the banner of the red united front will.

Build your policy on Chamberlain, Hindenburg and Mussolini, on the rotten British imperialism, whose economy has been shaken, the Dominions break away, whose colonies arise and the working class in one of the biggest fights of English history enters.

Between these positions are two worldviews. Between them is taking place the struggle between two world powers whose only solution to the total victory of one and the complete destruction of the other is. This fight will not be easy. It is years, might take decades. Locarno is in this development only a stage, one sheet Paper which remains valid as the bourgeoisie rules in Germany. And we This paper will tear just as the Russian workers and peasants the Brest Litovsk shameful have eliminated. Now, if you will shortly have to London to drive, so we say: Go to London as you went to Locarno are! Sign the third Versailles, as the first Versailles of Poincaré signed and the second Versailles of Dawes. But we communists reject the Locarno Pact and the entry into the League of Nations until the last minute before his Signing off. And we are of him the first minute after the signing fight to prevent its implementation, looking to destroy its effect. they be next Friday at the demonstration which convened in Berlin Lustgarten will get a response. We are there not march with 1500 men, as
the German National Party did 14 days ago.
The German working class will be the German bourgeoisie the answer. The German Working class will rise against the war. The German working class is in closed ranks against reaction proceed. The German working class is for immediate improvement in their economic situation fight. The German working class is with their bodies, and not with their unprotected bodies, before the Soviet Union put to the war against the Soviet Union in the Civil War against the imperialists to transform.

"Negotiations of the Reichstag, III. Legislature in 1924 "

Vol. 388, pp 4512-4523.
Telegram of condolence to the Red Front Fighters
the death of Comrade Frunze

At the Central Committee of the RCP (B), Moscow.

Red Front Fighters Germany send soldiers, workers and peasants of Soviet Union to death the People's Commissar Frunze their deeply felt condolences. The leader of Red Army, which destroyed the white bands of Kolchak, Wrangel and Kornilov, torn by the death of your front. Red Front Fighters Germany are with you at the bier of Frunze. Red Army, sword of the revolution, the death has given you the leader snatched. Frunze spirit Frunze revolutionary force lives on in you and us!

Berlin, November 1, 1925th

With Red Front

Federal management of the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany

Thalmann

"The Red Front", organ of the RFB,
1 December 1925th
Not a penny Prince!

Open letter

At the party leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Berlin, to the federal boards ADGB, the deprecation and the ADB, Berlin, the National Board of Reichsbanner, Magdeburg, the National Board of the Red Front Fighters' League, Berlin.

In the broadest masses of the working population prevails greatest excitement over the gigantic severance sums of the governments of the countries different, to be awarded by the Revolution dethroned German princely houses or have already been awarded. Millions of German workers, employee, officer, Smallholders and SMEs are unable even to the subsistence purchase. One million workers are unemployed. Countless social pensioners, war victims in the widest Literally lead a hungry existence. For the unemployed no funds are to Support available. For the lower and middle officers is no money to increase the salaries there. But the Hohenzollern and other royal houses to one billion in the jaws are thrown. Not a penny Prince!

All loads of Dawes Pact are only laboring. Masses been passed. The Klein pensioners have lost their nest egg by inflation. Tens of thousands of Smallholders by. Tax Collectors the last attached. For the royal houses but should the exploited masses another billion or at least hundreds of Apply million. After the revolution, when the workers and soldiers had the power to do so, is the immediate expropriation unforgivably with regard to the civil Parties have failed.
The delivery of billions of values to the royal houses is also the voluntary Financing of reactionary organizations, almost creating a monarchist War funds by the Government of the Republic. The former prince, the funds use to hochzufüttern the increasingly bolder advancing secret organizations even stronger. Rupprecht von Wittelsbach had the impudence to declare that he him with awarded 20 million and another 40 million of the Wittelsbach Compensation fund not remember, "with the situation created by the coup constitutional situation resign ". It would be a shame for the workers when they clash this plundering the working population is watching idly. We believe it is necessary that all the forces of organized labor with the greatest Reprint be used, to the looting of Germany by the Hohenzollern Wittelsbach, Wettin, Coburg and similar rabble oppose. to this Purpose must in our view themselves be exploited the small handle that the Weimar Constitution provides.

We refer to an announcement of the "forward" from December 1, that even among the Social Democratic Party the question of bringing about a referendum for the Expropriation of princely possessions is eagerly discussed. The Central Committee of German Communist Party has also in one of his last meetings depth look into this matter and has come to the decision that uniform Steps to bring about a referendum for the expropriation without compensation the royal houses in the interests of the toiling masses of great importance would.

The state governments are the outrageous claims of dynasties over unheard of flexibility. You either close severance contracts on the robbery Public property voluntarily sanction, or leave them to the control of Severance question the ordinary courts, which, according to the customs of the German Class justice, every wish of dethroned princes willingly comply. So far Provincial governments have taken steps to expropriate the princely houses, the Example Gothaer Revolutionsregierung The Supreme Court has these laws as against decency repudiating called and canceled. Therefore explain the State governments in part, they are in a predicament and would be Severance contracts forced. For these reasons, an immediate reaching legislation is absolutely necessary. breaks the constitutional possibilities for exist because "imperial law Land law ". The question would be like no other are the subject of a referendum, because the broad masses are indignant about the depredations of the royal houses. We refer that the parliamentary party of the Communists already introduced a bill for the has introduced expropriation without compensation of the former royal houses. The question of expropriation without compensation would in the referendum of Millions and millions will be answered with a resounding yes. The victorious Output of the referendum would be guaranteed all the more so when the entire force of the free Unions Reichsbanner and all the other proletarian and republican Organizations would be used for. Time is short, because a number of significant severance packages currently in limbo
are. Your accounts must be prevented at all costs, so worth millions to snatched dynasties and made the social interests of the working masses subservient to will. For this reason, we propose, a joint briefing for Implementation of the referendum with us and all organizations involved already in the coming days hold. We see your quick reply contrary, given the importance of the matter.

Berlin, 2 December 1925th

With proletarian greetings

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

IA: Ernst Thalmann

"The Red flag"

of 4 December 1925th

42 Meant is the "Law on confiscation of Gotha Hausfideikommiß ...", which of the People's Deputy, the successors of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, on July 31, 1919 was adopted. The law transferred the ownership of the Duke and of the ducal house becomes the property of the Gotha State. This expropriation law was with formal legal maneuvers in the decision of the Supreme Court from June 18, 1925 "incompatible Reich rights" declared invalid and the.

The Moscow uprising in 1905

The Russian Communist Party holds these days its XIV. Congress from, on the for the party crucial problems are discussed. These days bring to mind awake to the III. Congress of the RSDLP, which met in London in 1905th On this congress was held the first independent Truppenschau the Bolsheviks. The Decisions were for the development of the Bolsheviks, and thus for the Russian Revolution crucial. was the main merit of this Congress that he for the first time the programmatic elaborate idea of unification of General strike to the armed insurrection aufstellte. The on the party conference in London following events of 1905 already provided the Proof of the correctness of the London decisions taken. The events of 1905, starting with the strikers fighting on 22 January - the in showed the first time that it is in Russia except the powers, the tsarist monarchy and the opposition of the liberal bourgeoisie, nor a power gave the working class, an independent, powerful political factor represented - on the October struggles to Formation of the first Soviets led to the armed uprising in December 1905 were
both for the development of the Bolshevik Party as for the Russian Revolution important milestones. Who the victorious revolution of 1917 in their large want to learn importance for the international proletariat understand may in the events of 1905 not pass. He has the history of our Russian sister party, studying her every move on the serious way in detail to the conquest of power. The following lines are to mark the twentieth commemoration of the December uprising these events be dedicated. You can only be a short presentation; the lessons that to be drawn from these events from every revolutionary can only be indicated.

The revolutionary events of 1905, which culminated in the Red October and the armed uprising in December were, were the direct result of the Russian-Japanese War in 1905. The war was a factor, the Russian the Proletariat revolutionized at a rapid pace and the closer brought the revolution. The Discontent in the country, the muffled excitement among the workers erupted for the first time in the strike struggles of January 22, in which it was found that the non-party Mass workers took to the streets over the head of the party organizations of time. The Action of the masses on 22 January shook the whole of Russia. The working class showed that she lived. At the same time created this spontaneous movement for the Bolsheviks the question of how the party should lead this movement of the workers who fight for their freedom started, but still had no program and not yet clearly knew what they wanted. After destroying the outcome of the January events in the mass workers' faith in the monarchy. The workers who had believed in the monarchy, and the opinion of were that only the Minister "bad" were, saw that their worst enemy just the Monarchy, Tsarism was.

The second historical event of 1905 was the October strike, the Red October, as He was already then called by the Bolsheviks. In all Russia, there was powerful strike movements and on October 17 to make concessions of autocracy eventually led to the constitution. From October fighting out originated in the masses the idea of the Soviets, the current support of the Russian workers 'and peasants' state. As the conclusion follows from the assumption that resulted from the Red October the Moscow armed uprising in December. At the center of this struggle, the almost simultaneously broke out in 33 cities, was Moscow. One and a half weeks held a small fighter flock against superior military standing. Were the revolutionaries who fought on the barricades, only after hundreds, their auxiliaries in the establishment of Barricades counted by thousands. Even larger crowds surrounded the battling Revolutionaries with the atmosphere of sympathy, which is not active until the increased support.

The output of the December uprising was due to the superior mechanical strength of the reaction. He did not fail at the tactical mistakes of the Bolsheviks, but the Bayonets of the army of tsarism. There are defeats that are more valuable than many Victory. The December uprising of 1905 ended with such a defeat. The experiences this fight as the fighting of 1905 at all, it was that there the Bolsheviks enabled, twelve Jahre later, in October 1917, the Russian proletariat by the to lead victorious revolution to power.
What are the lessons of the Moscow uprising?

Lenin in an article, published on 29 August 1906 in the "Proletary", this
Experiences shown. First, Lenin notes that the main form of the December uprising
the peaceful strike and demonstrations were, where the majority of workers
actively participated. In the course of the fight but it was found that the general strike as
survived distinct principal form of struggle that movement with irresistible
Elemental force of this narrow framework goes out and a higher form of the uprising,
produced. This development, on the one hand, the base of active combatants
narrowed, forcing the other hand, the reaction, in opposition to the revolutionary
Rush to go to the end. So in the December uprising uncovering evidence that it
is required, the masses the necessity of strife against your opponent
show as a direct object of the action.
The second lesson that drew Lenin of the December fight, relates to the nature of the
Uprising, the nature of its leadership, the conditions under which the soldiers on the side
the people pass. Lenin notes that the Bolsheviks not yet published in December 1905
were able to join forces for an equally active, bold, enterprising and offensive
utilize fight for the wavering troops as starting him the tsarist government
and has performed. We have, it is said in the article Lenin, the ideological
prepares-term "modification" of the army and they will prepare more vigorously. But we
will remain miserable pedants if we forget that at the moment of the uprising
the physical battle against the troops is necessary.
The third doctrine stated Lenin that in the December uprising vividly one of the
Opportunists confirmed forgotten set of Marx that the insurrection is an art, and the
Main rule of this art is the daredevil, unwavering offensive.

Immediately prior to the seizure of power of the Russian proletariat in 1917, Lenin
again in an article based on the experiences of the Revolution of 1905
formulated conditions for the victory of the armed uprising as follows:

"To be successful, the uprising must not a conspiracy, not to the party
support, but must be based on the most advanced class. This first. The riot
must be based on the revolutionary upsurge of the people. This the second. The riot
must be based on such a turning point in the history of the growing revolution where
the activity of the front ranks of the people is greatest where the fluctuations in the ranks
the enemy and in the ranks of the weak, half, irresolute friends of the revolution on
are strongest. This the third. " [VI Lenin, Selected Works, in two volumes, Vol. II, pp 132/133. The Red. ]

The crucial problem, however, that by the Revolution of 1905 the Bolsheviks
is provided and the Lenin took up immediately in the strongest, was the role of the peasantry
in the revolution, the alliance between industrial proletariat and the peasantry. The Russian
Peasantry placed under czarism the main contingent of the tsarist army and

thus for the suppression of the proletarian revolution. The immense plight of
Russian peasants, their unscrupulous exploitation by the big landowners also featured
then already in the country, the revolution on the agenda. While the Red
October flared in several local varieties to small strikes, but
quickly collapsed again. Lenin concluded that the victorious proletarian
Revolution without an alliance between industrial proletariat and the peasantry is impossible
and placed after December uprising the party strengthened the slogan: alliance with the Peasantry!
The Russian Revolution in 1917 could only be carried out victorious, that large sections of Russian peasantry actively on the side of the revolutionary Industrial proletariat presented. So the Russian peasants were under the leadership of Industrial proletariat also support the victorious proletarian revolution. The events of 1905 were a powerful prelude to the revolutionary victory of 1917, of the establishment of the first workers 'and peasants' state his coronation found.
The Communist Party has the history of the Russian Revolution in study all its epochs and fighting and adopt the experience of the Bolsheviks do. The party must learn to go the way of Russia's sister party, the way the , Leads to the victorious proletarian revolution defeats for final victory.

"The Red flag"
20 December 1925th
Dear Comrades

About two months ago, the Communist Party is the party committee of approached the Social Democratic Party with the request, via a common Campaign for the implementation of a referendum for uncompensated Expropriation of the royal houses to negotiate. The Board allowed the "forward" answer, of our proposal with a few malicious remarks and the "proof" its impracticability dismissed.

Since that time a wide mass movement has emerged in favor of our proposal. An expression of this is the connection strong proletarian and other organizations to the Committee for the implementation of the referendum for the expropriation without compensation of the Prince. thousands from collective decisions from union and Staff meetings, also by a number of local groups Reichsbanner and numerous local groups of other proletarian organizations, tens of thousands of Single letters from all walks of life are further evidence of the spontaneous movement. - At the same time, the Democratic Party reveals even the shabby Compromise, which it presented in early December the Reichstag. The so-called Republican bourgeois parties be strong in defending the predatory Prince.

Given this situation, the party executive of the SPD seems his previously negative attitude to have changed to a referendum. At least notify the evening "forward" from the 16th Of January that the party leadership has decided the party committee preparing a referendum proposing. The Communist Party would make a decision by the Party Committee of the SPD for the implementation of a referendum for the expropriation of the princes of the warmest welcome.

Here again a great opportunity would be provided by the joint action of the KPD, the SPD and the ADGB, which connect more large organizations would, of political and social reaction to strike a heavy blow, Hundreds of millions of the unemployed, for small and social pensioners and for ensure defrauded small savers, millions of compatriots from the camp of Reaction leading to the camp of the working class.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party proposes to the Party Committee of the SPD, the of the KPD and the Committee initiated action for the implementation of the referendum for for the expropriation of the princes to join. We expect that the Social Democratic Party committee a quick and open response to our Prompt are. Millions of workers, employees, civil servants, large sections of the city and Country Make us a clear, affirmative answer. The overwhelming majority of the working people, broad sections of the middle class and the Farmers demanding categorically for the expropriation of princely robber. Each rotten compromise or every half decision has the consistency of this necessarily blow elemental mass movement and especially in the working class Confusion wear. They also mean a positive support of monarchist Reaction, given the certainty of victory in a joint action of the KPD, SPD and ADGB. A party to a partial compensation or a pension the Prince enters, has not only lost the right to call itself a workers' party, they forfeited the right to be called a republican party. The KPD is on definitely decided which action to perform under the slogan: Not a penny Prince!
We propose the Party Committee of the SPD before further, an immediate consultation between KPD, SPD and ADGB for the purpose of the common struggle against the misery of to resolve unemployment and short-time working.

Robert Dissmann writes in his article "Help the victims of the crisis":

"Still there was money and resources were procured, if it is in recent years other needy 'acted (Ruhr industrialists and entrepreneurs elsewhere agrarians, winegrowers etc.). Of the claims of Hohenzollern and other Substituted Rissener not even talk. But now it is life or death of millions of our compatriots. For her use all our strength and weaken the struggle ever, we consider Socialists and Trade unionists as our duty."

We agree in full with those conclusions Dißmanns. Again on we expect a quick, precise and unambiguous answer.

Third, we make the Social Democratic Party Committee points out that now the cheapest conceivable situation has come to the majority in the German Reichstag significantly change. Their customs and tax policy, through the Appreciation fraud and Mietswucher and by its intention to the Prince at the time of deepest need of the people to stuff immense riches in the throat, to have the Large landowners and industrialists and bankers, in particular in the German National and German People's Party, see their representation before the. Masses of their followers thoroughly debunked. Millions of proletarian and petty-bourgeois voters of these parties are willing to break away from them and migrate into the camp of the working class. This time must be utilized to a different composition of the Reichstag bring. It is the duty of each party that purports to serve the working class, such exploit weakness of the enemy and to give him a defeat. We expect therefore, that the Social Democratic Party Committee agreed with our resolution This Reichstag and the election of another force.

The Communist Party held on January 27, the birthday of the head of princely extortionist gang, throughout the empire demonstrations for uncompensated Expropriation and for the fight against mass poverty. How often marched before the war the working class on the road to their demands effective emphatically.

We urge you to work together with the KPD this demonstration unified into one, enormous to make unprecedented mass demonstration. The joint action of the KPD and the SPD, and ADGB it will be possible to beat the prince and the misery of to alleviate unemployment.

_The situation is serious. The proletarian masses rightly expect action. From empty words they have enough. They will not understand it if by a petty and narrow-minded Policy further joint action by the entire laboring class against Class enemies is prevented. We expect that you the seriousness of the situation sufficiently clear recognizes and us and the proletariat not take long to clear and unambiguous answer let._

_Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany_

_IA: Ernst Thalmann_

_"The Red flag"
21 January 1926th_
EXTENDED EXECUTIVE
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Moscow, February 17 until March 15, 1926

The Communist International
and the Communist Party of Germany

From the speech on February 24, 1926

The German delegation is of the opinion that on the whole, the debate among suffering that they, with some exceptions, too much on the question of the individual Sections concentrated and the relationship of these issues with the international is shown problems enough. We are therefore of the opinion that the German question as any other matters not specifically German, but is a serious international issue, in connection with the affairs of all other sections and with the general tactics the AI is. The tactics of AI is in the current section our struggle, the tactical measures of the world bourgeoisie those revolutionary Measures to oppose those revolutionary tactics, whose purpose is: first, prevent attempts at stabilization of world capital, and secondly, due to the various crises produce uniform revolutionary class front.

The German question also has a certain importance for the general line of KI. Just by such treatment of the question, we can to a unified world policy Communists come, only that is a guarantee of a real collective implementation the Comintern.

It is recalled that the German delegation at the Fifth World Congress of a serious made mistakes - we however quickly corrected - namely, that in the question the international trade union unity a different position occupied when the RCP (B). In this typical "Western European" Question the RCP (B) has much more far-sighted than shown the delegations of the Western European parties. About the German party I will speak detail. I just want to point out now that the development of our own party one of the largest inner achievements of the Comintern in the course of the last half year was. For the initiative to this letter, without this development not would have been possible, went out of the Comintern.

In Germany we had before the "Open Letter" 43 a connection with the Hindenburg election sharp decline of Communist influence, particularly in the trade unions, to recorded. But in the months after the publication of the "Open Letter" has the Picture changed significantly. Throughout the Comintern really serious progress made, we are on the rise, the parties are gaining strength.

A few words about the future development of the Comintern.
This refers to the "Open Letter" of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to all Organizations and members of the KPD, the published in the "Red Flag" from September 1, 1925 has been.

This letter brands the unprincipled politics of the Trotskyist Group Ruth Fischer-Maslow and their double-entry bookkeeping to the Communist International. He helped the Communist Party Germany, a decisive turn in its policy for the conquest of the majority of the working class carry out. The "Open Letter" called in this connection to the inner-party democracy restore the forces to concentrate on the union work, the focus of party work to move into the companies to win the Social Democratic workers for the action work, a to realize Leninist peasant policy and another.

We have on each World Congress and at the different meetings of the enlarged Executive objections of Comrade Bordiga belongs against the policy of the Comintern. But this time - which must be explicitly stated - he has a policy of the Comintern whole system opposed. This system is certainly through and through unkommiunistisch. Bordiga state theory is not Leninist, but anarchist, his Organisationslehre not Leninist, but social democratic. Bordiga with his "Ultra-leftist" ideas on the II. And III. Congress Lenin confronted, it was still the his opinion that he is a comrade, from the talks the revolutionary impatience today can you no longer doubt that his tendencies anarchistic and social democratic, ie reactionary are. When the Bordiganismus is a system, then this system Anarchism plus social democracy; which is the major threat to the Comintern. Comrade Bordiga also talked about the role of the CPSU (B). This part of his speech was the first serious attempt the CPSU (B) oppose the Comintern, and the sense his speech was, the CPSU (b) deny the right to be the leader of the to be Comintern. The German delegation is convinced that the CPSU (B) the leader must remain the Comintern and will remain, because she is the only party in the world, the the proletarian dictatorship has established, it claims for over eight years and really, albeit with the greatest difficulty, socialism builds. We declare that the Views of Comrade Bordiga, specifically on this issue, in the strongest and most violent must be rejected and combated.

Comrade angel from the German delegation here before the plenary of the enlarged Executive explained that the Weddinger working on the position of the Leningrad Opposition stand and reject the decisions of the XIV. Congress. I do not know if Comrade angel has a specific job from the Weddinger workers, or whether it only Professor Korsch has inspired. We declare that we with the attitude of Comrade Angel have nothing to do, we reject its view in the strongest possible starting. The German Delegation leaves it in no way that the differences in the XIV. Congress of the CPSU (B) favor "ultra left" targets are used. The position of the KPD to XIV. Party CPSU (B) is determined by the decision of the Central Committee. Less than ever can now, where the most serious tasks in front of us, the unity of the Comintern, its unity on the , Be infringed basis of Leninism.

Now for Germany. It is quite evident that we lately just in Germany had really big and serious successes. These successes have even Scholem and Ruth Fischer at this session not disputed. Currently is the armed mainly aim is to determine the causes of these successes. The "ultra-leftists" believe and have here declares at the plenum that the cause of our success is the objective situation. We believe the other hand, our success can be explained by two main factors: first, the
Change the objective situation, and second from the right intraparty course our Party, as it is defined "in the Open Letter". overlooked the second factor, the "Ultra-left" completely by against the use of tactics such as the "open Letter" is determined to fight and at the same time it also disrupt the intraparty course. Right now we have in Germany a quite favorable situation, the next in the Months promises to be even more favorable. If today we do not like in 1923 by a can speak acutely revolutionary situation, yet we have a situation that we allows to gain broad masses and in the way of organizing the revolution to create bases.

The current economic crisis in Germany, which is a permanent, is reflected in the diverse phenomena. Social democracy is seriously endeavors of the bourgeoisie to help in this crisis rationalization. American capitalism attempts in the Big industry in Germany invade. At the same time he strives English Bourgeoisie to repress something despite the stance of the German bourgeoisie the line of Locarnovertrages. In technical areas, capitalism improves its Production methods. Sharp attacks against the working class are being prepared. The Taylor system is introduced especially in heavy industry. chronic Unemployed army of 1 to 1½ million, nearly 10 percent of the whole proletariat means the immediate consequence. In addition to these general economic crisis, we see at the same time a certain strengthening of capitalism. The rising capitalist Monopolization is reflected in the formation of Kalisyndikats and in the union of many Syndicates of Rhenish-Westphalian industrial area to a large steel Trust. In the Concentration efforts of banks, in support of Truste last in the Months by certain long-term loans coming trends expressed in the Line stabilization efforts are. A particularly important part of the publication Overall crisis, the agrarian crisis. In connection with it, the party has a large initiated campaign, to certain strata of farmers, especially small farmers get hold. The control pressure, insufficient outlets on the internal market - By the conclusion of commercial contracts, with their completion Germany in its current impotence provisions have to swallow, turn down the damage to the farmers - We make the situation of small farmers, wineries, etc. very unfavorable. This agrarian crisis is also remain in the coming months are made, and especially for the small farmers and winemakers - about 2½ million people - increase the difficulty. We also see that the Capitalism everywhere in Germany is preparing to push the reward. for the time being in the medium-sized industrial trying wages decrease by 10 to 20 percent. On Part of the collective agreements which expire at 50 percent at the end of March and April, are already terminated. Heavy industry rejects all the demands of the workers and from even tried to prevent the extension of the collective agreement. It is therefore particularly necessary that particular trade union positions of the Communist Party be strengthened so that the party in the coming economic struggles the leading role can take over.

The third important issue is the position of Luther-Stresemann government. This government will do everything possible to its reactionary program against the will of the proletariat enforce, more so than the big-business wing of the center and Democrats is represented in the government, and the Social Democrats in the next
Months will make no serious offensive to overthrow the government. Our Parole: dissolution of the Reichstag! is in the entire workforce in the next Months to win a serious meaning.

A fourth important factor in Germany is that the fascist organizations, stronger than ever seriously press, while also on the other side closer Cooperation of the Red Front Fighters' League with the comrades of the Reichsbanner shows as against in various actions and partly common approach to fascist organizations is expressed.

One of our best campaigns we have launched lately, is the campaign the expropriation without compensation of the princes in Germany. Here we succeeded in the to take initiative to keep the lead and force the SPD and the ADGB, the introduction of the referendum for the expropriation without compensation of the princes to join. It is not only a movement that and the circles of the KPD, SPD, ADGB those workers who sympathize with these organizations, detected, but it is a real, serious popular movement that large sections of the middle class comprises with. It gives us a base on which the Communist Party is really capable of connecting factors to find, to those on the Social Democratic and nonparty workers and to Walks of life get hold, where this was not possible otherwise. The Formation of unit committees in many places in Germany is a strong proof. This campaign has clearly shown:

1. The possibility exists, this popular movement under the hegemony of the proletariat to conduct.
2. represents a strengthening of the anti-monarchist flow in Germany.
3. The contrasts in the bourgeoisie, in the Democratic Party and the Centre Party worsen, particularly in the latter, where the center working for Prince expropriation are while the large capitalist wing of the severance pay.
4. Some easing of the relationship between the bourgeois parties and the Social Democratic Party has occurred, a partly through the basis for negotiations and its decision in line with our application for expropriation and Introduction of the referendum and the other by the rejection of all bourgeois parties thereto.
5. The class basis of the proletariat in general was strengthened.
6. Now it's us in different parts of Germany, as in Bavaria, Thuringia, etc., possible to see the Bauer circles starting points, which was not so easy before. The formation of unit committees, not only of workers of all political persuasions composed, but in some places even bourgeois and peasant layers include, are a new phenomenon.

But the campaign for the Prince expropriation is also the best example of how the new Line successes zeitigte. It was possible for us not only to force the SPD, with the to put Communists at the negotiating table, but also the basis of Negotiations was a great victory of our proposal. Whereas previously the KPD often on marched tail of the SPD, is to determine the reverse in this matter: The SPD had under the mass pressure of their own members of the initiative of the KPD connect. The formation of unit committees in the factories was that firm Wall eliminated, since between Social Democratic and Communist workers
Areas to achieve success. Our trade union work has since "open Letter "serious progress made. When we at the beginning of enhanced trade union work have issued the slogan: 10 million members in the unions! so is the help to bring in the party workers in the trade unions, to the red to strengthen battlefront in the unions.

I'm going over to the intra-party part. And I do not want only the inner Party course mark, but also the different variations in our party sketch.

I have already said that currently in Germany the main enemy in the Party "Ultra-leftists" are. We are here to roll and demonstrate the problems that in certain Areas where the new policy was implemented, the "ultra-left" another political had platform. The first major political act, that of the Central Committee in the line had carried out "Open Letter", was the opinion on the Berlin City Council elections. The bourgeois parties tried to do everything to make their Majority in the Berlin city parliament reconquer. By creating a Bürgenblock the campaign trying to achieve their goal.

In the elections the slogan of the workers was "Away with the Civil block!" The slogan the creation of the working majority in City Council was of our party next our struggle program issued immediately. At the same time we put the question to the SPD if she was willing, for the purpose of offsetting the remaining votes between Communists and enter Socialists us in negotiations. This was the first significant Point at which the "ultra-left" together with Ruth Fischer to another on a Position presented. We had at that time so strong intraparty difficulties particularly in Berlin, but we have set ourselves. Later the party has in its large majority our position fully endorsed.

In the Prince expropriation campaign have the "ultra-left" the question is not asked this: How can be ignited by the Prince expropriation campaign a large mass movement, how can you thereby increase the red class front, raise the authority of the party? they presented their pessimism and their disbelief in the independence of the party to the Beginning. If individual "ultra-left" even went to in this movement over parliamentary cretinism to speak, and the facts have now instructed that the outcome of this campaign was not parliamentary cretinism, but a means enhancing the activity of the party, so this is an example of the internal weakness and the wrong attitude of these comrades. We also had in the Saxony question is very difficult, with the "ultra-left" some differences. A stronger movement in Saxony in connection with the requirement of the resolution of the Diet is not unlikely. The Social Democrats tried to put us in the Diet Applications for the unemployed and for the amnesty of political prisoners with intent to prevent. This resulted in differences between the "left" and right-wing leaders within the Saxon Social Democrats and large differences between the left Workers of the Social Democrats and the party executive. These factors, in conjunction with other things in Saxony gave us in the kingdom of scale opportunity politically exploit. Meanwhile, a new location in Saxony occurred, which I shall not here want to take. Just one more thing: For the acts of the present government Heldt consisting Social Democrats and the representatives of the bourgeois parties to the German People's Party
exists, the Government of the open workers enemies that social democracy is the
bear responsibility, because it prevents the dissolution of the Diet! We must of
bring this point out with all the energy expressed: If we had the tactic of
"Ultra-leftists" followed, that would have meant that the course of the party would have remained the same,
that we would have had defeats defeats and no special achievements. We
also had to differentiate ourselves in this struggle of comrades in the party that it
went out to conquer the party of the "diplomatic" led by Ruth Fischer.
Due to our new tactics, we were able, the Social Democratic leaders in a
urging difficult situation, while in continuation of the old course us in such a
have brought in difficult situation. Not we, but the Social Democrats had the
had leadership of the movement. Therefore, the help "ultra-left" policy the Social Democratic
Leaders, so it's really a uncommunistische policy, such as the "Open Letter" with
Law says.
In a difficult situation, where the issues are not so easily decided, as in the
Prince expropriation campaign, of course, such permanent derogations may be putting
be for the party.
Comrade Scholem explained here in plenary: One could perhaps common ground
find, on the could be created the possibility of joint work. We
explain this base is present: The only basis is the tactics and the intraparty
Course of the CC, the only basis is the "Open Letter", the Scholem rejects. Another
Basis can not exist. As long as Comrade Scholem with concerns and abdominal pain
trying not to accept the policy of the Comintern, as long as it varies and is believed to
this or that way yet to find a hole through which he can slip,
as long as he thinks it could be any mistakes are made, and therefore its
seeks to impose conscience no coercion, there is no agreement. Either he is
agree, either he recognizes the political line of the Central Committee or not. On this basis
there is an understanding - only on this basis. I should like to emphasize here.
Then he explained, he did not come here to go a Canossa, he has a
Genuflection, spoken by declarations of love. What language is that? Thus says no
Bolshevik, much talk the German Nationalists over the Versailles Peace. Scholem
wants with his own party negotiate as a hostile power. When a
different opinion, one represents them, without any special diplomatic feats. They say
either: I am for or against, and one does not speak of Canossa.
Comrades If you take a position on the "ultra-left", so you must have a
make difference between "ultra-left" leaders and workers. Many workers were
to the diplomatic, demagogic and partly incompetent policy of Ruth Fischer
"Ultra-left" into the arms. You searched somewhere refuge as personal by the
Dictatorship, by the double-entry accounting, by the complete misunderstanding of the role of a
Communist Party workers were exasperated, and so they ended up with Scholem.
Today, when we try to slow ideologically the whole party for the Bolshevik
winning line, we have a difference between the workers more so still
and find the leaders of the "ultra-left". In Wedding and also in other districts
we already see the differences.
Comrade Scholem also stated that he is to that of this KAPDistischen flow, also
Korsch and Kötter include, tries to differentiate. Ruth Fischer has even Scholem
delimited, Bordiga factor distinguishing it from Scholem and Ruth Fischer. Where Domski remains white I do not, but all "ultra-left" groups are delimited jointly by the Comintern from, and the German "ultra-left" group sets itself apart from the Central Committee of the German party.

Comrades As for the speech of Comrade Ruth Fischer, one can say that they the Culmination of the double entry bookkeeping and the demagogic deception maneuver, nothing but is a continuation of their old practice. As his time in the negotiations with the AI Comrade Ruth Fischer the "open letter" signed, it was believed that Ruth Fischer maybe add and would cooperate on this political line with the Central Committee. But in the very time when they returned to Germany, she continued even after the Publication of the "Open Letter" their double bookkeeping away again. In the District administration Berlin-Brandenburg, where in two sessions of the "Open Letter" dealt was, Comrade Ruth Fischer has not fought for the letter, but she has this other leave. Practically it has consciously in the following weeks, both in Berlin as in ZK, sabotaged and placed himself outside the party line. We had in Berlin District headquarters, which had been for five years little changed their composition led by Ruth Fischer had a particular strong influence. We have them slowly, in stages conquered. First, we had very few votes and have us under sharpest ideological struggle against the "ultra-leftists", Maslow and Ruth Fischer slowly enforced to gradually gain a majority in this instance.

But Ruth Fischer not seized about any action to support us, Rather in every situation of the Party and the Central Committee stabbed in the back. And when you be prepared here and with love shawms approves everything in the "open letter" is, we firmly believe that, if they should return to Germany, at their practices and their methods will not change anything.

One can question the Ruth Fischer not roll without the roll to Maslow mark. I believe that the question Maslow so far has a meaning, as it does not a personal question is how some comrades believe, but a serious political Matter. The matter is that Ruth Fischer as well as in its opinion to "open letter" to the list compound and other things, on the question of Maslow process has taken a position in which they chose particularly personnel and where they ignored the political consequence of the decisions of different instances. Maslow's conduct was therefore unworthy because he the principles of a revolutionary has been injured. He has not behaved in court, as one individual from each revolutionary workers' demands. We have the consequences in this department from our new intraparty course draw:

1. eliminate corruption;
2. inner solid Bolshevik clarity;

3. sharpest crackdown on those who do not, as required, the revolutionary Principles represented in court.

What behavior Maslow is concerned, we can this question in German Commission roll. We think, who as leader of a party before the Class justice in his appearance not the whole Party and the revolutionary Workers are a role model, no longer belongs to the head of the party. We require every official and especially by a leading person in court that he what Standing in front of the class judges that position to the revolution, the position of Leninism
concerned, without regard to his person so behaves and defended as of each fellow is required in the party as a matter of course. For this very reason, the Question Maslow not personal, but a political issue.

What further the allegation Ruth Fischer about the mishandling of the "ultra-left" As for the part of the CC, so she really has no right of wrong treatment of "Ultra-left" to speak. You who angered the workers who took no account of the Development in the party, it turns out here as Sachwalterin the "ultra-left". In Germany will there be even the "ultra-left" workers reporting of Ruth Fischer be regarded only as a demagogic hoax. In different Districts, in Leipzig, in Saxony and also in Berlin, start the "ultra-left"

Working slowly to join our political line and together with the Central Committee carry out our policy. It can not be denied that the German party leadership has been able to assimilate the various currents in part, and that on this field have already achieved encouraging progress. Our position in relation to the "Ultra-left" is perfectly clear. And if Comrade Ruth Fischer explained that we only fight against "ultra-left", so that is wrong, because the practice has shown that we also sharp fight right deviations. We see of course that in the application of current tactics not only in the lower membership, but also for the officials Mistakes are made. We know that show right deviations and also in the next time will be more visible. Too, we are ready. One must deal with this issue from the standpoint of political necessity made. If in two, three months the right flows should grow, so the guide is the Communist Party of Germany as sharp stand against them as they today is forced to occur tightened against the "ultra-left".

If henceforth Comrade Ruth Fischer here as representative of the healthy elements of the old occur Left tried and accused us that we are no longer the point of view of represented the left, thus says the practice is contrary to this assertion. The workers, in Hamburg have fought our organization in the Ruhr area and the greater part of the Berlin Membership with us and to Ruth Fischer. The cells display assemblies, the show the party conferences, showing the last Secretary and Editor-conference, the will show the next Congress. I refer particularly to the last and Redakteur-Secretary conference unanimously adopted our resolution on the political situation. It is necessary, especially in the current development, where the party on various has areas made progress, where we see a process of consolidation, where the and the "ultra-left" pass working elements to the political line of the Party to connect, speak very clearly that elements such as Ruth Fischer and Maslow are completely lost for the leadership of the German Communist Party. Ruth Fischer is not only politically lost for the party, but also morally. At the inside we see the party the process of development, new layers of functionaries, new healthy elements from different districts who have the firm intention of the serious great task that stands before us perform to help. Although our current base is still too narrow, but we will try to expand it. Our cadres are still too small for the great tasks, but just as we have grown in the struggle of the CC, both against
Party run. We can say now: We feel so strongly that we are able are, with the comrades who politically have a different view, political struggle, to beat them ideologically.

Finally, I would like to say the following: We expect that German in the plenary Commission asked the trouble, decided the intraparty course correctly and to create a basis for a further advance of the party. The political Situation gives us ways to be even more than before, the outer front and to enable the party peripherals. The first stage we have overcome, the second stage stands before us. It means internal consolidation, reinforcing the mobilization of the masses, Activation for the tasks set in the present and the future increased, Action. This second stage, which is in front of us - in a relatively favorable development -, the party will make the task of the Party seriously prepare. We will have to form a new Central Committee, in the new proletarian elements enter it, the endeavor with inner conviction, with energy and diligence to do everything, to fight not only on innerparteilichem areas for our political line, but also the non-partisan progress to strengthen the revolutionary class front apply understanding. If the party would be stronger if the functionary rod really a would have had Bolshevik basis, if we in the factories and trade unions more organizational bases would have had, we would have the success of our policies much be able to utilize more than it was the case in recent months. Today, the Symptoms in the German party still very strong. Before they not final are eliminated, we are in certain areas of course not be able, the enforce what we want and hope. But by the gradual consolidation in the Management, through the development of new proletarian elements, the fact that we in every relationship in daily struggle together with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the SPD grow, we believe that we favorable in the development, in this political situation of the party creating the possibility of serious measures to victory perform the German working class.

In this way we are, this base we need to strengthen, we have our Expand battlefront and outside the Communist Party of the red class front strengthen, so that we can meet the future challenges in the revolutionary struggle. From stage to stage, we will conquer the German working class and lead to victory.
Comrades

Yesterday's debate on the German Commission report showed what serious nature, the German question at the international level. The position of German party in the recent past, the decisions, the last in the Months and weeks have been like, the decision of the German Commission and the discussion on. this plenary of the extended executive will focus on the Development of the whole international impact. We saw in yesterday and today Debate that all representatives of key delegations in the decision of the German Commission pronounced. On the other hand, the thrust of the revealed "Ultra-left" faction that the differences in the German party to its international wants to exploit fraction purposes.

I recall the discussions on the III. World Congress, those on the Comrade Lenin revolutionary and impatient elements confronted, from the fire of the struggle came out, as it was after in Germany after the March action in Czechoslovakia the great struggles in Italy after the fight against the closures. comrade Lenin already been started at the time to indicate the relative stabilization. Those Opposition had a certain justification, they came out of the fire of battle, they understood not the situation at that time. Today's "left" opposition is against an opposition that bourgeois ideology and the philistinism springs.

Organized Group foray, who was yesterday taken from the "ultra-left" the nature of their methods, characterize the spinelessness and helplessness of this group. Some "ultra-left" comrades even went over to the contrasts in the XIV. Congress the CPSU (B) to use in order to transfer it to the International. Comrade Urbahns even had the audacity to make an attack on Comrade Stalin. In the name of the German delegation and the entire German Membership I need to explain here, that we, with the opinion of the Secretary of the CPSU (B), Comrade Stalin complete solidarity.

We declare: The advance, which is directed against the CPSU (B), is not only a foray against the CPSU (B), but also an attack against the AI and in this context also a foray against the Western European Revolution.

I further declare that, despite the advances of the "ultra-left" the solidarity of the German Party and the other sections of the CPSU (B) is not shaken and that any attempt will fail in this direction. The people who take the tests, are perish here.

I would now proceed to make a few brief remarks on the speaker, that have occurred from the German party here. About the person of Comrade Ruth Fischer still lose any more words, their meaning would not comply. The entire extended executive has in the strongest political opinion and the disapproved behavior of Comrade Ruth Fischer and sentenced. We have seen that their double-entry bookkeeping, their lack of character, her group methods that only their political show low level, not only mean its collapse, but also the Collapse of the whole group.

Comrade Urbahns stated that he in the political course of the party general agrees, but not with the intraparty course.
Comrades Can you separate these two things? If the internal party does not quote in closely linked to the political course? The intraparty measures crucial for the development of the party.
Comrade Scholem stated that the resolution, which is to decide today, Continuation of the "open letter" means. Of course, it is the continuation of the "open Letter ", the application of the appropriate methods and a right line according to the given situation. It is an improvement of the "Open Letter", because we have a Step, a stage is on. We are already in the second stage, in which we to strengthen the consolidation process within the party and the tasks strong in attack have to take.
We will conduct due to the political platform a tough ideological struggle; We are all of these toxins that are present in the German party to eradicate, to attempt. We are going to compete for each member of the party, we will not throw single party member from the party, we will take a hard ideological struggle lead to the party and zusammenzureißen together into one piece. We saw yesterday that disagreements existed about the fact that especially will also come in the period of relative stabilization right risks. The ZK will be equal to the right and "ultra left' this fight; we strongly feel enough to fight even in the current period, the right not only dangers, but they also to correct and eliminate.
What the "ultra-left" grouping concerned, I believe that it only in the serious, hard Struggle within the party has to be overcome. We have been to the German Commission declares that we want the normalization that we all working elements will take into serious active participation that we will proceed to the "Ultra-left" workers to discuss matey. But will not discuss we with Comrade Ruth Fischer because she has demonstrated that she no longer is it really worth. We will also have to fight against Comrade Ruth Fischer in Germany because is clearly revealed apparent here that it is not only an enemy of the Central Committee, but also an enemy of the German party. We are forced to this serious ideological Fight lead up to the final political destruction of Comrade Ruth Fischer, if we have a strong Communist mass movement and a strong Communist want to get party. That is why we are with the remarks of Comrade Kuusinen agree that clearly brought here to express that when Ruth Fischer their Methods continues, they will fly out of the Communist International. Our Position is: For agents of the bourgeoisie there in the Communist International no place, and we not only explain here before the plenary of the enlarged Executive but we signal already for future work that we to are going to put an end to the political groups of different Ruth Fischer to move forward in the development of the party and at the same time vorwärtszumarschieren on the way to real unity of the Communist Party Germany.
Long live the unified Communist Party?
Long live the unified Communist International!

"Protocol of the extended executive"
The relative stabilization of capitalism
and the tasks of the RFB

*Paper presented at the III. National Conference of the Red Front Fighters' League*
*Hamburg, 20 and March 21, 1926*

If we on the III. National Conference of the Red Front Fighters' League on the political situation want and comment on our tasks, it is necessary not only the situation in characterize Germany, but their connection with the main to consider phenomena of relative stabilization of capitalism. It stands undoubtedly determined that capitalism was capable of on a world scale, at times and partly to recover and to make attempts, the great difficulty of to overcome postwar period. But the crisis itself, especially after were imperialist genocides inevitable have not been overcome at all. On the contrary, we see at the beginning of 1926 in the capitalist Europe new, serious Difficulties with specific features of a general crisis of capitalism ever. The industrial crisis in England has led to the Red Friday, the English, the Bourgeoisie forced to spend millions of subsidies. In France intensified the Inflation crisis, the German economic crisis is still on, in Poland, we can almost an economic catastrophe notice and in Austria and the Balkans show similar phenomena. The partial stabilization of world capitalism is by various measures of Bourgeoisie achieved: first, by the pressure on the masses of the European states in the form of wages and control pressure, ie the reduction of the living standards of Workers in general; secondly, by increased exploitation and military Interventions in the colonies, yet the peoples already in fierce rearing national revolutionary struggle against it; thirdly, by supporting the United States who are trying through credits Europe under the hegemony of bringing American capitalism. However, all these tests can not the crisis solve and not stop their progressive tightening. This process makes the internal strengthening of the Soviet Union, whose very existence already a daunting anti-militarist movement causes in all countries and colonies, a major role. In addition to these short-described international features we see in Europe everywhere Government crises, deterioration and divisions in the bourgeois parties. (For example, the liberal party plays in England, as a result of more and more escalating Class antagonisms, only a minor role!) A special feature for the imperialist conflicts of the capitalist powers with one another is the last meeting the League of Nations in Geneva. As the Dawes report the economic enslavement
Germany initiated and performed, so the Treaty of Locarno should exercise political complete submission to England. The German bourgeoisie has in Geneva its first receive blows. This means the complete collapse of the peace of phrase Locarno. The League of Nations has openly and clearly as an instrument of war against the Soviet Union proved. As the impact of the Dawes report today the catastrophic economic crisis aggravated stands before us, so also the Locarno Treaties will affect. The Luther-Stresemann-government policy and therefore the policy of the SPD has so suffered a decisive defeat in the first stage to Locarno. Through the bill the Luther government to conduct a conscious West orientation purpose classification in the imperialist front is due to open Outcrop kicking the imperialist conflicts made a massive stroke. that must be another occasion for us to step up counter-current in Germany, as eastern orientation in the German working class is expressed. The newest Efforts of Luther-government, even with the help of so-called national associations, for Example of Jungdo 44 to deepen the course of the Western orientation, are characterized by Sure to fail. We have from the outset the Treaty of Locarno and the League of Nations as the in what they really are: instruments of power of the capitalist class to prepare the imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The output of the Geneva League meeting has the peace outcry in recent weeks silenced something again leave. We just need to base these incidents the workers repeatedly show that a secure peace is only possible through the creation of a free, Socialist Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union. The collapse of the foreign policy of the Luther Stresemann government falls along with a domestic defeat and with the stoppage, even progression the economic crisis. The general crisis of the German economy is due to the international position of Germany. Germany is a country whose export opportunities are very limited. In addition, the German bourgeoisie is forced to certain Measures for compliance with the commitment to fulfill the Dawes Pact to take. But we are only in the first year of entry into force of the Dawes Plan. In this Years must be paid 1,200 million marks. The crisis is also due the technical backwardness of German industry - compared to the industries of other capitalist countries -, low on the geschwundenen sales market and on the Purchasing power of the German population. What form does the crisis? While we supported in July 1925 197000 unemployed in Germany had, the number of support legitimate unemployed rose to. 1 In March 1926 to 2.056 million, to join the successful tenderer, short-time working, so that about must be expected 5 million. It must be borne in mind that this number represents quarter of German workers. These facts characterize the sharpness the crisis. In addition, these workers lying on the road to slow ruin a portion of the middle class have resulted. In most industries increases the Unemployment remains. Although Bourgeois economists tell much from an active Trade balance, but in fact no recovery, but rather a Aggravation of the crisis announced. Export Germany is in fact the same
remained as last year, while imports of raw materials due to the decommissioning of a large part of the German production apparatus has declined.

In addition to these general phenomena of crisis occur special part phenomena evident, such as the agrarian crisis. Added to the difficulties of the various commercial contracts, which partially outlets in their own country inhibit, then the immense control pressure acting on the small farmers who do not simply more will be able to apply the taxes demanded of them.

The impact of the crisis and the attempts to solve the bourgeoisie propel the peasant population to rebellion, as we can see Bernkastel vividly.

Given these catastrophic economic situation make the German bourgeoisie and their Executive Committee, the Luther-government, of course, desperate attempts to Overcoming the crisis by lending (shipbuilding), through tax relief for the Industry (financial program Reinholds), while by reducing property taxes at Retention of wage and mass taxes, by incorporating new American loans and by applying the strictest methods of struggle against the working class in the Implementation of its so-called rationalization program.

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Now how are the unions on these measures of the bourgeoisie?

The issued by ADGB memorandum is nothing more than a supplement to Program of German industrialists.

The ADGB is not only ready, the already bankrupt foreign policy course of Luther Government, but also its internal policies to support completely.

Especially in recent times have been repeated attempts on the part of ADGB Guide made under the slogan of "economic democracy" a new form of establish working group. The word "socialization" plays no role more in the programs of ADGB leader. They know that only the socialization can be carried out by the struggle for political power. Because she is in front fear and because it "The socialization marches" the masses with the slogan not yet even can deceive, they do not dare to the capitalist offensive a fight program Workers confront. That is why we need the entrepreneur program give right answer.

The concentration of the bourgeoisie we represent the concentration of the proletariat contrary.

During the crisis, a whole new Umgruppierungsprozeß in the workers going on itself, which has a tremendous importance for the development of red class front. The teachings the past behind us eight years in particular, the lessons of defeats of the proletariat, must be penetrated so deeply into all the comrades of the RFB that the expansion of these red Class Front must accept an active-revolutionary character. There was, for example, in the Red American Legion revolutionary impatient elements of in initiating Prince expropriation campaign of a "parliamentary comedy" spoke. These Comrades have the sense of this campaign is not seriously tested yet understood. Not about the Einzeichnungsergebnis of 8, 10, 12 or 13 million votes, the most important Rather, the important thing is the tremendous mobilization of the whole proletariat and the thus achieved progressive differentiation process in the bourgeois parties. Of the big-business wing of the center had to be of the Christian workers in
Centre disconnect. In the Democratic Party itself had the banking and Trade capitalists bow to the influence of the petty-bourgeois masses.

Even the victory of the referendum means the cancellation of the Hindenburg election.

It was achieved by lower middle classes politicization, which we previously had arrived. The farmers were in the rapidly growing movement dragged. The walls between the Social Democratic and Communist

Although workers have not yet been completely torn down, but we have a wide Breach beaten. The colossus of the Luther government with its five bourgeois parties, which declare themselves against the Prince expropriation is attacked, decomposed, the Colossus begins to crumble and to waver. Many of our comrades did not believe that we to Referendum will raise 10 million votes, so that we now for the Referendum to determine expected the victory. So we have our

Class basis underestimated. We must therefore now proceed, with revolutionary open boldness mobilization begun the working class and beyond the entire working people continue. Here is our relationship with the Reich banner crucial. The management of Reichsbanner has the till now to the question Referendum silent, although the vast majority of members of the wants Reichsbanner not hear of Prince compensation.

The meeting of the Reichsbanner in Hamburg has shown that between the nationalist Associations and the Reichsbanner not so big differences cease to exist, as yet be persuaded many workers from the leaders of the Reichsbanner a year ago could. produced The obvious right price of the National Board of Reichsbanner

naturally growing oppositional currents, carried by the Workers elements in Reichsbanner.

During the referendum have parts Reichsbanner during demonstrations, at the Distribution of material and the unit committee of the Communist Party and Red American Legion worked together very closely.

On Monday, for example, found in Berlin a rally of the opposition Reichsbanner people take that occurs before the entire working class with the policy wants deal Reichsbanner guide. These are all symptoms of the unit will the workers who on by all comrades of the Red Front Fighters' League, the most energetic must be supported. The Red American Legion now has a stage behind to which was the structure. In the current situation, but we have our forces to summarize expansion of the organization.

We need to create a solid organizational foundation, particularly with regard to the coming economic struggles, in our struggle for the elimination of all monarchists Administrative, judicial, and police, of the disarmament Counterrevolution. It is vitally important to organize the Young workers and the organization of women, who make up half the population. To obtain the smallholder layers are no longer enough just demonstrations and occasional red country Sundays, but we need a systematic ideological Enlightenment each smallholders begin. grow also in the SME sector in the face the catastrophic situation the sympathy for the red front. His recovery is for victory and the implementation of the proletarian revolution of the utmost importance. Our
Relation to the workers' sports organizations should also be even better. All these tasks have taken from our comrades with the most serious attention in attack will. One of our most important tasks is our struggle against the employers' offensive. The preparation of this struggle is only possible if our comrades their duty meet in the free trade unions. Our aim must be to all abutting to us indifferent workers for unionization to win. The comrades Red Front Fighters' League have cooperate with all their forces in Solidarity basis between the unemployed and the standing still in operation workers produce.

As the economic field tried the reaction politically to advance: by their plans for constitutional amendments, for "Abschaffung parlamentarism", change the electoral system and raising the voting age. In recent weeks diving turn dictatorship plans on the reaction. Its implementation should be initiated by a ban on the Red Front Fighters' League. Despite all still in our organization existing shortcomings and weaknesses recognizes the bourgeoisie is a great danger that you made our education and mobilization work for the collection of the workers in the red Front arises. To calm the Social Democratic workers, namely explains Severing nor that he does not want to prove the favor the communists with a ban on the RFB, us to gain even more influence. But we know that inside and outside the Government has been negotiated specifically banning the RFB.

We will deal with the sympathy that we through our work in the widest have acquired layers of the proletariat, to against these attacks on our organization know defend, because the Red American Legion is an important link become proletarian class front.

The implementation of the tasks before us is only possible if we at the intensive expansion of our organization through the politicization in all fields approach. This requires: recognition of the tasks of the revolution, the collection Past experience and its application in the present.

Not drunk with victory, but probably triumphantly we want the great tasks that our wait, approach.

Let's fight with proletarian discipline as a revolutionary vanguard, then this is the victory the German working class safely.

"The Red flag"
24 March 1926th
The extended executive and the situation
in our party

Paper presented at the Conference
the political secretaries and editors
on 16 and 17 April 1926

The importance of the German question
the Communist International
Comrades Comrade Dengel has in his report analyzing the economic and political situation on a world scale given and the situation in the various sections of the Communist International characterized. My task, the German question is from the whole complex of questions of the extended executive single out, their importance to show for the entire political line of the Comintern and the impact to take decisions of the enlarged executive on our party. The characteristic train treating all intraparty issues on the VI. extended executive was all intraparty issues closely related to the whole political situation and the tasks created by them the communist Parties treat. This was particularly true for the German question, which, together with the French was the focus of attention of the meeting. The particular importance of Decisions for our party is that all questions of tactics, the treatment of "Ultra-left" and right deviations as fundamental questions, as questions of principles the Revolution, were asked. It is absolutely necessary to emphasize that the "ultra-left" deviations, against on the extended executive a tough battle was fought in its ideological roots already were much earlier yet. Comrade Lenin in 1921 the perspective of relative Stabilization aufstellte, he aroused violent opposition in comrades from the direct fire of the revolutionary struggle came, and the elements of the other Development of capitalist society is not clearly identified. Just opposite the current "ultra-left" opposition, we must note that the moods of the German Comrades who came from the March Action, the Italian, just the big fights and had the occupation of farms behind, objectively a revolutionary declaration could find. Just at this years round began the transition of the Stabilization. Capitalism showed strong acute crises, the prospect of relative stabilization was not as clear as it is now. But Comrades We just, which at that time were in opposition, today when Lenin, the control must determine not had torn around when the Communist International not really after a revolutionary Marxist analysis of the situation would have acted, would the Communist International has been separated from the masses in the broadest extent. The slogan "approach to the masses! ", the united front tactic was the concrete expression of the changed situation, the Fact that the Communist International her between two waves of revolution has to fulfill task of organizing the revolution. I emphasize this, therefore, to to show that the current "ultra-left" opposition in the Communist International has absolutely nothing in common with that of revolutionary opposition that from immediate revolutionary mass struggles and a complicated transition period emerged. The current "ultra-left" opposition can be characterized as a rebellion petty-bourgeois elements against the revolutionary policy of the Communist International that in all factors of the class struggle for their revolutionary tactics Statement reports. But we must with the "ultra-left" deviations anyway deal, clearly show them the party and together with the entire membership liquidate. For the current period of relative stabilization has broad layers the working class pushed out from the production process, has broad masses in chased despair mood in Germany has a permanent unemployed army created, and there is a danger that precisely these layers from the "ultra-left"
be influenced sham radicalism.
The extended executive has determined that International in the Communist present not only "ultra-left" dangers, but also right hazards exist.
This also applies to Germany. But we have to decide, and the extended executive
This question was answered clearly, what dangers are currently greater in Germany, the "ultra-left" or the right. I believe that everyone who the situation in the German party clearly judged must be the decisions of the enlarged executive law whose meaning is, in Germany currently the fire of inner-party struggle against "ultra-left" to addressed. This clearly does not mean to express in the current situation, each floor losing a real labor policy.
In the correct assessment of the general situation of the country and the consequent resulting intraparty course is the crux of the Bolshevik tactics.
Therefore, we have on the extended executive in the struggle against the "ultra-left"
Deviations our party clearly indicated that Ruth Fischer to Urbahns over Scholem-Rosenberg, Weber-Korsch black to Katz takes an ideological line. I think we can conclude that this analysis was correct. Although these differentiate groups in individual questions, in the fundamental issues they are absolutely unanimous.

The roots of the "ultra-left" error

We must note that the emergence of the "ultra-left" deviations not only on objective reasons such as the fact of the relative stabilization of the large unemployment, daily reformist betrayal and weakness of the Communists in the Unions, is due. It is needless to say that the roots of "Ultra-left" deviations in the entire political system of Ruth Fischer Maslow headquarters are to be sought. These roots must be shown, because the party still suffers under. The destruction of any party democracy and the replacement of Party discipline by cliques, the emergence of revolutionary cadres prevented and made impossible. The deliberate sabotage of party work has ideological level of Party pushed deeper. The party was thus incapable of really understand their assigned tasks and solutions in the mass work enforce. Everyone knows what I think and where this system of party leadership led. These were the main causes of the "ultra-left" deviations prior to publication of the "Open Letter" that affect today.
The importance of the "Open Letter" is that he compared to these Phenomena has built a dam.

The resolution of the German question

The resolution of the German question, which was adopted at the extended executive, we consider primarily as a continuation of the policy of the "open letter". The Resolution specifies this policy line at a higher level of party development. It sets the perspective of the next development in Germany towards all "Ultra-left" deviations and characterized the "ultra-left" as the disturbing element on the way to winning the masses. The resolution indicates the uniform policy Line of Ruth Fischer to Korsch and give the party a solid ideological handle for
Management of intra-party disputes, have particularly underlined the be parts that characterize those methods of intraparty work, the price the notice on attracting the masses.

**Party development since the extended executive**

The perspective of the enlarged executive for the development of our inner-party situation has already proved to be correct. We must note that the first "Ultra-left" deviations have occurred strengthened, but that further disintegration of "Ultra-leftist" leader groups has occurred. Second, we see the emergence of a clear anti-Bolshevik group Korsch Black, the already de facto outside the Party is, and, thirdly, a slow onset process of enlightenment among the "Ultra-left" workers.

These are the most important phenomena of our party development.

**As we want to liquidate the "ultra-left" deviations?**

In the fight against the "ultra left" deviations, we must note first of all that the Party dissuaded under any circumstances of their duties in the working class must leave. We have the "ultra-left" deviations on hand of our practical success liquidate at work among the broad masses. We must ensure that the opportunistic Dangers that us just at a broad application of the united front tactic in both the Prince expropriation campaign as well as in the Saxony question threaten not, from the eye to lose. We must not forget the lessons of the 1923rd I think you may find that we have not made such errors so far. One may prove us wrong.

In addressing the "ultra-left" groups, we must make a difference between their leaders and those workers who made desperate mood or revolutionary impatience to run after them. We are facing a serious and tough ideological struggle for these workers. Nothing can stop us, these workers comrades ideologically win.

But when comrades in the party who believe that they can decompose the party, their to prevent war in the masses constantly, so we declare loud and clear that we this will not tolerate that we to the ideological and organizational unity of the party whatever be true.

We refuse to agree "ultra-left" factionalists in the crisis cries of.

This cry is only of the Social Democratic Party executive who is trying with the Arguments of Urbahns, Korsch and black cover up the serious crisis. the result has begun the Saxon events in the SPD.

It is undeniable that, firstly, the "Open Letter", the party inner despite great forward brought difficulties; Secondly, the party has authority and confidence in the won membership despite the Mole work of "ultra-left" groups; thirdly, the ideological and organizational change process in the party is making great progress; fourthly, new party cadres that really suited the policy of the party among the masses to represented know are emerging. This is the real situation. We will unwaveringly march forward. No one can bring us in contrast to Communist International and Russian to our fraternal party. On this political line, filled with this faith, we will continue our revolutionary work continue and prepare the German working class for the victory of the German Revolution and organize.

"The Red Flag" on 23 April 1926th
Solidarity with the English brothers!

Berlin, May 5 1926th

Open letter
the Federal Executive
the General German Trade Union Federation

Dear Comrades

The extraordinary significance of the British General Strike for the entire international Labor movement and especially for the German workers make us the Federal Board of ADGB following suggestions a really strong support to make the English working class:

1. The Brussels Resolution the Executive Committee of the Miners International undoubtedly forms a favorable basis for the development of an international solidarity action for the struggle of the English workers. However, all depends on that there considered solid measures are carried out as quickly as possible. The English workers are already in combat. Every hour is precious. Any delay of solidarity action directly benefits the English bourgeoisie, which gathers together all their forces to the British workers strike down. There is only one possibility, the international to bring relief in transition: the independent initiative of the affiliated National Associations. We therefore propose, without delay, the common approach of the main organize associations in Germany to the by the general strike in England exploit created position in favor of the German workers.

2. The KPD considers it insufficient when the miners and Transport Workers' Federation export of German coal only prevented by England. This measure alone would mean in the present moment a flash in the pan. Because it is known that the English industry and transportation for a long time with Coal are covered. What matters is to prevent the German bourgeoisie is able to stand in for England on the world market, to fashion this for effective strikebreakers against the struggling English working class to will. We therefore propose that for the duration of the English strikes of any export set of coal.

3. Similarly, it must be prevented that, under the title "reparations" the English bourgeoisie coal for export purposes by the German bourgeoisie

45The general strike and the miners' strike in England have been triggered by the attack of entrepreneurs on the living standards of the working class, the miners answered the lockout, the the of Mine owners had been imposed because the miners a reduction in wages and an extension of the Workday had rejected, on 1 May 1926 the strike. As a sign of solidarity with the Miners began on May 3, a general strike, to the millions of organized workers main branches of industry and the transport sector took part. On May 12, in the battle of Workers exercised the leaders of the General Council of the English trade unions at the striking workers betrayal and declared the general strike ended. But the struggle of the miners went on. Only the Reprisals by the government and the contractor as well as the severe financial situation forced the miners, in November 1926 set the strike and accept the conditions of the mine owners.

46The resolution was on 16 April 1926 on the meeting of the Executive Committee of the reformist Miners' International Federation in Brussels adopted in a situation in which the English
Miners were preparing to strike. The resolution speaks of an all-round support of the miners and assured solemnly, "if necessary," all national miners' associations to a solidarity strike call.

The facts expose the demagogic character of the declaration of solidarity. The miners were from reveal their reformist leaders, who never thought of coming to realize the resolution.

Available is provided, because in this way a large part of the export needs of English bourgeoisie for next time could be covered.

4. We suggest further that the immediate creation of a support fund for English struggle to raise an extra charge of all members of the ADGB.

5. The created by the general strike in England location is particularly suitable, finally in Germany the struggle for the demands of the miners and the entire Workers - eight-hour day, seven-hour shift in mining, higher wages, adequate support of the unemployed and workers on short time - to organize. It is quite insufficient when the BAV miners recommends no layers process. What is needed is the dismissal without lifting the working time agreement and the rest loose Restoration of seven-hour shift.

6. To achieve this and to ensure the victory, is an immediate union Alliance of miners, railway workers, transport workers and metalworkers produce.

7. The implementation of all these, both the German and the English working class essential measures can of course only in the struggle. For a long time The situation was not as favorable as now. All conditions for a victorious end the fight are given. The sympathy of the German working class for the struggles of English brothers took widest layers. To carry out this and all other, resulting from the worsening situation daily activities and the Deliberations of the Brussels meeting is the Proclamation of the immediate strike of German Mining and transport workers, railway workers, boatmen, dockers and Metalworker with the objectives of the rest without the support of the British struggle and Enforce the demands of the German workforce necessary. to carry the struggle is the establishment of a central battle line from all the participating associations required. We believe it is the end for imperative that the ADGB all German workers for this fight mobilized them for demonstration meetings calls, in which one part of the energetic sympathy for English struggle expression if on the other hand the fighting spirit of the broad masses is summarized.

8. The struggle in England is a showdown, the imperialist British bourgeoisie the English working class supplies, because this is becoming more and more for the revolutionary struggle for the aims of socialism organized. We believe it is necessary that in the union campaign this character of the struggle the more is lifted, and in Germany the employers' offensive by a increasingly fierce attack of the reaction against the workers' movement is accompanied. We are convinced that an implementation of our proposals force of increase German proletariat and the influence of trade unions in the broad masses would consolidate. We suggest you before, these proposals based on the action of the ADGB to make on the occasion of the fight in England, and expect of you a corresponding answer.
The day of red front!

The Pentecost meeting of the Red Front Fighters' League is the focus of the burning hatred of the entire reaction. For weeks, the storm was about his ban. If the Prussian government has not dared to this unanimous demand of the legal and to fulfill illegal fascists, so this is only an expression of the huge mass pressure, standing behind our Red Pentecost. Hundreds of thousands of workers gather in Berlin to the Red Front Fighters, and in the kingdom are million in the same front. Yes, it is a battle against the march Bourgeoisie. Nothing sharpest provocations against the working class, organized Preparation of the coup, we are consolidating the red front in all its breadth. The location is extremely seriously. There is every indication that the coming autumn and winter hardship and misery, unemployment and short-time working will grow unbearable. The Entrepreneurship and his government make all preparations to the resistance of the Working class quell the weapon of the coup and the dictatorship. The fascist civil war armies are organized under the protection of the army and armed. The legal and illegal counterrevolution are merged into a single front. For plebiscite of the working population to be supplied a first battle. From all parts of the kingdom, the messages that the Nationalist combat troops increase under fürsorglichem protect the republican authorities, coordination with want to prevent terrorist means. A success of the referendum is to all Means be prevented. Here arises the comrades a large, important task. Of the Red American Legion must the to referendum aufmarschierenden masses before the protect bloody attacks of the fascists. He is the watchful eye of the proletarian its united front. The bourgeoisie is just in the next few months with all forces endeavor, with provocation, violence and deceitful propaganda, the proletarian to blow up a united front. The Red American Legion is itself a piece of this front. He to jump into any gap that the attack of the bourgeoisie, the betrayal of the reformists in the Ranks of the working class break. Many comrades Reichsbanner come to us, disgusted by the cowardice and Wretchedness of their petty-bourgeois leadership. The Red American Legion is every Workers open the honest for the proletarian united front and fight for socialism want. We do not encounter also those back who have illusions about the Weimar Republic are biased. Will you fight for the united front without reservation against the bourgeoisie? If so,
Then you are welcome as equal comrades.
Our Red Pfingsttreffen is not only a military review of the forces - it is a signal for
Mobilization, an appeal to the working class, an exhortation to the indifferent and
defaulting:
The clenched fist of the proletariat against reaction!
Makes the red class front! Close ranks to fight!

*Forward through struggle to victory!*

"The Red flag"
of 23 May 1926th

47 Völkische combat troops - created by the response organizations fascist militarist
Character (Freikorps, helmet, Hitler gangs, etc.) for holding down the revolutionary workers' movement
and all other democratic forces.

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About the tactics of the Communist Party of Poland

"The Red Flag" of 23 May published a report of its Warsaw
Correspondents on the tactics of the CPP during the recent events in Poland. This
Report reflects the opinion of certain circles of the Polish Communist Party.
We can not fail to subdue this tactic of the sharpest criticism. The author of
Article comes from the quite correct principle that the main task of the Party
consisted in "the working masses of Pilsudski and the Pilsudskitum to separate". But
from this correct principle draws the author is absolutely incorrect and anti-Leninist
Conclusion that the path was to "the fight against the Pilsudski reaction to
support to extend it to the broadest possible masses and as a revolutionary struggle
weiterzutreiben ".
What is the purpose of this so-called struggle against Pilsudski the reaction? It's for
each Marxists understood that at the last overthrow 48 two different and mutually
opposed members participated: on the one hand the working class and the toiling
Peasantry, the impoverished middle class, the oppressed national minorities -
but on the other hand, the military clique in the person Pilsudski, whose objectives not
revolutionary but reactionary are. He is not the liberation of the proletariat from
Yoke of fascism and the bourgeoisie to the task, but the betrayal of all strata of
Working people in the name of "peace and order", on behalf of the civil constitution,
on behalf of the block with the counter-revolution and on behalf of flunky
Servility to British imperialism. It is in the combination of these
counterrevolutionary role with the simultaneous use of the freedom of illusions
masses, in the establishment of democratic flag over the white bayonets
is the peculiar Bonapartist character of Pilsudskitums. That is precisely
its basic class contradiction.
Under these circumstances, it was the task of the Communist Party: first, the
to destroy illusions of the masses in relation to "Pilsudski struggle against reaction";
Secondly, the independent, relentless struggle of the masses against Pilsudski and against
But if one of the talks "Battle Pilsudski against reaction, can be the not dispel illusions of the masses in relation to Pilsudski, yes, they have to be even more consolidate. If one speaks of a "support" this alleged struggle against Pilsudski the reaction by the Communist Party, one can neither independent action the proletariat against its enemies still fighting the Bonapartist treacherous organize gang Pilsudski himself. Quite the contrary: In this way, one can only Class activity of the proletariat paralyze the process of its liberation from all illusions inhibit and, albeit unconscious thus facilitate fact, Pilsudski location. In the history of the Bolshevik struggle we find a shining example of how a communist party at the time of the armed conflict between the to behave open Whiteguards and the petty-bourgeois Bonapartism. This "Fight Pilsudski against reaction" recalls in a certain sense to the past Moment of the fight Kerensky against Kornilov in 1917. Certainly, there is a great Difference between the situation in 1917 in Russia and the situation in Poland today, but the class rating of the fundamental historical problem remains for given moment quite correct in Poland.

48This refers to the armed coup, which was completed May 13, 1926 by Pilsudski of 12. The Result of the revolution was the establishment of a regime of dictatorship of Pilsudski and his clique, the gradually completed the fascist takeover of the country.

Lenin has no second possibility the slogan "support the fight Kerensky approved against Kornilov." Immediately after the march of Kornilov on Petrograd In early September, Lenin wrote in a letter to the Central Committee of the Party, in which he following detailed directive was:

"The Kerensky government we ourselves may not support now. That would be unprincipled. one will ask: Should we not fight against Kornilov about? Certainly one should it! But that is not a and the same; here there is a limit; it is crossed by many Bolsheviks who the 'Pacts' fall and be carried away by the stream of events. " [VI Lenin, "On the Central Committee of the RSDLP (B) "; Lenin / Stalin, "The 1917", Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1950, S. 441.]

Does this tactic, the neutrality of the Communists in the struggle of the workers' and Peasant masses against the Weiβgardistentum? Not at all. Lenin said:

"We will fight, we are fighting against Kornilov as Kerensky's troops do, but we support Kerensky not, we expose his weakness. That's a difference. That is a quite fine, but very significant difference, the one must not forget." [Ibid, p 442.]

Just "this difference", which is quite fine, but most significantly, our Polish comrades overlooked. At the same place, Lenin defined the new positive tasks of the Bolsheviks immediately after the outbreak of the struggle:

"What is now changing our tactics after the uprising of Kornilov? ... The people (fighting against Kornilov) Kerensky's weakness over and above its fluctuations enlighten. That we did earlier. But now it has become the main thing: it is the..."
The Warsaw correspondent of the "Red Flag", which represents the events in Poland, accumulates errors to error. The task of the Communist Party he sees that it "in the struggle between fascism and the masses of Pilsudskileute must endeavor to the pressure of the masses on their leaders in the direction of actual struggle against fascism to the Power for the realization of the demands of the worker and peasant masses to strengthen ".

This tactic has with Bolshevism nothing in common. This tactic has nothing in common with following principle of Lenin:

"Phrases about the defense of the country, the united front of revolutionary democracy, from the support of the Provisional Government, etc., etc., must provide as phrases been fought relentlessly. Now it's time to act: you, gentlemen SRs and Mensheviks, these phrases have long hackneyed. Now it's time to act, the war against Kornilov must lead revolutionary by draws the masses, they move brings them cheering (Kerensky but fears the masses, feared the people.). " [Ibid, p 443.]

The Central Committee of the CPP call, issued in the moment when the armed struggle became inevitable, says:

"The course of the revolutionary workers but in this struggle in the ranks of the opponents of Government, the fascists and capitalists. ".

This means as much as the recognition of the military clique Pilsudski than actual Opponents of the Polish capitalists. This means the distortion of the "main thing" in the Polish events. This is a reversal of the "fact" of the masses under the leadership the KP through "phrases" about the "revolutionary united front of revolutionary Democracy". Lenin was a thousand right when he denounced this tactic in the fall 1917th

Every Polish Communist, every member of the Communist International must in May 1926 resolutely condemn these same tactics. We are firmly convinced, that our Polish comrades and the Central Committee of our Party on Polish brother fastest and energetic will correct these errors. The Communist International, the Difficulties of the Polish Communist Party in the current situation probably understands and heroic sees combat the Polish comrades, must help them by all means, their line to correct and to lead the masses to the Leninist path of struggle, both against the fascists and against the Pilsudskitum.

"The Red flag"
of 3 June 1926th
The importance of the people's movement to Prince expropriation

On the day of the vote on the Entgegnungsgesetz it is the duty of the Communist Party, the masses once again the importance of this battle for the whole section to call development of their liberation struggle against capitalism to mind. The Communists reject the petty-bourgeois non-Marxist interpretation of the causes and roots this movement from which they detached from the struggles of classes, as "Constitutional" struggle against the princely robber alone asks counted. We went in this fight against the prince with the conscious conviction that he in its course has become a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie. Our Vision
was the old experience of the revolutionary workers' movement, that every struggle of the working class, started on the floor of bourgeois democracy to a must be revolutionary, is beyond the scope of democracy when the Property interests of the bourgeoisie injured and the bourgeoisie is no longer able to Movement by such means of democracy as Parliament, Constitution, etc. Hold down. Has the development of our Marxist approach to justified plebiscite movement? Completely. extend the fronts of struggle now clear and unambiguous: impoverished On one side of the working class and millions Petty bourgeoise and small peasants, on the other hand the whole bourgeoisie, of the Rhine vent barons and the East Elbe Junkers to the liberal merchants. The Fight object is not the prince expropriation alone, but all of the questions proletarian class struggle. Even the Social Democrats, who this from the crowds Movement had to be formally into whipped, looks now forced before the day Poll the tariff issue, the extraordinary importance in the next few weeks will come to throw in the movement against the rulers. Of course not selbständigem will to broadening and Vorwärtstreibung of struggle, but under pressure from the masses. We have foreseen this development and encouraged deliberately. The letter to Hindenburg Loebell for us was an inevitable experience of Class divisions that had to have the movement result. The movement is still in the framework of bourgeois democracy, but on the part of Bourgeoisie are made all the arrangements, so that in case of victory of on the floor democracy movement begun the German working class against the decision to filters to enforce the will of the masses in the sharpest extra-parliamentary struggle or to surrender. Three days before the vote told Marx:

"An expropriation without compensation of the total assets of certain citizens in the Design intended manner contrary to the principles that the law in a state have to form the basis for any legislative act."

He seconded the Baden Democrats leader Haas:

"The referendum may fail as he wants, Baden is his must be words."

49 The chairman of the so-called Reich Citizenship Council of Loebell had, in a letter dated 19 May 1926 Hindenburg prompted to speak out against the referendum to Prince expropriation because the "Agitation of the radical left carried in confusion in the middle classes" will. In its response of 22 May 1926, Hindenburg at the head of the enemies of the referendum and brought unequivocally his intention to take ownership of the monarchists and Junker by all means to protect.

That is, the referendum may fail as he wants, the bourgeoisie is beyond the scope their own democratic constitution and replaces them brutally and blatantly the ruthless struggle of capital against the workers. This doctrine, which German Bourgeoisie has recently issued the German working class, their revolutionary Bear fruit. The workers, however, who go on June 20 to the ballot box, it must in Consciousness do that a new stage of the struggle begins, in which the bourgeoisie the
threadbare cloak of democracy has completely dropped, the iron armor of their armed Civil War bands of the working class is opposed rigid.

But that alone is the importance of the Prince expropriation movement is not exhausted. Still never been in Germany as large sections of the declassified over the years and pauperized masses thrown in the midst of the maelstrom of the class struggle. The petty-bourgeois parties tremble under the onslaught of their class struggle.

"Infected" pendant. The shabby remains of the political centralism that this is Parties could allow due to their contrasting class layers still scatter under the onslaught of the masses. In the Democratic Party reigns a wild Mess, and those against the Prince expropriation fight in columns same press against each other. In the Centre Party, the conflict between extended the social interests of the masses and their religious affiliation to open struggle, the break down the walls of this so "proud party threatens. In desperation appealed the Centre Party Board to the episcopal episcopate that of the conductive columns "Germania" his incantatory formulas on the rebelling Christian flock down pours. But in vain! Even the workers in the young center who hardly the thumb the church school are elopement, respond to its board:

"The objections raised by the Nazi Party line reasons appear the same as not enough justified, because it must be assumed that in issuing the slogan of the many war-wounded, the bereaved, small pensioners, savers and the masses of unemployed completely forgotten Has. Therefore, the young center calls the entire youth to do their duty on 20 June and with Yes to vote."

This rebellion does not stop at the gates of the extreme right-wing parties. Your Consequences are still unforeseeable. However, they are no doubt all political struggles of next time its stamp. The bourgeoisie is the persistence in economic crisis, with worsening of the general distress have no ability Layers zurückzujagen back into the capitalist obstacles. This means that they always more and more to the democratic methods of exercising their political Refrain power and will go on to the methods of the fascist dictatorship. These are the prospects, thanks to the revolutionary leadership of this movement by the Communist Party already broad layers of the working class clearly visible are. However, it must be recognized that from the conscious knowledge of the situation and the Creation of instruments of the fight against envisaged by the Bourgeois and prepared development is still a long way. Thousands of unit committees are in recent weeks emerged. They are still inadequate, both in number than political Activity. Yet little was to summarize the unit committees in local and District scale done. Too little was still the economic side of the struggle, the ask of the organized Defence, of the reduction of the wages, of the Dole and working hours, placed in the foreground. The remaining democratic illusions of the workers and their following Petty bourgeoisie will be after June 20 mercilessly destroyed by the bourgeoisie. The attention of the Communists, the crucial part of their labor power must So the realization of that struggle slogans turn, as a result of the changed Class content of the movement now already are in the foreground. The Communists can
also remember after June 20, impress the masses, that the Republic of Marx Hindenburg the dethroned Hohenzollern pays annually millions Goldmark, a unemployed metalworker contrast 8 Mark weekly, a war widow in the maximum case 47 marks a month, one hundred percent war wounded 64 marks a month. they also after June 20 the struggle for the expropriation of the princes as a part of the cause great struggle to overthrow the rule of capital. High on its Tasks is now the summary of the whole revolutionary force of the Working class, which has developed in this movement, the summary of the whole social hatred of the impoverished and pauperized middle classes into a unified, fight resolute Front led by the Communist Party.
The slogan for the 21th June: Every unit committee commented on the outcome of the Referendum! All preparations for the summary to be made! All Slogans of economic and political struggle of the working class, the impoverished Petty bourgeoisie and the impoverished small farmers are grouped together in the battle cry: Long live the Labour Congress Germany!

"The Red flag"
20 June 1926th

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50The Reich Labour Congress met from 3 to 5 December 1926 Berlin. It was attended besides Communist delegates, among others, 137 Socialists and 42 representatives of Farmer organizations. About one third of the delegates had no party affiliation.
The Congress should the toiling masses into motion by the Prince expropriation campaign were summarized to further combat actions.
The Congress showed that a broad movement against the growing exploitation and oppression by the ruling class and against their imperialist policy was available. The delegates elected a National Committee of the working people "with Comrade Fritz Heckert as chairman.
The district Congress

This year's Berlin district Congress has extraordinary importance not only for the History of the Berlin organization of the KPD, but also of the whole party; because in any district of the party led a membership so resolute and successful Fight against the "ultra left" deviations from the communist policies as just in Berlin-Brandenburg, the district, which the "ultra-left" leaders as one of their fortresses consideration. This is for the development of the Party of tremendous importance. The Brandler-Leadership of the party was not only to their false, opportunist tactics based but also to their fundamental perverse organizational setting to large Working-class districts of the party, headed by Berlin-Brandenburg is! Ruth Fischer and Although Maslow understood the necessity of making the inner unity of the party, the Bridging the large gap that, before 1923 between Berlin-Brandenburg, Hamburg Rhineland-Westphalia on the one hand and the other districts on the other hand was. But they created this unit on the floor of a partly "ultra-left", some opportunist policy, both within the party as to the masses. And that is why this unit had in to disintegrate itself. Only the party discussion, initiated by the "Open Letter" was, created the conditions for the emergence of the real, revolutionary ideology and politics of the whole party. In this unit acquiesced with its large majority this time the Berlin-Brandenburg region.

One more thing needs to be emphasized in terms of this district convention. The Merits of Berlin-Brandenburg organization in the struggle against the opportunist Degeneration of the party are subject to change and are also in the later party development lose nothing of its meaning. It is and remains the merit of the Berlin Organization that they the first to fight against the corrosive opportunism. Brandler Office has begun. But the leadership of the Berlin-Brandenburg district did not understand when she said guide had taken over the whole party, the great political asset that of them through the struggle was left workers against opportunism available for a revolutionary politics to use that, the masses led the party forward to the party. The Berliner left Workers had in common with those of Hamburg and Rhineland-Westphalia after October 1923, the split in the party prevented. The guide Ruth Fischer-Maslow distorted this struggle against opportunism to a cartoon, he took the basic Character and consequently lost any ground for a clear, revolutionary politics. Ruth Fischer-Maslow have the fight left workers against opportunism discredited. Even after she got into the party debate the political and organizational response.

Never a district meeting was such in the history of the party. Thoroughness prepared as this time in Berlin. Never before have so much Party members involved in the decision of political issues. In this Party discussion was the will of the entire Party membership more strongly expressed as in all previous. That this discussion and on the floor after Operation Street groups held reorganized Party, gives it even more importance, both the KPD as for the entire International. The political and organizational These discussions are not only the political leadership and the political line determine the Berlin-Brandenburg organization, but they are an immense offer treasure of experience for practical work in the coming months. Nothing could the party membership better from of the need of the operating and Street groups Organization convincing than just the implementation of this policy.
In the coming fight the Berlin organization continues to be with in the first
Number of party standing. This proves not only the whole revolutionary tradition of the Berlin
Communists but also the activity of the organization in recent weeks
on the occasion of the struggle of the party against the deployment of the fascist counterrevolution,
the preparation and conduct of the referendum, the sympathy with the struggle
English general strike.
The Pentecost meeting of the Red Front Fighters' League has not only the strength of the Berlin
Organizing once again proved her but also new routes to the hundreds of thousands
counting workers opened, cheering the Red Front fighters. The Red Tag has the
proletarian united front in Berlin except-tidy broadened and deepened. The Berliner
Organization must exploit this summarize the masses and organize.
The Berlin communists must not be content with their previous successes. Not
20000, but 40000 Communists must in Berlin-Brandenburg in these years
be organized. More, much more work in the trade unions, an even
resolute struggle for the Social Democratic workers to the recovery of
Nonparty, coming ever closer to the Communist Party. Much more activity for
the demands of the unemployed, even deeper into the farms!
These objects are filled in all the action of the Berlin organization. The hard
If the daily, uniform mass revolutionary work is factionalism
finally destroy.
Thus, the Berlin-Brandenburg organization is again at the head of the party
march, is her district Congress this march new vigor and greater strength
procure.

"The spark",
issued by the district administration
the KPD Berlin-Brandenburg,
25 June 1926th
The Red Front fighters salute!

Welcome, Red Front Fighters to your second Gautag in Hamburg. Welcome,
Tens of thousands who feels it connected you with the red class front! You all salute the Communist Party you all salute the organizations class-conscious working class, greet numerous Reichsbanner workers with the Heart to red front are! With pride and with the greatest attention following the Workers Seareach your development.
Comrades! only established less than two years ago, you have understood it, the Membership of your organization from the first to the second to double Gautreffen. Alone in June 665 new comrades in Gau joined the red front, and in the first Half of July the new Fehmarner Ortsgruppe have not counted with 153 members, already back 300 proletarians of Protective Trutzorganisation the toiling masses connected. The establishment of many new chapters in recent months, particularly in rural areas, will also contribute to the class alliance between city and to strengthen country. The red front grows in urban and rural areas. Today and tomorrow also the Red Navy will deploy. Especially its development as a section of RFB draws the attention of the police, the government and the Bourgeoisie on them. It awakens the memory of the days of November of 1918, in which the red sailors, starting in Kiel, throughout Germany the revolutionary uprising against Wilhelmine African autocracy, against the imperialist war makers, against capitalism contributed. Former Red sailors are the ones who after the first Gautag have come together, not only to commemorate the so auspiciously beginning Revolution of 1918 to the fruits of the labor of the reformist leaders was cheated, but to prepare a new November. Therefore hatred of Bourgeoisie, that is why the furious persecution she exposes the Red Navy. In Altona, the court several weeks ago reached a verdict, under specious, quite impossible pretexts prohibiting the uniform of the Red Navy aims. The Justification condemnation of nineteen comrades of the Red Navy was that their Uniform with the German Navy was to be confused. Although this is a pitiful Untruth, what the Kieler judges confirmed their colleagues Altona itself; but the Bourgeoisie does not ask about right and wrong, they do not ask for truth and falsehood, if it only applies, the revolutionary working class to strike a blow. In addition to the Communist Youth marched the Red Youth Front. It grows in the Red American Legion. They will strengthen the revolutionary spirit of the working people. It is with the Communist Youth, the red class front of the proletarian youth. The working women and girls gather in the Red Woman and
Girl Bund. This organization, founded only a few months ago, in addition to the Communist Party, the class organization of working women, which together with the Red American Legion will march also on tomorrow everywhere. Some impact has the Red American Legion distributed since its first Gautag, He has received some shock. The overall reaction in the form of monarchists Hindenburg and the "Republican" Marx has become the over all obstacles fierce struggle against the workers together. As the Gau Seareach led the Red Front Fighters' League on 20 and 21 June 1925 had his first meeting since the bourgeoisie their first customs and Steuerraubzug by. Today, the second Gautreffen the RFB, are the new, far higher tariffs already been decided. On August 1, will come into force the new rates of Bülow Tariff and an exorbitant increase in the price of all draw food by itself, is the precursor of the rising wholesale price index. At the the same day received a new Mietsgesetze validity, which allow homeowners throwing their tenants on the street, even if only one or two months with her. rental fee are lagging behind. These measures sentenced one after the rent to 100 to 110 percent of the peace prior were increased, the unemployment to even greater Hunger existence. For who among the unemployed would not in the situation, given the pathetic support rates to remain with the rent in arrears? The scanty Hunger pennies that get the unemployed today are even further diminished will. To 25 percent the government wants to cut the dole. Today tens of thousands already are driven in Germany, which is the support withdraws, because they are already 39 weeks unemployed. What will become of them - the capitalists I do not care. You want to carry out the process of rationalization, like Hundreds of thousands of proletarians about hunger. The hungry ghost is not a threat more on Germany's proletariat. His starvation is already no longer undeniable fact. At the unbearable economic pressure swings in the political offensive of the German Big bourgeoisie, whose tool is the Hindenburg-Marx-government. Of the "Democratic" Interior Minister Külz want the working people in the times of Socialist Law Rebound, his association, assembly and association rob. It was not enough to by the electoral robbery of the proletarian youth the Right political decision be taken. To exploit them is good enough. To against their exploiters only by delivering a communist ballot defend - not even that will allow her the Government. Moreover, they can be represented by the by whipping Reichstag a trashy and dirty law that allows the reaction which prohibit proletarian political enlightenment and books readily. Already, an almost Tsarist culture Terror is deployed, its most terrifying Sign prohibiting the "Battleship Potemkin" is. In the dungeon, who revolutionary Writes books! In the dungeon at any proletarian who with for the aims of the Red Front Heart and brain, in word and deed begins! That is the goal of the Hindenburg-government, which is already their practice. In Leipzig State Court rages Niedner and imposed week after week on honest workers draconian prison sentences. A new wave monstrous judicial scandals goes over the whole kingdom. The revolutionary working class is ostracized, their organizations should be outlawed. On the prohibition of RFB controls Reaction towards. Why the unbridled persecution? Why the terror against the class-conscious
Workers?
Because the Red American Legion and the Communist Party, there were and still are, the working classes to the economic and political struggle against their exploiters shake and mobilize; because the KPD and the RFB at the top of the 15-million-front stand against the princes and their government; because the revolutionary organizations of the do not allow the proletariat of the reaction to carry out the intended 3-million robbery. If the government, the reactionary Reichstag and the prince's servants believe the fight the Prince expropriation was completed, they are mistaken. For us it is not there. For us begins the struggle for the expropriation Prince now really.

With considerable success of the Red American Legion has Volksbegehren- and Referendum campaign carried out by the water. clarified in the country our comrades on the small farmers and agricultural workers. They measured their forces with the Fascists, they hit on the run. Side by side, shoulder to shoulder with his comrades agitated, worked and fought in many cases the workers Reichsbanner. they did it, although its leaders banned them, despite them with expulsion from the top Organization were threatened.
The leaders of the SPD and the Reichsbanner propel a shameful game. They protest with words against the customs shame they protest in words against political terror the monarchists, they protest in words against class justice. But in fact support them citizens block government, in fact, they agree any censure of revolutionary workers' representatives against the government down, in fact, they grant each Minister his reactionary budget.
In Hamburg the Social Democratic People's Party-Senate has adopted a policy that does not less reactionary than that of the national government.
The SPD and Reichsbanner leaders are on the other side of the class front. In interest the bourgeoisie they pursue the revolutionary working class. In the interests of the bourgeoisie Find it in many places, forming a united front of the RFB and the to shatter Reichsbanner workers. It will not succeed. The phalanx of 15 Million will be unbreakable despite all sabotage maneuvers.
The 15 million must recognize the character of bourgeois democracy, behind the the naked capitalist dictatorship hides. it is the masses against this dictatorship mobilize for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.
In all the misery in all distress of the working German people a star shines Hope: the Soviet Union. There the proletariat has freed itself, there it acts in hard work with increasing success in the building of socialism.
Follow the example of the Soviet brothers who now again their fraternal solidarity for the World working class by the shiny support of English Miners struggle proved!
Over 10 million Goldmark they have already gained.
Displays, comrades red front, that ye present your task have realized defenders, to be champions of the proletariat. Collect all workers to a huge block, so many millions are represented at the Congress of the working people. The Congress Toilers, its decisions taken, should the battle be signal for the overthrow of Prince reactionary government, a step further to the struggle of the workers' and Bauer government.
Our second Gautreffen in the walls of Hamburg is a struggle against the march
his bourgeoisie. The fascist civil war armies be reformed everywhere and
armed. The legal and illegal counterrevolution are merged into a single front. Of the
Red American Legion must the proletarian masses against the bloody attacks of
Fascists protect, he must be an encouragement, the fighting organizations of the proletariat under
Communist Party leadership of the defense against the action of
to bring the bourgeoisie to the offensive. Our Red Gautreffen is not only a military parade
the forces - it is a signal to mobilize, an appeal to the working class, a signal to
the indifferent and defaulters.
The clenched fist of the proletariat against reaction!
Makes the red class front!
Close ranks to fight!
Forward through struggle to victory!
The Communist Party, the federal and district leadership of the RFB greet comrades
the RFB, the Red Youth Front, the Red Navy, Red women and girls and Federal
associated with them revolutionary workers of the district water edge with the
Battle cry: Red Front!

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"
of 17 July 1926th

The teachings of the Hamburg strikes

"The entrepreneur capital can boast the, power struggle ', the it from this big strike
had to have ended victoriously. It may now his song of triumph sing,
provided that it does not get stuck in his throat. And so far it almost has the appearance,
as if he wanted to get stuck in his throat ...
A heroic struggle that without wavering and wavering of the working class in a way
was carried out, as it any other class of bourgeois society not
could carry away, is in itself a moral victory of the highest importance,
could fail to recognize the only very partial-schematic view of modern class struggles. "

This sets wrote Franz Mehring in the "New Age" after the demolition of the large
historic port of Hamburg 'strike of 1896/1897. They also apply to the present
. Fight Hamburger strike in 1926 was - to put it in a short word - the
first major battle sample in Germany against capitalist rationalization. Since
the strikes of winter 1924, the only the last offshoots of the October events and
Concomitants of Mark stabilization were, is for the first time again a serious
Armed conflict between the working masses and the bourgeoisie been fought. One must the
Measure strike not only by the fact that 18,000 workers against the will
Union leaders have been fighting for five days. Its political significance is much
In this first battle test new methods were used by both sides. The Entrepreneurs felt from the outset too weak to dockworkers with ordinary, "democratic" means to overthrow. So they sat in the first Right now the most powerful weapon, which is available to them: The shameless Binding declaration of the Reich Labor Minister Brauns was all gravity the bourgeois state apparatus thrown into the mix. On the other hand, presented the Social Democratic leaders of the German Federal Transport and the Central Association of Machinists and heater with a ruthlessness unparalleled on the side of Harbor capital. While they had to do at the beginning under the pressure of fierce masses so, as they also recognized the strike even after the binding declaration and indirectly finance, they told him immediately after their sentence for "illegally" refused with derision every penny support, issued daily calls for resumption work and committed to Schandstreich, the Social Democratic "Hamburger Echo" the middle of the most battle a paid advertisement of the trade association for the reprint resuming work. So the workers from the very beginning there was a closed Triple Alliance from Government, capitalists and Socialist Union leaders against. Even the struggling working class and the Communist Party faces in the course of Movement to new methods. Chewy determination, purposeful struggle discipline, high Class consciousness - these were the characteristics of this strike. So could the dockers , Betrayed and abandoned by taking advantage of the very favorable objective situation for them the reformists, for five days and hold out solely by the enemies of the heaviest Add damage. The harbor mighty lost millions and millions in profits by paralyzing the entire port operations, by the interruption of the English Carbon business, many of the deflection steamer international Shipping companies in foreign ports. The Communist Party turned on strike the united front tactics in the best sense of the Definition to: a method of revolutionary agitation and mobilization of the masses. It came her benefit here is that our membership to the Hamburger since the discussion about asked ECCI letter overwhelmingly behind the party line and all had condemned the anti-Bolshevik currents to complete lack of influence. Therefore possessed the organization at the moment of the fight full force. The actions of the party have assumed, the highest level of combat power of the masses against entrepreneurs, government and to develop the sabotaging union leaders and also sets the masses Utmost to instill confidence in the Communist Party. The strike was not "Communist mongering" because even the best communist party can not strike conjure out of thin air, if the workers do not want him. By contrast, there was the political and spiritual leadership of the struggle undoubtedly completely in the hands of Communists. Just four months ago the party had by their collective denunciation campaign dockers urged to resist. Not by agitational Phrases and radical theories, but in the real action won the masses during the strike the conviction that the Communist Party is the only leader the proletarian struggle is. The party immediately pointed to the political content of the struggle. Not only to twenty percent wage increase, eight-hour day and five-day guaranteed wage -
the existence of demands Dockers - went the strike, but it was mainly directed against the government and the entrepreneurs long-planned robbery of strike and right of association of the entire working class.
The grasped the dockers, so they combined their existence demands the Slogans of the struggle against the bourgeois state and the capitalist government. So was created under the conscious influence of the Communists in Hamburg strike that peculiar Combining political and economic demands that the indicator of in near future onset of mass struggles against capitalist rationalization in all over Germany will be. The Communists destroyed the germ of any illusion about the Attitude of the reformist trade union leaders and the Social Democrats. They scourged ruthlessly the shameful betrayal of association leaders, the dirty scabs role their social democratic newspaper, and they criticized every day with all the sharpness fluctuating, finally the open strike hostile attitude of the Social Democrats of existing three-quarters majority of the strike committee.
When the strike was canceled under the stab of reformists, prevented the Communists the impending mass exit from the unions and called for Continued on the struggle in the factories. Throughout the campaign mobilized the Party the whole proletariat in Hamburg and throughout Germany for solidarity and propagated the revolutionary slogans of the fall of the Reich government, the struggle for the workers and peasants government. Of course, also showed defects in the party, with particular attention to the organizational field and in the question of the connection of the strike a simultaneous movement of the other still in the establishments working groups. These shortcomings can largely be explained from the entire weakness our Union activities, their significance was found superior than ever in this strike. Overall, the attitude of the Communists gave clear evidence that they no "Party political" objectives outside the proletarian class struggle have, but that conversely just their strategic and tactical party aim and only the Interests of the proletarian class struggle correspond.
The fulfillment of the immediate strike solution has not been achieved, but transition and result of total strikes represent an undoubted success of the workers. apply to them fully meet the aforementioned words of Franz Mehring. The strike proved before all that the working class is capable in today's Germany without and against the reformist leaders carry out a fight. He showed for many years for the first Times again the breakthrough of the will to fight of the proletarian masses against Entrepreneurs dictatorship and economic misery. The reformists fully performed their unprecedented betrayal unmasking the sharpest maneuvers against itself. Under pressure This fact caused the traces of a new within the Hamburg Social Democracy Fissure which must deepen. The port stewards of the SPD took a resolution against their party newspaper at. On the held during the strike district evenings the SPD emerged in all districts under stormy disputes an acrimonious Workers' Opposition. The sharp loss of prestige of the Social Democratic leaders is a just such an increase of the prestige of the Communist Party in the working class opposite to.

The main tasks arising from the struggle, are now as follows:

Page 203
1. The Communist Party and the working class must learn the lessons of the strike pull. The newly conquered by the communists confidence of the masses can just as quickly again be lost if it is not rooted daily through hard work.

2. The fight against the so-called system of administrative arbitration awards against the shameless binding declarations, against the whole settlement scams have on wide front are included.

3. Do not run, but still much more work in the trade unions, their Revolutionizing, the elimination of the reformist traitors, the mass entry of Unorganized in the free associations is necessary.

4. For the Dockers even though the strike, but not the fight is over. The Support reprimanded must be conducted with a broad initiative, their complete Reinstatement are enforced. The struggle for existence demands Dockers, who for their right of association, for the withdrawal of the award and Binding declaration must be continued everywhere with the greatest energy.

"Hamburger Volkszeitung"
8 October 1926th
Comrades If we consider the situation at the time of the previous extended executive with the compare today's situation, we immediately see a huge difference. As we the last time were assembled here, we had a relatively quiet location. This time is our meeting mark a series of violent events in international politics. The three main large events since the last expanded executive were: the Polish coup, the general strike and the miners' strike in England and the victorious breakthrough of the Chinese revolution, the fighting armies in the past Months conquered an area that the surface area of all Western European states equivalent.

While we are in Germany in a period of relative stabilization, is in China not only an acutely revolutionary situation, but we can say that China is in a direct revolution. On the other hand show the truly heroic struggle the British miners, what huge fight energy in Western Europe Proletariat lives.

With the help of American capitalists, it is the German bourgeoisie succeeded in its Industry fundamentally switch. The German bourgeoisie is in the League of Nations occurred to reintegrate in the imperialist policy. She stands However, facing major internal and external contradictions. If she wants to compete on the global market, they must reduce the cost of production. By the depression of wages, by the deterioration of working conditions, through the ruthless repression of a working class - only by these measures they can achieve that goal. If the German working class against this offensive even not rebelling in the form of actions, so we need to find approaches to this but this. Social conflicts will be inevitable in Germany. The stabilization is also in Germany create revolutionary forces that stabilize this sooner or later break and blow are.

The German proletariat - eight years revolutionary experience behind them - has made the learned battles and defeats of the German revolution, what it means to rear up and to break the chains of capitalist pressure. This date is today not there; But the Communists are him by a patient, tenacious and tedious work to accomplish. From this standpoint, we have the right to a revolutionary perspective set up for Germany and Central Europe, as well as the Italian Communists even now under the blows and persecutions of the White Terror future rise the Italian proletariat forget for a moment.

I will from this point, by the plenary of the enlarged executive of, say, the Italian party through their connections with the companies, through their operational cells work was able, in their illegal and legal during the sharpest persecutions to create opportunities - in the heroism of the Communists and the revolutionary working class in Italy - contribute to the preconditions to provide that even fascism will collapse.
The first revolutionary factor is the Soviet Union today. It exerts the strongest influence on the revolutionary movement of the proletarian class struggle. Your economic rise and building socialism are the strongest arguments against the capitalist stabilization and against the counter-revolutionary imperialist policy of international social democracy.

In the pursuit of the Social Democratic and nonparty workers, particularly in itself Germany develop slowly to the left, we see every day in our practice work, how much this argument affects our favor. The reporting the workers' delegations had on the workers such a tremendous attraction, that even the Social-Democratic Party is forced against various in their party located delegates both the first and the second worker delegation to provide exclusion requests and make exclusions. This is a proof that they is afraid of this coverage from the strong influence of their followers.

In this context, also shows quite the objective meaning of our past struggle with the "ultra-leftists" within our Party. In our inner-party struggle is it nothing less than the ratio of our Party and the Soviet Union, to develop for or against the proletarian dictatorship. Had the "ultra-leftists" in this battle won, the largest communist party in Western Europe would be today Instrument of enemies of the Soviet Union. I am not talking about the petty, factional struggle which fought since the publication of the "Open Letter" within the party was and still is completely done, but I speak of his great political content.

Germany has today fully in the foreign policy of the anti-Soviet course smashed. It is from the standpoint of the imperialist strategy of the most important become members in the imperialist war front against the Soviet Union.

In case of intervention, the attitude of the German working class is crucial. Within the German working class is the Communist Party the only organized force that the inseparable alliance with the Working class of the Soviet Union and the deadly enmity against imperialism on their Banner wrote. This revolutionary force in Germany wanted the "ultra-left" Petty bourgeois wear down and destroy. But the party as a whole has this petty-bourgeois ideology shattered. She has mostly destroyed in the roots, their worst campaigners of the party thrown out.

On the last expanded executive Ruth Fischer and Urbahns announced a severe crisis in the German party, as well as in Germany a serious crisis of Bolshevik Party and the whole Comintern announced. Your "analysis" sounds today as the tale of the sunken bell. Both the Comintern as the Bolshevik Party and the Communist Party of Germany are not in a crisis, but on the rise and in the revolutionary ascent. Ruth Fischer and have Urbahns other hand recourse to a common list of Reichstag Katz and Korsch taken against them even on the last expanded executive noisily appeared. This gives them the labor movement swept finally back.

The victory over the "ultra-left" anti-Bolshevism was the most important success of our work last year. He was therefore the most important success, because the outcome of this struggle the vital question of the German Party depended. Of course, this hard, heavy combat, the we carried out within the party, caused high political costs, it has in certain extent inhibitory effect upon the development of the party. So we could in Berlin since the publication of the "Open Letter" only proceed step by step in the ideological struggle to conquer the line. And only through continued tenacious, tireless work within the Party we have managed to create today a line of the interests large majority and the political line of the Party and the Comintern equivalent. The
Result of this inner-party struggle has shown that the belief of membership in the Comintern and the Soviet Union, that the class consciousness of the whole party more been as all "ultra-left" disturbance torques and decomposition experiments. If we look at the development of the German bourgeoisie, it should be noted that since 1923 Strengthening of German capitalism has occurred. The German bourgeoisie has reached different: they blew up the Treaty of Versailles, it has gained entry queued in the League of Nations in the imperialist policy, it is not like before in tow of England and France; today there are other options available, where they occurs already independent. By economic arrangements of the international Iron trusts arise other foreign policy consequences. In this regard, we see the process of stabilization undoubtedly one inside and foreign policy progress. Furthermore, in Germany is growing a new imperialism zoom, the in relation to other capitalist countries developed more slowly and also other Features displays. The German bourgeoisie today not so many expenses for the army and Fleet as the other major capitalist countries. She has this huge finance capital monopolization process With his capitalist Rationalization methods - up to the major social class struggles, the disruptive effect - less financial expenses than any other bourgeoisie around the world. In this context, of course, is the position of the Communist Party to all political issues, especially for union work, of immense importance. We our attention will have to draw on that struggle, of the may prevent consolidation process of capitalism: the struggle in the factories. In Connection with the fighting in the holdings is the basis on certain expand industrial areas. The general finance capitalist consolidation Bourgeoisie requires close concentration of the proletarian forces in Germany, particularly the trade unions, which are built today by professional organizations, in major industry associations. In addition, it is our most important task that we learn to understand the masses for all to win serious daily struggles, but connected to the revolutionary end goal Need to become. The Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucracy are at all Areas the most important auxiliaries of the bourgeoisie, especially in supporting the imperialist policy, in the offensive of capitalism against the proletariat: they support measures to fragmentation and the revolutionary Niederknüppelung Front, deploy a furious campaign against the Soviet Union, and therefore we must in increased measure all trade union work for us as the most important. I will try to show some deficiencies in the union work, shortcomings and Weaknesses, from which not only have to learn the German party, but all parties. 1. What hampered us in the trade union work, was the October defeat of 1923 and the subsequent union crisis, where in a particular party showed syndicalist influence, since one of the political value of the general Union work did not understand. Our party and our officials are today not enough of the enormous importance of union work for all Tasks of the party convinced. 2. We have a certain lack of trained personnel, who are capable of Cunning of the German trade union bureaucracy counter effectively. That's why we need to expand our base in this area.
3. We have a poor connection between politics and our trade union work notice. All political issues that on in Germany and in an international context the agenda, are also objects of the trade union work. We must never forget that the economy is closely linked to politics.

4. One of the main shortcomings is the Group work. However, we have in various major union federations fractions, and we succeeded, after the "open to achieve letter "again some success after our headed Ruth Fischer Fractions were almost completely disappeared. We have now in the Metalworkers' Federation in 300 600 local groups already seriously working groups. On the example of Hamburg Dockers strike, we have seen that it is only through tireless Group work been possible with a few comrades about 15000-18000 workers for the strike to win. This strike has great political significance, because in Germany the first Opener against the trade union bureaucracy, against social democracy and against Entrepreneurship was. If it is not successful, the port workers longer on strike to hold, it is because a part of the working class even more value to the statutory Mode specifies that three-quarters majority must be present. We as communists, we the had taken over responsibility for receiving and guiding the struggle, have in The moment we saw that some of the workers, cheated and betrayed by their reformist leaders, began to waver on whether to strike next or not, everything done to continue the strike. We said later, the battle is only postponed, he continues. And today we have already recorded the fact that the frame rate terminated by the workforce and probably on 1 January 1927 by new Port of Hamburg 'strike will break out.

5. We can say in general that there is no sufficient exploitation of wage struggles is recorded. This is a deficiency that we eliminate in the near future.

6. We see the weak implementation of the international trade union unity, which shows particularly in Germany. We have probably rolled the problem here and there, but a general centralized work in conjunction with the international trade union unity has not done so, as it is absolutely necessary. Especially in connection with the British miners' strike, we must explain at this point that we are not in the Location was a real action of the German proletariat to actively support the conduct English battling miners, although we by all means tried.

7. Another shortcoming was not sufficient resistance to the Union bureaucracy, of and in various meetings, conferences showed association days. Our comrades bring to the dressing days are not always the necessary revolutionary opposition to the reformist trade union bureaucracy on. On the Verbandstag metalworkers in Bremen, for example, we had about a sixth of the delegates, but our Occur opposite to of the line of the Union bureaucracy was not properly. Our policy and tactics must also this field can be improved. The miners Verbandstag where we 40 percent of all got the votes cast, our delegates have succeeded better occur.

8. It was found that not enough strong campaign against the exclusions in some
Organizations. In general appearance, we have completely different, stronger measures hit against the trade union and social democratic bureaucracy.

One should the weaknesses and shortcomings do not want some cover so that after objective facts investigated. Nevertheless, one is compelled, some objective facts to lead, which contributed to the weaknesses and deficiencies of the German party.

1. A rather large part of the members of our Communist Party is unemployed.
2. After a series of heavy defeats in Germany from 1923 until today, it was extremely difficult, even the comrades who completely on the line of the Central Committee were to convince that union work one of the most important political Work is.

3. The trade union bureaucracy understands it refined enough specific in any situation establish sham slogans and demands, which our own comrades often enough our slogans do not understand oppose effectively.
4. The party has not yet sufficiently recovered from the setback that under the has entered the political leadership of Ruth Fischer. You can and will recover.

Despite the various shortcomings and weaknesses various successes of our Party are to recorded.

The metalworkers federation elections were a major step forward. We have 33 percent all voices united to us, bearing in mind that a quarter of all Local groups was turned off while we at the Elections on Trade Union Congress received only 23 percent of the votes cast in the year 1925th shows the involvement of the Social Democratic delegates at Labour Congress our growing political influence; because it takes place, although the Social Democrats and the union leaders threaten to punish with expulsion. have Lately we in the struggle against capitalist rationalization and its inevitable consequences a right line championed. We have succeeded, the broadest masses against the Effects of this capitalist rationalization to win in operation. The Betriebsräte- and operating delegate conferences, we in the Chemical Trust, the Steel Trust, have held electric Trust in this field, can be used as the first signs of our Preparations are considered against the attacks of capitalism. We were also able also specialized partial demands in the struggle against the capitalist establish rationalization.

Also in the unemployed movement we have in recent times been successes recorded. We have succeeded, the leadership of the unemployed in our hands to get. In recent months it has been in almost all districts in Germany the formation of unemployed committees started. In addition to the unemployed committees we had unemployment conferences in various major industrial areas; these unemployed conferences form simultaneously with the condition for the formation Delegations of the Labour Congress.

The Empire unemployed Congress, which in conjunction with the Labour Congress takes place, has the following tasks:

1. Strongest political mobilization of the unemployed;
2. Summary of the unemployed in the Kingdom of scale;
3. close association of the unemployed with the parliamentary work until the last
Local community;
4. Formation of a Reich Committee of the unemployed, of the general central
to Connect to the unemployed in Germany.
In the Prince expropriation campaign, we succeeded for the first time, in a part of the question
apply the united front tactic correctly. If under Ruth Fischer 1924 Party
permanently was in tow of social democracy, then the prince expropriation campaign
an example of that with correct application of the united front tactic, the SPD under the
Mass pressure is forced to come to tow the Communist Party.
The referendum campaign has far more special because through them
which links the development of German workers has been driven forward.
A few very brief comments on the activities of the party for the Congress
Working people:
1. The Labour Congress has so important because different on him
political issues not only of the communist participants, but also by
Delegates who do not come from our ranks, are provided.

2. There is need to succeed at the congress that in the various districts
Germany's existing and henceforth to be established unit committee central
summarize.
3. We will have to try to strengthen the organization of the left wing.
4. The Congress has a demonstrative character by the combativity
will increase German workers. The work that the before the meeting
Congress has been done, was already working on the political revival of the masses.
Of course, presents the Congress no panacea in the class struggle is, but he has his
particular importance both for the general systematic organizing the masses
to fight as well because the social democratic workers see that in
the present moment, the Social Democratic Party of the proletariat does nothing.
Further, by the Empire unemployed Congress and the Congress of the working people
United front between the unemployed and the still operating parties made
Need to become. The alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and the middle class
experienced by the delegations at the Congress a gain.
A few remarks about mass organizations. The resulting addition to the party
Mass organizations such as the Red American Legion and the Red Woman and
Girl Bund, the Workers International Relief and the Red Aid have a strong
accelerated pace in organizational growth. It is our duty in this
Organizations to work so that these mass organizations under the leadership of
Communists will win serious importance in later battles.
The party due to inadequate attention in the districts for Youth
not done anything. We must try to develop the strongest activity in it, because we
must understand that young people, like Karl Liebknecht said, the foundation of the future
Generation. Also in the women's organization, the party has a stronger activity
unfold.
Our general theoretical work is still very weak. After the Congress is a
central party school be set up to compensate for that lack.
Our own comrades must learn how and tenacious, tireless must thrive systematic legwork. In the trade union work in the Operation work in the parliamentary work we have a number of opportunistic Deviations noted. Some comrades in the party are of the opinion that one in Saxony also a government could tolerate the right Social Democrats. We have Next in Mecklenburg seen a trend that is not the policy of the Party corresponds, as in Lübeck.

In some parts of Germany also pointed to new open liquidationist tendencies but completely without influence remained so in Esslingen in Württemberg and in some other places. We have the right Bolshevik line and strike against both the "left" as the right deviations enforce a really serious straight course.

We are now faced with the party, and we believe that He marked by two general must be tasks: first, the internal consolidation of the party, secondly the fight for leadership of the German working class.

When, how Comrade Kuusinen said, just the German Social Democracy, it is understood, cheat by a counter-revolutionary art to the masses, as unprecedented in the world is, so we have our revolutionary art of winning over the masses in all small daily issues, which in all economic and cultural issues of practical life oppose. Not only in the matters of high policy, but above all in the economic struggles that stand before us today, it will be possible, confidence Masses to win. Only in this way, and only through this method of struggle, we will our Endlosungen realize.

Finally, I want to say this: What has been said for the world communist party, we can for the German Communist Party repeat: We are, we remain Party of the revolution, the revolution, the proletarian dictatorship. In this, and only in this sense, we are the party of the proletarian united front, the mass work, the Daily battles against the bourgeoisie.
Speech at the appointment
to honor soldiers of the Red Army

November 27, 1926

Comrades If the teaching and experimental battalion "Wystrel" me by his boss Honor soldiers appointed, I believe, on behalf of the Communist Party to explain the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany and on behalf of that fact the profound revolutionary solidarity of the struggling German working class with workers and peasants of the Soviet Union is expressed. The German working class has in those Days, because for the first time in the world the Russian proletariat and the peasants the fortresses the bloody tsarism stormed and tore down, understood, which historically decisive step in the revolutionary workers' movement in the world the victory of the Russian revolution, the emergence of the Red Army, the powerful ideas of Bolshevism mean. If the Western European proletariat and especially in the
German working class by the Red Army, from their herculean struggle, from their victorious emergence from the current task they in the direction of the socialist fulfilled construction in the Soviet Union, is spoken, so the enthusiasm is growing. The Workers think of their own slogans and understand more the importance of Russian Revolution as a stage for the world revolution. The bond of solidarity between the Red Army and the German working class and the international proletariat has stronger than ever strengthened. The VII. Extended executive had the opportunity today from the To learn mouth of two Red Army, which spirit in the Red Army there, and notice with how much energy and enthusiasm with which they await the day and desire to which the proletariat in a capitalist country the example of Russian Revolution follows, I think the best answer that we and the comrades of the Red Army especially can give the officer of this battalion will be, that we undertake, the way they show us this path of building socialism in the Soviet Union, to assist with all our might, with all our energy and with all our employ force for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries. In this sense, and only in this sense, I believe I will as of the Demonstration Battalion Honor Soldier appointed. I undertake to respect the obligation, representing the German Communist Party and the Red Front Fighters' League in the to report various organizations united workers that revolutionary Spirit which fraternal solidarity which combat power in the workers and peasants of Soviet Union is. If we, those fighting spirit in the organization of the German workers especially the Communist Party, in wear, so we are the basis for the create revolutionary struggle and break the shackles of capitalism. That is the Task that we, as Communists. On behalf of the Bureau and the Executive may I say that we are all determined to follow the path well, to the Russian workers and peasants have gone. be us In this way the Combat experience of the Russian proletariat, from which we have learned lead, and lead. A Red Army is on the field, a second Red Army on a world scale is in Will. When we smash the trenches and fortifications of the bourgeoisie and when organized a second Red Army in the world, so the world proletariat in the revolution is victory over world capitalism win. The Communist International, the Communist Parties in the various Countries have inscribed on their banner, this line, this tactic, this path to track. In this sense, I give the commander and the cadets of the teaching and Protect battalion "Wystrel" the promise that we on this Committee sessions pass over the enlarged Executive of the Communist International to the right define tactics that will teach us and guide, as soldiers of the revolution the World capitalism quell.
For the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union

*From the speech of December 11, 1926*
Before I go into the essence of the matter, I venture four preliminary observations:

1. Comrade Trotsky has claimed in his speech that Comrade Ercoli and I to the
   Request Comrade giant, the representatives of the Russian opposition should here be words
   would come, speaking in a tone that could not be reconciled with the
   Editorial which appeared in the "Pravda" on the day after the speech of Comrade Zinoviev. I
   would point out that just by the appearance of the three opposition leaders here in plenary
   the editorial in "Pravda" is justified. The occurrence of the opposition leaders
   was a fractional occurrence, and the assertion of the "Pravda" that it here a
   international platform have laid before-again the Comintern, applies perfectly.
2. I want to try the serious problems not from the standpoint of Zitatenschusterei to
   treat, as Comrade Zinoviev has done, but to hand the practical
   revolutionary work of the Soviet Union, Germany and the whole International.
3. The Communist Party has the hardest in their work under the
   Subversion of the Russian opposition suffered. In their ranks the fight was on
   keenest fought, but she beat the opposition in this struggle.
4. The advance was Comrade Zinoviev and other comrades an attack on the base
   the Comintern, on Comrade Zinoviev for many years as a representative of the CPSU (B)
   was that he has but completely abandoned. All speeches, both of Comrade Trotsky as
   particularly Comrade Kamenev, and their appearance showed once again that they Lenin the
   want to destroy the foundation of the Comintern. But this foundation is laid, without
   Trotsky, Kamenev, etc.

The debate has already shown, and the vote will be even shown that not the
Leninist foundation of the Comintern, but the false ideas of the opposition bloc
were smashed.

All representatives of the opposition acted consciously against the decision of
CPSU (B), they sat here in intensified form their old struggle continues, they with the
have known statement of 16 October 1926 not abandoned. They appealed to the
Comintern against the decisions of the XIV. Congress, the June plenary and XV.
Caucus of the CPSU (B), which they joined in words, but in reality
have never acknowledged. They appealed to the Comintern and believed that they under here
the delegates with the fundamental problems of the proletarian dictatorship in conjunction
could the "Russian" question their views, exercise their harmful influence. they
not acting on their own initiative, but by a decision of the entire group of leaders
Opposition bloc.

Comrade Zinoviev spoke here on behalf of Comrade Trotsky and in the spirit of
Trotskyism. For the first time spoke Comrade Zinoviev before the international plenary
not on behalf of his party, as usual at the congresses and extended executive
the Comintern was the case, but openly against his party, against the CPSU (B).
The CPSU (B), which has been shown through their representatives and in their practical work
Evidence provides that they defended Leninism, secures, strengthens, performs, the party that
already has beaten the opposition, is from the opposition, particularly from fellow
Kamenev, the falsification of Lenin and the worst deviations from Leninism
accused. As the opposition in the CPSU (B) utilizes any legal way to
mobilize nonparty population against the policies of socialist construction, so
wanted the comrades Zinoviev, Trotsky and Kamenev the plenum of the Comintern as a
use international tribunal against the CPSU (B).
In reality they do not even appealed to the Communist International, in its Bolshevik nuclear forces, their proletarian forces, but they appealed to the Ruth Fischer, Maslow etc., to the corrosive and destructive elements in the Comintern, the various right and "ultra-left" faction groups, what comrade Zinoviev thus proved that he still dared to consider whether to Souvarine as bourgeois could use correspondents in China. The French delegation has already their speakers highlighted enough that even the connection with the Souvarine syndicalist wing in CGTU and the methods of slander and Insults that Souvarine has allowed in France against the Soviet Union, enough the character of this people identify not only any political knows platform, but in the worst, most despicable, in words not to characterizing way against the French party and against the whole Comintern still pushes forward. That shows the character of this opposition, showing her Lack of principle, showing that it has no basis.
Since the "Open Letter" also has the German opposition their spinelessness at all Areas shown. She has in various fields no adequate platform to the of presented us set tasks and is against the party line and the Comintern occurred with even more common methods. At the moment, because in the Soviet Union, Opposition the CPSU attack (B), the German opposition in the KPD went to attack in the "Russian" question about. It is interesting that both attacks together and occurred simultaneously. The Russian opposition rode their attack on the issue of socialist construction in one country, the German opposition to our Work for the organization of the proletarian revolution in the West. This condition proves that the two main issues that are before us today, the socialist construction and the international revolution, are firmly interconnected and inseparable belong together. There are not opposites, as the opposition of all shades claims, but components of a single revolutionary process.
If Kamenev here today has the audacity of the national narrowness of CPSU (B) to speak, in the way it provides its duties as the socialist Structure performs, as we see in the whole development of the CPSU (B) and especially today, that they will do anything to arouse the forces not only in their own country, but that they - In conjunction with all international disputes, with all other revolutionary Tasks - shows that it is a truly international party. The initiative of the CPSU (B) and the support of the British miners' strike, as represented by the Soviet trade unions took place and their like in no other country has, and the support of the Chinese revolution are examples of an international character the CPSU (B).
The plans prepared by the opposition, in particular by Comrade Kamenev allegations show already at the root of this ideology. Do not hesitate to deny the facts in order to defile their own party.
One of the main issues that need to be decided and clarified here is the Assertion of the opposition, that the building of socialism in the Soviet Union was possible unless the proletariat of other countries has taken power.
I want to set forth on a quote Lenin, which even by Comrade Zinoviev and Trotsky, but was misinterpreted, trying to prove which is the real meaning. It is a

51Ruth Fischer and Maslow - leader of a Trotskyist group in the German Communist Party. At the Frankfurt Congress of the KPD in April 1924 seized after the bankrupt Right opportunist group Brandler-Thalheimer was removed from the leadership of the KPD, the group Ruth Fischer-Maslow of leadership in the newly elected Central Committee of the KPD. In autumn 1925, Ruth Fischer and Maslow with their followers of the leading positions in the KPD and discontinued in 1926 as agents of Class enemy expelled from the party.
the best sayings of Lenin on the building of socialism. Lenin wrote in the article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe":

"... That the victory of socialism initially in a few capitalist countries or even in a country taken separately possible. The victorious proletariat of that country would having expropriated the capitalists and organized socialist production at home Land of the rest of the capitalist world to oppose." [VI Lenin, Selected Works, in two volumes, Vol. I, p 753.]

In this one sentence four stages of the proletarian dictatorship are marked. And if Comrade Trotsky has tried here, interpret in his remarks this quote different than Lenin meant it in 1915, so I will try in detail to explain this quote so, that no delegate and not even the opposition will be able to it doubt that in theory the possibility of building socialism in one country has been proved by Lenin in 1915 in this article. Comrade Zinoviev tried to refute this quote also by it as a Fragment ridiculed, but just this fragment contains the basis of Leninist theory of building socialism in one country and smashes the pessimistic views of the opposition in fragments. In connection with this Quote asked Comrade Zinoviev the question: Why has our own party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the meaning of the article of the year 1915 only now in 1925? The meaning of the Leninist concept of 1915 been conceived by the Bolsheviks not only, but it is the party for ten Years passed into flesh and blood. What the quote says throughout? The quotation contains four important stages:

The first stage is the says of Lenin, that the victory of socialism initially in some capitalist countries or in a single capitalist country was even possible. Can the proletariat to take power in a country? Yes, Lenin said, the proletariat it can, and in October 1917 the Russian proletariat seized power. The party and the working class under the leadership of Lenin took up arms and beat the bloody Tsarism, but Zinoviev and Kamenev deserted at that time before the proletarian Revolution.

The second stage: Can the proletariat the power against the counter-revolutionary attacks hold? Yup! From 1917 until 1921! That was that stage, in which the Red Army was formed, in which the party the foundations for the slow transition to socialist economy created and in which the proletarian dictatorship fortified slowly.

The third stage, in which we find ourselves today, is the stage of building socialism, as it characterizes Lenin in the quoted sentence, in which he of the organization socialist production speaks.

And the fourth stage is the one pointing to the Lenin, saying that the military Power of the Soviet Union will be forced to against the entire capitalist world fight those analysis which played a big role in our debates in this Chamber and today, together with the intervention intentions of the whole capitalist world really on the agenda and are also in the years ahead becomes. Internationally, standing in front of each section these big, huge tasks the CPSU (B) in the first two Stages victoriously met and in the third stage of the proletarian dictatorship as their first and serious international combat mission has provided. In 1915 the product two years later appeared, in October 1917, was the victory of
Socialism not only in theory but also in the form of civil war on the Agenda. At that time there were some comrades of the front of the big trouble Struggle shrank, but still have the Russian party and the Russian

resorted working class under the leadership of Lenin to arms and tsarism dejected. In the various stages of development of the proletarian dictatorship there were serious differences in the party differences that are at the moment of the fight always showed where it was to fight for the victory of the proletariat and secure! The Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev were in October 1917 not convinced that the Bolshevik Party was strong enough to carry out the proletarian dictatorship victorious; they showed their defeatism, their unbelief, they showed that they doubted that a peasant country is really under the leadership of the proletariat be able to win at win.

In the second stage, in which the Bolshevik Party and the working class together with the peasant masses resisted the counterrevolutionary attacks, showed to new differences between the opposition and the comrade Lenin and his majority in the party. I think I Brest-Litovsk not the longer need to deal with, where did not understand the "Left Communists" Lenin 52 Not understood that the revolution a respite needed to consolidate and gather fresh forces. premier Opposition representatives were of the opinion that it was necessary to the revolutionary war against continue German imperialism under all circumstances. But Lenin fought for the Assurance of the proletarian revolution.

In the third stage, in which we find ourselves today, that is, in the stage of building Socialism is the occurrence of the opposition on the XIV. Congress, the XV. Caucus and here at the plenum of the VII. Extended executive of peak their struggle against the CPSU (B).

In today's era of proletarian revolutions, since, especially in the Soviet Union the land of the proletarian dictatorship, the shift from recovery to Rebuilding takes, the opposition bloc afraid of the difficulties of Construction, does not believe in the possibility of victory. The same panic about the dangers, same schreierische pessimism, similar to 1917, the same propaganda regarding the Strength of the class enemy and underestimate our own power. The remarks opposition in all fields are tantamount: Private capital imposes itself everywhere before, the Kulak gaining in influence, the party crashes a mountain of Difficulties, the party begins to degenerate, they begin to abandon their position, they proposes a different course, etc. These are the ideas of this opposition that is the bleak, defeatist assessment of the situation in the Soviet Union by the opposition. If the opposition the position estimates so, it is also understandable that Comrade Zinoviev tried to prove with a quote that Marx of the question of the construction Socialism in one country entirely disagreed with the majority currently in the Bolshevik Party. Comrade Zinoviev quoted a letter Marx wrote to Engels, which under others are said by capitalist even a socialist Europe around would be swallowed again when capitalism in the rest of the world still in Upgrade would.

By contrast, of course, to say that he is no longer in the ascendant today. But I think, You need that fact now in support of the possibility of socialism in one
land use with and realize that this possibility is justified:

52In the period of the Brest Peace (1918) opened Bukharin and the group led by him "left"
Communists together with Trotzti within the party a furious struggle against Lenin, demanding the
Continuation of the war with the aim of the young Soviet Republic, which still had no army, the blows of
exposing German imperialism. In 1938 was the trial of the anti-Soviet "Block of
Rights and Trotskyites "found that Bukharin and the group led by him" left "Communists
together with Trotsky and the Left Social Revolutionaries a secret counter-revolutionary conspiracy
had instigated against the Soviet Government and set a goal to thwart the Brest peace treaty,
VI Lenin, JV Stalin, YM Sverdlov arresting, murdering them and a government of Bukharin
People, Trotskyists and Left SRs form.

1. in the unevenness of development of capitalism, which in monopolistic
Stadium is decisively strengthened;
2. the fact that imperialism historically moribund capitalism, in
World scale is not ascending capitalism more. In this era, it is also a
single country - with sufficient material reserves - possible socialism
build.
Briefly, in the - historically - rising capitalism, before
Imperialism would, only Europe, probably this not enough to show that
build socialism. Today imperialism as capitalism is reactionary and
Peak of his development has exceeded, decomposes, partly overrun by the proletariat
is the building of socialism in one country is possible. This finding could
not make Marx, because he has not experienced the epoch of imperialism, but it only in
could foresee its beginnings. The essence of the era of imperialism is
in the fact that all major capitalist countries are imperialist today. one
can be said that Zinoviev twisted in this respect Lenin's theory of imperialism.
We have over Trotsky to say that he of the favorable conditions, the in
Soviet Union exist, does not want to see. Before the war, the capitalist Russia was a
Part of European imperialism, an organic part of the capitalist
Global economy. Comrade Trotsky makes here the greatest opportunist errors. He forgets
the differences between the former capitalist Russia and today's
Soviet Union. Before the war, Russia had taken a lot of loans, the
Foreign capital was heavily involved in the industry, there were international
completed contracts of Russian imperialism in the dependency
foreign capital brought what no longer doubted today. The Russian army was
an instrument of imperialism, today a different situation. We know, that
Today the bonds, the debt is canceled, that the investment capital confiscated and
Civil war capitalism was expropriated, that the contracts concluded today
will mean no dependence on imperialism, but to defend the
proletarian fortress are closed.
Furthermore, we have a Red Army in the Soviet Union, which no instrument of
Imperialism, but an instrument of revolutionary proletarian world army, the
not only to defend the Russian Revolution, but also with the proletariat of the whole
World will march and fight together. Trotsky tried the serious development of
ignoring industry in the Soviet Union. He treats the construction of socialism only in
pessimistic sense.
We have no intention of denying that there are certain difficulties in the Soviet Union,
that the measures necessary for the socialist industrialization and thereby Independence of the Soviet Union lead the capitalist world market, certain dangers bring. But the growth of industry in the Soviet Union in connection with the Struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries and the national-revolutionary Movement is of course the conflicts and contradictions within capitalism increase and the differences in the economics and politics in various fields exacerbate. The perspective of Comrade Trotsky, his doubts as to the development of Productive forces in the Soviet Union, is the very general question of the opposition bloc to the powerful forces of the world proletariat, the gigantic forces of the Russian Revolution and its leader, the CPSU (B). This "theory" was not only of Comrade Trotsky represented, but also by comrades Zinoviev and today particularly strong Comrade Kamenev.

You do not see the international development, they do not see the movement in World scale, not the growth of the forces of the world proletariat, although we in this Plenum even the questions of the Chinese revolution, the questions of the English

Miners struggle in connection with the organization of the revolution in all Countries have treated seriously. This means that the opposition no revolutionary Perspective has. Comrades, I think we can say that the perspective of how it here has been shown by Comrade Stalin on a world scale, unanimously by the delegates will be approved. This is not a perspective of capitalist stabilization, but a perspective of socialism. We can say that the Socialist further Construction in the Soviet Union creates the possibilities for the fact that in the escalation of Contradictions of imperialism in another capitalist country the Revolution will be victorious. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions is our perspective, the revolutionary, the living and the perspective of the opposition a wrong, a dead, the revolution conflicting perspectives.

The thesis of the opposition is in the Union of Soviet of the construction of socialism is not possible before the international proletariat has seized power. From this thought starting propagated the opposition: 1. the Thermidor, 2. Kulakisierung the Party politics, 3. capitalist development of the Soviet Union, 4. the inevitability Candidate crises in the economic development of the Soviet Union, etc. With such an attitude of the opposition, the plenary had to expect them here is concrete facts occur with specific information, wherein the harmful policies CPSU (B) and the Comintern is. Instead, we have an immense Quote Material get that relates in any case to the current specific situation. their Main moment is not the ascending capitalism, not the epoch of bourgeois Revolutions, but a situation of declining capitalism and the construction of a new, socialist society in the Soviet Union, a situation of more than nine-year existence of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, where the proletariat has ways of the alliance with the peasantry found an epoch of world revolution. Why forget the comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky, ideas of Marx, Engels and bring Lenin, on where these downright optimistic aufpeitschend their hopes the revolutionary power of the working class translated? They forgot this "little thing". On the IX. Russian Congress of the Soviets in 1921 said Comrade Lenin following:
"But we have given the backward conditions in which we in the Revolution have occurred, not today's industrial development that we need, we are there about without? lose heart? No. We will get down to the hard work, because the Path we have trodden is correct." ["Report of the Central Executive Committee Allunions (VTsIK) and the Sovnarkom (SNK) at the IX. All-Russian Congress of Soviets on December 23, 1921"; VI Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Edition, Vol. 33, p 134, Russ.]

A quote from the confidence one in the possibility of building socialism in Country out sounds!

Further, Engels wrote in his preface to the 1892 English edition of his work "The development of socialism from utopia to science":

"... As things are today, it should be impossible that Germany also be the venue is the first great victory of the European proletariat? " [Friedrich Engels, "The development of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific "; Karl Marx / Engels, Selected Works, in two volumes, Vol. II, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1955, page 106.]

The Engels wrote in 1892, when the Social Democracy of after cancellation Socialist Law had just become legal! So a perspective of the victorious proletarian revolution of the German proletariat! Why conceal the comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky such thoughts and bring only those citations, the possibility that of building socialism to refute in a country?

Furthermore: Six months before the Paris Commune Marx warned in a letter to Engels ago the dangers of an isolated occurrence of the Paris proletariat. But as it then it arrived to fight, Marx continued with determination for a municipality, without to ask only the question of the impossibility of the socialist revolution in a country. Marx asked at that time not to the possibility of building socialism, but saw the awesome power of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie should be beaten!

Kamenev has rolled up today in his speech several issues again, the have already played a role in the XIV. Congress. He tried the statistical Figures that prove the rise of the Soviet Union to conceal the positive to skip pages.

That the development does not lead to the decline, but the rise will prompt Figures: Wages have risen by about 40 percent in the last three years, the Host twist is restored to the pre-war level; in 1924 there was an increase of 60 percent, in 1925, an increase of 42 percent. The peasant economies without horses were in 1923 40 per cent of total Bauernwirtschaften 1926, the number dropped to about 26 percent. These three facts that with the development of going forward, that the forces evolve in favor of socialist construction that the alliance between the proletariat and the vast majority of farmers strengthened. These few Figures refute the "theory" of Comrade Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, their Doubt in the construction of socialism. They have no confidence in the power of Workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and they leading CPSU (B), as also to the entire international revolutionary living and development at the Leninist fundamental strength of the Communists doubt. Even their own Perspective, defended phraseology with a "left", in the content but a right opportunist line, shows the contradictory side of their argument against the Perspective of the CPSU (B) and the Comintern.
Finally, I want a few differences between the opposition and us in the field of handle international politics. Also in the international issues represents the opposition to the Comintern and the CPSU (B) have a different opinion. She not only to the Central Committee and the entire CPSU (B) Differences in the questions as they appear in building socialism, but also serious questions as they appeared in England, China and other parties are, it has a different view. The essence of the opposition also shows here more clearly than each connection of "left" gestures of despair with a right in the nature opportunist politics, if it is the serious to concrete decisions in Communist International is.

Take the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. As at the Fifth World Congress of the standing issue of international trade union unity, there were differences of opinion. I will not conceal that the German delegation the tactic that the perspective in England corresponded, not immediately understood. After the delegation of the CPSU (B) convinced us had we passed the line of international trade union unity and the application of United front with all seriousness by. But we can the work of international Trade union unity without particular instances and organization introducing? Never. The Amsterdam Trade Union International exists that Profintern exists, Intermediate members are necessary, they are to create. Such instances only to let exist Communists would harm our movement and not help us, moreover, since the strong social democratic parties in Western Europe the largest resisting any revolutionary united front tactic. But strong to this Social democracy in Western Europe, the bulwark of Amsterdam, one of the most solid bulwarks of imperialism ever weaken, to reduce their influence on the masses, their decompose own ranks, thus smashing the reformist block, must We provide intermediate members and organizations, based on which we proletarian the bring in masses in the Communist Party and the revolutionary front.

If the Anglo-Russian Committee, the reformist leaders in the general strike and particularly in the miners' strike this went over, the miners to the bourgeoisie betray and sell - what everyone knew in advance - so stands before us the question: Shall we therefore dissolve the Anglo-Russian Committee, given that the entire Communist International knows that the reformists do everything to speed up the resolution? Why this haste in the English reformists? Because the Anglo-Russian Committee, although Thomas etc. have the powers already substantially limited, so far still has a meaning when it first not the basis of our own position weaken, but strengthens, 2. exacerbating the contradictions among the reformists, 3. a may develop certain energy in the coming economic struggles that among themselves the working masses in England spreads, and 4th was an instrument and will be even against the English Imperialism, his bloody Colonialism and the Intervention intentions against the Soviet Union. If one of the opposition comrades said that the Anglo-Russian Committee is not a revolutionary instrument today, the us the moment when England or with him other capitalist vassal states the will attack the Soviet Union, seriously supported, so the question is asked as to abstract. None of us is unconditionally assert such, not a member of the CC, Bolshevik Party and no delegate of the VII. extended executive. But that
Anglo-Russian Committee will be an instrument of imperialism, dares the opposition not to prove. Even if there is only a weak tool for us, we must yet continue to use this weak instrument, to the treachery of the reformists, their line of destruction of the unity in the trade union movement to the concrete facts at the further work of the Anglo-Russian Committee before the working masses show.

Another question which, I think, touched by the comrades in the discussion little was the question of withdrawal of the Communists from the Kuomintang 53. Comrade Tan Ping Chan has mentioned this morning that Dschang Dso-lin had declared: If the Communists from the Kuomintang to leave, they will be ready to enter into it. This is, ideologically, a very interesting parallel: Dschang Dso-lin and Zinoviev in a parallel. That can not be disputed. Dschang Dso-lin was ready in the Kuomintang go if Comrade Zinoviev the decision to exit the Communists from the Kuomintang would have performed in the Comintern. The whole Chinese problems are for us partly so new and interesting, their set of questions is so complicated that we there must maneuver especially careful. The same as the Anglo-Russian Committee alongside the Communist Party of England as an intermediate between limb reformism and revolution in England - the same meaning and even necessity, the Kuomintang next to the Communist Party of China as Intermediate organization to support the revolutionary front. Does the opposition the not? These are intermediate links, we use based on which we revolutionary the expanding forces, strengthen, activate. The not to be featuring the despair the leader of the opposition, the weakness of their confidence about the communist parties and the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Comrade Trotsky's position on Lenin before the war is known, its opportunistic Attitude to the policy of the CPSU (B) in the stages of the proletarian dictatorship is here has already been shown several times. In recent years, he was always on the rightmost

53Kuomintang - political party in China, and in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen to fight for the Republic of the established national independence. Sun Yat-sen died on 12 March 1925. In his legacy called Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang, the alliance with the Communist Party of China and the friendship to preserve the Soviet Union and the national liberation movement of the workers and peasants of China to widen. In the period of development of the revolution in China in the years 1925 to 1927 revealed the right wing of the Kuomintang with Chiang Kai-shek at the top of the legacy of Sun Yat-sen. In alliance with the imperialists of foreign states, he led the fight against the Communist Party of the led democratic forces of China.
Our party has not only presented in October 1923 and from the last learned discussion of the "Russian" question, but also from the mistakes in Germany have been committed since 1918 to today. The history of our German Party began in the last seven to eight years, not only with the "open letter" of Executive but with the first revolutionary struggles in Germany. We are in grown struggle against the Right deviation and become strong, and we are therefore also capable of today in the discussion and decision of the "Russian" question in the bring German party membership against the opposition in attack position, yet to where reveals the nature of the opposition platform clear that now, of Trotsky Kamenev and Zinoviev advocated differential is a social democratic deviation.

All sections will be welcome, that we are for the first time in a position on the Stages of the proletarian dictatorship thoroughly discuss and inform us. If August trembles in the book "The Woman and Socialism" on the future of State wrote - which at the time was presented the working class here? Today we have a picture of the first Development of the proletarian dictatorship:
1. fight for political power and the number of years of civil conflict;
2. simultaneous development of war communism;
3. line of the NEP and its tasks;
4. construction of socialism at the present stage.

are all these stages with their teachings and their enormous big trouble vividly before us in the Communist International.

The essence of the opposition in Germany has shown in all these areas, they also perfectly together is herein with the Russian opposition. Was it not at the beginning our inner-party struggle as variegated in their composition as the Russian opposition? Zinoviev and Trotsky fought for years because of serious political differences; today Trotsky has not changed its position, but go unconditionally together. One can illustrate this with an image: If the Virgin to Priest goes, then the priest remains a priest and the Virgin Virgin. But vice versa: When the priest goes to the Virgin, then the priest is no longer a priest and the maiden not a virgin anymore. When Comrade Zinoviev and Trotsky is - when you here the comrades heard - a similar relationship occurred. Trotskyism no longer exists, has Kamenev said; But Trotsky still alive, with his Trotskyism as his speech proved.

The same Buntscheckigkeit opposition we see in Germany.

I want to show only, we now how many groups already within and outside the party have recorded. The first excluded group is the Katz Group; it has rapidly and without fanfare in the labor done.

The second group is the Korsch Black group outside the party into two Groups split. Today they form two counter-revolutionary groups, which with each fight violently.

The third or even fourth foreclosed leader group is the Ruth Fischer-Maslow Urbahns group all known enough.

The fifth group is the Weddinger opposition.
The sixth group is the Koetter Group. The last two groups are not yet open hostility to the party passed. In the ideology they have a fine must lead to the policy of splitting the Party and the Comintern and the counter-revolution, because, in essence, the Social Democratic arguments against the Soviet Union and against the Post-revolutionary policy.

Katz, Korsch, Black, Maslow, Ruth Fischer, etc. are already outside the ranks of the Revolution. In Germany, we had the very serious and difficult battles with this guide groups that were not even prepared to the character of the revolutionary Party discipline, to recognize their principles, exclude the open enemies of the party. In their documents, both in the statement of 700 officials, and in the Memorandum the Urbahns- and Weddinger opposition we see that, in the assessment of all Question of building socialism have a position which does not substantially different from the standpoint of social democracy. If they do not openly Pronounce as social democracy does, in essence, they have the same attitude. The evident in all their documents. In the infamous declaration of the 700 they say Example: in the KPD conquer a "Atmosphere of hypocrisy, the fear, the uncertainty, the decomposition".

In the Soviet Union

"Demoralized to the working class all over the world". "The atmosphere in the Comintern poisoned."

The consequences of the "Open Letter" of the ECCI the KPD were

"A perfect disorganization and atomization of the KPD and a residue-free restoration of Rights".

The CPSU (B) is accused of representing the theory,

"That socialism in Russia are built to last in national self-restraint could, without the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries this victory only ensure needs". (Joint Memorandum of Weddinger opposition and Ruth Fischer-Maslow Urbahns group.)

Show already these quotations a perfect party and kominternfeindlichen spirit, a Assessment, that is inconsistent with the facts as well as the class enemies direct benefit brings, the social democratic character of this group is still clearly in its last memorandum expressed that the now excluded Renegades have presented this Chamber. It states:

"The crises throughout the Comintern have become permanent. These Crises are since 1923 their character nachdeutliche signs of decay and Decomposition, but not signs of a growth crisis."
the Soviet Union, the Comintern and the German Communist Party. One must fight as these anti-communist leaders like any other social traitors. The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" and other Social Democratic papers grab the current Policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) particularly at by the working masses pretend that in the Soviet Union here go a capitalist development in order on the one hand to defend their own policies, but also the great impression inspiring reports of workers' delegations in the German working class mitigate. So we see in the ideology a line with the Social Democrats and the opposition.

Since the publication of the "Open Letter" we had in the struggle against the "ultra-left" great difficulties to overcome, and the party was doing in their recruiting power, in their Action Skill weakened in fulfilling the revolutionary tasks. Today I Feel but to say that the working class of our inside and outside the party correct revolutionary line understands. While there are many workers who have with the Social Democrats have broken, but do not come to us because our opposition always it is the fact that the Communist Party developed into the social democracy that we Many workers will go together with the Social Democrats, etc. do not come to us, because these arguments the opposition anywhere in the factories, in the unions get to hear so. It is therefore necessary, if the Communist Party in Germany their wants to fulfill revolutionary tasks that they these "ultra-left" tendencies to end liquidated. The German party is in a position similar to the Bolshevik Group of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1909, when Lenin in his Articles about the liquidation of liquidationism wrote:


This object is also before us today. The prerequisite for the implementation of this Task is a clear recognition of the anti-Party character of the ideological platform the "ultra-left". We must never forget that the struggle against the right Deviations and derailments should be conducted, which already show today and in the next development in the difficult application of the united front tactic in Period of relative stabilization, particularly in the struggle against the Social Democracy will stand before us. We are of course in the field of expansion of our have activity and action force big trouble because the theoretical foundation of Party is not so strong that such opportunistic deviations do not occur could. But the leadership of the party, most of the membership of the party are so strong, so vivid, so clear in itself that, in addition to the fight against the "ultra-left" against be displayed right deviations and any resulting right-wing groups to accommodation fight seriously and are about to embark. The question that must be answered is this: Are the "ultra-left" to the left of Bolshevism or they are already on the way to the counter-revolution? It works are not isolated Problems of Leninism, but to the entire question-complex Leninism to the basic problems of the proletarian dictatorship. The crucial question for the international labor movement is the position of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Here are the ghosts, and they need to get divorced! The position to Soviet Union also decides on the issue, to which camp you in questions of German policy is, to the camp of the revolution or the camp of counterrevolution. It are only two ways: in the Soviet Union either the proletarian dictatorship, then
is there socialism built, and we must therefore support the Soviet Union, or
But the Soviet Union is a capitalist country, then one has against it a fight with
all means lead. Comrade Stalin pointed out aptly whereas comrade Trotsky
to polemics believed: take the opposition in its lack of certainty
seriously about the possibility of building socialism, we must necessarily in
Opposition occur for proletarian state. The party would be forced when
the Soviet Union developed into a capitalist country to act as an opposition party,
if it is serious about the revolution. Also from this point of view, embodying the
Opposition pure liquidationism, dispensing with the preservation of the proletarian
Dictatorship. After the victory of the proletarian revolution is the struggle against
Imperialism is synonymous with the struggle for securing the proletarian dictatorship
in the Soviet Union, because all efforts of imperialism to overthrow
single proletarian state focus. Logically, means the position of the
Korsch, Black, Maslow and others, which go together with them, the capitulation
the Social Democrats on the question of imperialism. The theory of Leninism is the
Theory of the struggle against imperialism, his accomplices and satellites. Will
liquidated struggle against imperialism, which liquidated the role of the Communist Party, the CPSU (B)
and the Comintern. Since the ideological line of the opposition lead to the liquidation
must, the plenum of the VII. extended executive must in connection with this
corrosive and undermining opposition activity not only in the
Bolshevik, but unanimous in the German party, these attacks
retiliate. In the CPSU (B) of the opposition, this attempt failed because the
entire party immediately recognized the wrong way the opposition and against the opposition
occurred. It is now clear that the Russian opposition leader without a special
Annex, without an army, occurred.
The most important task that stands before us is that any group work, that is now in
will try to initiate the various sections, under any circumstances thwarted
must become. We have seen that the CPSU (B) has succeeded in the Group maneuvers
and the fraction of activity by the entire membership, and especially by the
Leningrad and Moscow workers to smash. I think I can say that the
Opposition by their appearance before the plenary still recent influence in the CPSU (B)
and lost in the Comintern. Instead, the discipline and the decision taken
to add resolutions to that of the overwhelming majority of the membership of
CPSU (B) have been accepted, they are still gone over their factional
Foray continue here. To the more important it is that the House is in all its
Unity it goes, the mountains of obstacles that not only here, the Build
Socialism of the CPSU (B) are provided, but also in the capitalist countries
we have to overcome and eliminate to move forward in the struggle, the gaps
the reformist front to extend and enlarge the front of the revolutionary forces.
The most important decision is thus in connection must be to: unit and
Unity in the different parties and throughout the Communist
International. Way with any subversive group work, which is the precondition. But
not unity and solidarity connected to a maneuver, as the in the speeches
various opposition leaders was expressed, but unity and cohesion
with Bolshevik ruthlessness against the destroyers of unity and
Unity. The need of the decision of this House and should the line and tactics
be all the sections. Then we can be sure that we will succeed, in the faith of
our force the way forward for the great tasks that we have set ourselves here.
"Protocol, Advanced Executive of the Communist International, Moscow, November 22-16th December 1926 ".
S.228-235, 282/283 and 728-744.
XI. CONGRESS
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Food Geneva, 2 to March 7, 1927

The political situation and the tasks of the Party

March 2, 1927

Comrades I send in the treatment of the problems here in the XI. Congress to Discussion are, requires that the delegates the decisions of the VII. Extended executive, studied the local decisions and also in the political debate within the Party have discussed in detail. In Unit itself I will deal with the following main issues I. The international situation. These include the relative stabilization, the Soviet Union, China, the threat of war. II. The main problems of our work in Germany. These include the new imperialist development in Germany, the fight against the capitalist offensive that capitalist Rationalization, of the struggle against the Social Democracy, the Union question and the question of the middle classes. III. The general line of our Party. The various discussions in the cells on the Subdistrict party conferences and district party conferences have already extended the issues VII. Executive clarified for the most part.

I

The few weeks that have passed since the VII. Extended executive, who in World scale, a number of important phenomena shown. We see the following five important facts: 1. The fascist coup in Lithuania. 2. The titanic battles of the Chinese revolution. 3. The American raids against Mexico and Central America. 4. The formation of biirgerblock government in Germany. 5. The English threatening note against the Soviet Union. show all these events that both the national and the international Opposites seriously aggravated. They show the whole of relativity, the conditional, contradictory character of capitalist stabilization. capitalist Stabilization is not a comprehensive, closed world phenomenon, but a
Partial stabilization, which extends to a number of capitalist countries, in large parts the world is a stabilization of the question. In China the triumph takes against imperialism, which is not yet finished, but in these days large force accepts. This is the prelude to the forthcoming revolution of the oppressed peoples of the East against imperialism. At the Brussels Congress 147 delegates were present, we saw the importance of this colonial Freedom of movement for the world proletarian revolution. even bourgeois leaves quite

54 The "International Congress against imperialism and colonial oppression" was held from 10th to 14th February 1927 in Brussels. There were 147 delegates from 37 countries attended, representing 134 organizations. The Congress - who stood in solidarity with the struggling people of China - was a important step towards the unification of the working and oppressed peoples around the world the struggle against imperialism and culminated in the establishment of the "League for the fight against Imperialism and for national independence ".

Certainly not in the odor of sympathizing with the Communists, are forced to recognize the Congress. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes in an article "Waking peoples" following characteristic sentences:

"It's a great tidal wave of the survey on the globe."

At another point:

"Just as a century ago, the longing for freedom Men Europe around the idea of French Revolution gathered so today forms the ideological content of the Russian Revolution the center around which the freedom fighters of Asia and Africa and the oppressed peoples Collect America."

And finally:

"They spoke not only of the world-historical event of a Congress, felt also in the not exhausted atmosphere of the six-day congress the historical starting point of a new development."

In these sentences, a core of truth. We see that even the commoners of their Point of view, the seriousness of this development, in the context of the Soviet Union, with the revolutionary struggle, understand estimate. Comrades We need to ask from this place to the fore that the Chinese Revolution in the closest alliance with the Soviet Union is. The national their Independence and autonomy of fighting colonial peoples constitute the reserve armies the proletarian revolution. You take the deepest root of imperialist World domination.

We now see in England the deepening social crisis, the stricter measures the bourgeoisie. The representative of the International Youth rightly pointed out that the Proletariat in England sympathized in the growing dimensions of the warring Chinese and a certain influence against the policy of the British Government and the MacDonald-People wins.

We explain here: The victorious Canton army, the young Chinese in the first place
Working class, we wish to convey our revolutionary greetings, our solidarity sympathy. You will take an enormous help to us. Our whole Party and the entire German working class must do everything possible to the protection of Chinese revolution before their dangers and their socialist to enable development.

The world's largest factor is the capitalist stabilization in Europe in question, is the Soviet Union: Socialist construction has evolved to a great pace. The last Meeting of the Soviet Central Executive Committee was a number of facts notice that the correctness of the Leninist line of our Soviet sister party to confirm. The Soviet Union has made serious progress. The show the following facts:
The construction of large power plants in different regions of the Soviet Union, the full stability of the ruble, the activity of the trade balance, 1.2 billion rubles for Development of Soviet industry, the successful application of cereal campaign Securing the workers wages.
The reports of workers' delegations are not only contrary to the Social Democratic leadership, but also to the "ultra-left". The workers' delegations presented the progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the success of proletarian initiative firmly to the revolutionary front. That should the delegates here that There are not yet convinced of the socialist development, before in the Soviet Union going on, to think about, so that they once again seriously their previous setting

check. How are these reports of workers' delegations? There were Hundreds delegates there. You saw the first country of the proletarian dictatorship. Each Workers longed the day on which the struggle for power is taken. One must the necessary conclusions for the entire working class draw the consequences for our whole practice. Our whole policy must be structured that we all, even the last, work for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the battling China are the two main factors which the endangering capitalist stabilization from the outside. Additionally, a third factor which capitalist stabilization it were at risk from the inside: the class struggle of European (also the German) proletariat in the capitalist countries themselves. So creates a triple alliance of revolutionary forces: the first state of proletarian dictatorship, the revolt of the colonial peoples, the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat. The foundations of capitalist stabilization are America, England and lately also Germany. In America, we speak of specific possibilities of a crisis in the next few years, but for now, we still see a rise. The British Empire is indeed in decline, but that is why undertakes the British bourgeoisie the most desperate, brutal attempts to stabilize. six Months we experienced the fiercest battle of the English bourgeoisie against the Miners. In recent weeks we have seen in England due to the experiences of the German capitalism the same offensive measures also from the English Bourgeoisie, a more difficult economic and political struggle against the British Proletariat.

One can say that even in the countries where the capitalist stabilization on most pronounced in appearance occurs, it does not mean a straight forward consolidation of Capitalism. The internal contradictions of world capitalism are not alleviated, but they worsen. This is reflected in the various Mächteumgruppierungen where
Fever of capitalist relations of production in the various countries. Of the
Struggle for markets already takes the form of serious imperialist conflicts.
The threat of war has never been since 1918 as large as now. The war tendencies
are reflected in the creation of War block. We can distinguish three large main groups
fixed share:
1. The conflicts of the imperialist countries themselves. The strongest dangers lie
currently in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Pacific.
2. The colonial struggles of the imperialist robbers against the oppressed peoples of the
the whole world. They are getting stronger since the French Morocco campaign. Since two
Years rages the struggle of the colonial peoples against the imperialists in Syria, in
Indonesia, Nicaragua, etc. All these fights featuring the new flare
revolutionary movements against the various imperialist governments. Of the
largest colonial struggle, which shows currently, is the war that takes place in China where
the British Empire in association with America, France, Japan and Italy tried
crush the movement by any means.
The third main line is directed against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
Comrades, we have to ask the question: Why is the main line of directed
imperialist struggles against the USSR? Because the proletarian dictatorship in the
recent years has consolidated because their influence is growing with every week. World imperialism
afraid of the growing strength of the proletariat.
Now some points from recent history. I recall the coup in Pilsudski
Poland, the Lithuanian military coup, the grenades campaign

55This refers to the December 5 opened in 1926, the "Forward" campaign against the Soviet Union. The
Central organ of the SPD took over "revelations" about alleged arms shipments to the Soviet Government to the
Reichswehr, the English of the right Social Democratic leaders in the bourgeois newspaper

Social Democracy, to the Chamberlain-touch, etc. - all for the purpose of the march against
The Soviet Union. Here we see imperialism all over the world in the struggle against
Soviet Union. Two worldviews wrestle. The imperialists are located
divided among themselves, they struggle against each other, but together against the Soviet Union.
Since we hold the party in such a serious situation, because the questions in Germany
are on the agenda, are international in character, we must recognize that
Role the German bourgeoisie plays in this decisive struggle and what
Ally the bourgeoisie in this decisive battle. We see that by
entry into the League strengthened the position of the German bourgeoisie in foreign policy
has been and that they open, aggressive occurs.
In this connection we have, apart from all political questions, consider,
what role, but because of its geographic location, Germany plays. even his
geographic, military situation entails that Germany coming in each
great war will be implicated. For example, Poland in any conflicts
would come with the Soviet Union, the world bourgeoisie would not shut up
the Soviet Union march, they would rather try to send out outpost to
feel where and when to attack. In this context, Germany plays a
serious role. We see that on the part of France and England the German bourgeoisie
large concessions are made. Instantly, the trade treaty negotiations
between Germany and Poland is not yet complete. Here we see how England
intervenes and tries to trading difficulties between Germany and Poland clear off. This British interests in the activities of the German bourgeoisie have a very serious meaning.

Next we need to see on an international scale, that not only the military equipment is crucial, but that particular ideological indoctrination of the masses in outbreak of war is important. Just as in 1914 are today the II International, the International Social Democracy, and the Amsterdam International, the Main factors of the ideological influence of the working classes and especially the proletariat by imperialism. Why do we have this position of II. International particularly illuminating here? Because the II. International to guard the Bourgeoisie heard because they go together unconditionally with the Imperialisten because they will try to support imperialism in its struggle against the Soviet Union.

Here we are, the Communist International, the Bolshevik world party must do everything possible to bring the masses to the realization that it as against the Soviet Union goes against the progressive development of the proletarian movement on a world scale. We must ensure that such cases occur as on 2 August 1914, where the masses are driven by the surprise attack with the outbreak of war in a bloodbath to to lacerate their own brothers. That is why we have to deal with the "theory" of the II. International, to deal with their position for imperialism.

We already have in our theses position Kautsky for "ultra-imperialism" resigned. We see how this position in various journals expressed comes in which the the "ultra-imperialism" as peaceful development stage Capitalism is spoken. Hilferding speaks of the "real pacifism" to the denying real contradictions and dangers of war. The old revisionist Quessel wrote a few weeks ago in the "Monatshefte" a long article about the "World Peace idea of imperialism". Even in this view shows the fraudulent idea that common property of the Social Democratic leader. Hilferding, the "Manchester Guardian" had been launched to make it more believable. The campaign was directed simultaneously, against the proletarian united front, which had been strengthened by the Labour Congress and should have a "struggle" of the Social Democrats against the Reichswehr pretend. Already after two days broke the anti-Soviet slander the Social Democrats together shamefully.

"Manchester Guardian" had been launched to make it more believable. The campaign was directed simultaneously, against the proletarian united front, which had been strengthened by the Labour Congress and should have a "struggle" of the Social Democrats against the Reichswehr pretend. Already after two days broke the anti-Soviet slander the Social Democrats together shamefully.

leading theoretician of social democracy, was published in the journal "The Company" 1926 Write in Issue 5 following:

"The war is over and has initially a new power decision between leading capitalist states made economically and politically impossible."

This writes Hilferding in 1926, where the war is not only on the agenda, but already started in China has precisely the frivolity that attempts Hilferding, a bring in such a theory in the masses, has the greatest attention of our bring officials to the sand from the eyes of the Social Democratic workers to remove and correct policy of the Comintern and our Party on the question of perform imperialism. We also see that the "theories" as I just attempted to demonstrate the teachings of "ultra-imperialism" and the "real pacifism" what actually is the same thing, to be complemented by various other "theories". Otto Bauer, for example, tries to "capitalist development of the Soviet Union" in the
to provide foreground. Behind these "theories" hiding the imperialist policy
the world bourgeoisie. It hopes that is by phrases about peace the way, everything
to conceal what occurs in appearance throughout the world. To this
various "theories" also includes the practical observations of social democracy to
Colonial policy.
Some quotes I want to show the position of the Social Democrats on this issue. To the
Write example the "Monatshefte" in October 1926

"Many hundreds of millions of marks would the German balance of payments benefits, and quite substantial
Sums went as wages into the hands of the German workers, if we our African
Colonies could work again."

That is the position of the imperialists, to approve the social democracy. At another
Place in the "Rheinische Zeitung", is the following extremely interesting contribution to
the position of social democracy to colonial policy:

"What is a thousand times more important ... than the Hohenzollern comparison? ... The conquest of
Export areas. These fundamental questions of workers' fate (job creation, raising the
Purchasing power of the people and the conquest of export areas) are still not through adoption
affected by rejection of Hohenzollern comparison."

So, we see, not without compensation, Prince expropriation was important for the
Social Democracy but recovery or appropriation of certain export areas.
At another point, the "union archive" of February 1926, in an article,
"Unions and emigrants question", the following stands:

"This ugly extremes be avoided if from the outset a healthy racial pride and
a reasonable sense of responsibility are also planted in the soul of emigrants.
One should not deny him that we are now white again the master race and that our
whole culture on this gentleman standing in the world is based."

That is contempt of the oppressed peoples travesty 'every internationalism. This
shows the character of social democracy in theory and practice in all clarity.
Another issue in this context of international importance is the
The main task that the II. International arises, namely the fight against the Soviet Union.
We must submit ourselves the question: Why does the Second International as.
Main task of the Soviet Union to fight? The answer is quite
of course: because the solidarity of the working class around the world with the

Soviet Union much bigger and stronger today than 1918-1921 and afterwards. The
tremendous sympathy to be destroyed, it should be destroyed, and that's why
tried the II. International to do anything to the urgent need of the capitalists
meet and to support them. We can conclude several methods
means of which the II. International tried their aggressive war against the Soviet Union
perform.
First, in the open support of the imperialist policy, as I have to
have shown some quotations of German social democracy. For example, recently stood in
"... We Socialists have this position in our own struggle against Bolshevik destruction work on the international workers' movement always represented, and it would neither logical nor sincere when we face the accusations Chamberlain another Position einnahmen."

Secondly, the II. International operates a propaganda of neutrality of the working class about a possible outbreak of war or intervention against the Soviet Union. For example, when the Chamberlain Touch was announced, it was MacDonald, who in his Party organ in England wrote that a "wait and see attitude" towards the threatening note England should play against the Soviet Union. And we see that even in Germany Social Democracy wants to deceive the working class in this line. In an article "England - Russia" in the "Forward" of 24 February 1927 in which the demolition of Diplomatic relations of England is threatened with the Soviet Union, it says:

"Germany can join neither England nor to Russia, if it is not in danger wants to run to be misused for foreign interests."

In other words, the working class is at the moment of the struggle of the English taking bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union a "neutral" position. With this Formulation you want to turn deceive the working class and the open imperialistic course and the policies of the II. International collapse. On the Marseillais International Congress had Otto Bauer under the pressure of the Soviet Union sympathizing working masses explain:

"... That any hostile government policies against the Soviet Union with us on the stubborn, will encounter implacable resistance."

In another place he says:

"And because we know that this danger comes, however, we not only for today or tomorrow, but for our whole future as the top policy!: Hands off Soviet Russia"

This reflects the whole fraudulent character of the Congress of the II. International, the trying to confuse your own followers by calling one hand: Hands off Soviet Russia! and on the other by its policy the military struggle of the bourgeoisie supported against the Soviet Union.

A third maneuver the II. International is the attempt of the Soviet Union as a capitalist to denounce the country to whose defense the working class has no interest. In "Forward", we can use this position in the article "England-Russia" quite crassly and see open. It says that the Russian socialism of extremely dubious nature is, so that the workers today still significantly free in conservative ruled England and live better than in Bolshevik Russia ruled.

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The German Social Democracy tried the Soviet Union as a capitalist country to designate, although the workers' delegations, which were in the Soviet Union, the opposite to report.
In this context, the shameless grenades campaign against the Soviet Union to understand. To the proletarian masses, the Soviet sympathetic face, ideologically to influence in order to serve their imperialist policy, engages the Social Democracy to the dirtiest and most sophisticated methods.

Comrades, when I have dealt with this main question a little longer, it is because we in Germany see a united front of "ultra left" to the right, a front of the KADI) on Maslow, the Social Democracy up to General Hoffmann that in the last time has formulated its position on Bolshevism and not only recommends the prepare war against the Soviet Union, but to take this fight. General Hoffmann writes these days about the "Soviet threat" in a letter to the American:

"Also, I am convinced that the question of civilization or Bolshevism by force of arms will be discharged. I hope that my country if this fight comes on the side of civilized states will be. I will do this, what is in my power."

We have to ask at this congress to the fore that all the watchdogs Bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution are released. The world bourgeoisie and particularly the German bourgeoisie to set the task of the "inner" Bolshevism to destroy and also the "outer" in all circumstances. The "outer" Bolshevism is the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union is the state of the proletarian dictatorship. Of the "Inner" Bolshevism we are, the German Communist Party. In this historical situation where the threat of war is on the agenda, has Communist Party to meet huge international responsibilities. We are the only organizing mass force against imperialism and against the impending war. At this congress our tactics must, our international responsibilities must be clearly be determined. These are Hauptaufgaben following:
The first major task is to combat the danger of war. It is particularly important that we fight for more positions by our legwork, especially in the workplace and trade unions and in the main industrial sectors, the output for the war are crucial. I welcome it from this point of view particularly, that the cell of Leuna-work through their message to the Congress the importance of this work for has brought expression. I think this next to the mining industry, the metal industry, the Transport, which have the crucial political importance at the outbreak of war. How strong but we are in these industries? To say the truth, so must say that our influence is very low there. We are very weak, and we must do everything to strengthen our position here.

Regarding the prevention of attempts at intervention against the Soviet Union, so it is necessary that we are able to stop any arms transport. Therefore, we must also the question of the position of the organizations note that are under our control, to Example of the RFB.

At the moment of the outbreak of a war we have the only correct Leninist Line championing: by all means the conversion of the imperialist war into operate civil war. That must be the basis of our policy.

The second international main task is in. The defense of the Soviet Union and China against imperialist attacks. I need it to not extensively speak, because this task has already been sufficiently characterized.

The third task is the fight for the international trade union unity. Given the Power centers that the bourgeoisie has available -. The II International and the
Amsterdam -, it is necessary to fight for the international trade union unity much active lead. Right now, the importance of this question, which is also long in the own party was not sufficiently understood.

Our fourth international main task is the fight against international Fascism. We have on the fascist orientation of certain currents and leading people in the II. International, as, for example, D'Aragona by its open transition to fascism embodied point.

We can do all these tasks reflecting an international character, only to meet with the firm leadership of the Communist International, the Bolshevik Party. That's why the Congress has so far very important - I think I can do that in Meaning all delegates explain - because this XI. Communist Party Congress in Unlike the errors of the last Berlin Congress under the banner of inviolable Loyalty, the more solid, internal fighting community with the Communist International convenes. The significance of the Comintern is world history so great that they every Communist must understand. It is the foundation, it is the only leader of the proletarian World revolution.

II

Comrades I'm going over to questions of German imperialism. Already the Advanced Executive has the position of capitalist Germany in 1923 and today treated. In that moment, when the proletariat in an acutely revolutionary situation was put down, the turning point of the political and economic start Development of the German bourgeoisie. From 1918 to 1923, Germany was a defeated Country, disarmed, occupied by enemy troops in a state of great oppression. French imperialism had occupied the Ruhr, and Germany could not independent policy drift. This has in 1923 shown in the breakdown of the currency in which reduced role of the banks, the decline of production and so lacking in that situation the objective conditions for an independent imperialist policy. therefore is the position of our Party on the national question today is different than it was back then. The is also laid down in the theses of the congress.

What is the big difference in German development? The change to October 1923 marked by three special events:
1. By October defeat of the German proletariat,
2. by the stabilization of the mark,
3. by the evacuation of the Ruhr.

Since these events, the economic development showed a new trend. Instead inflation concerns, joined the capitalist concentration. It is amazing how Energy it contrives the German bourgeoisie to carry out the monopolization. The Existence of the color group, the Ruhr coal and steel trusts, the Kalisyndikats, the electric Trusts and also a number of smaller monopolist has a great importance. Lately Branches of production were detected that were previously never vertrustet, for example, Shipyards. We see in the shipbuilding industry, in shipping a new development, a rapid trusts. is In the recent memorandum on the Group Education found that 65 percent of all German enterprises in the hands of corporations . are Parallel so that also strengthens the role of banks. Four to five banks control the entire industry. We see that the concentration to.

extraordinary performance, especially heavy industry, has led. Just the methods that will be used against the working class, the giant Increase production with fewer workers, are symptomatic.
I will give an example: in 1926 produced 104 percent more than 204 blast furnaces 10
Blast furnaces in 1923rd
Simultaneously, the capital formation is growing. In 1913, capital formation was 11.9
Billion, today it has already reached 6.3 billion. The German financial capital
plays a leading role in the formation of monopolies, not only in Germany but
international. The international Kalisyndikat that existed before the war and during the
War was disbanded, is now restored. The participation of German banks
the international financial group is growing. Part of German enterprises
dissolves already again of the former foreign infiltration by foreign capital going.
Characteristic is also the incipient resumption of capital exports. Although based
these statistical figures that we ensure have available, only estimates, but you
estimated for 1926 already 1.8 billion gold capital export. multiply Lately
the news from foreign infiltration intentions of the German financial capital in France
and Belgium and of capital export to Sweden, Hungary, Romania and Turkey. The
German capital is trying to set up bank branches everywhere again: In South America
exist today already more German foreign banks than before the war, in East Asia
German Foreign banks again strongly represented.
What is interesting is the growing involvement of the state in capitalist
Economy. This is reflected in the state guarantees for export credits in the
Participation of the kingdom of banks, for example, the Reichsbank credit. We see here
the close interdependence of the capitalist economy with the capitalist state.
The contradictions and difficulties always occur imperialist development
sharply evident. The strongest reason for the upswing in 1926 was the
English miners' strike, increased not only the production of steel, iron and coal
extraordinary, but as a result of the English strikes won as the Dawes
Railway 100 million Goldmark, the Ruhr mining 300 million, the shipping companies and the
Rheinschiffahrt over 100 million. There is a powerful rise in profits.
Of course, this applies only for a short time and for certain branches of production. begins now
already the resumption of intensified competitive struggle between Germany and
England on the issue of coal sales.
We must here emphasize the weaknesses of our own work, especially that we the
Expresses solidarity in the English miners' strike not enough for breakthrough
helped, not even in the ranks of the members of the party. It was the task of
individual Communists, even with the great difficulties that existed in establishments where
entrepreneurs each ruthlessly pavement threw, the English strike really
seriously to support and enforce the idea of solidarity ruthlessly. The
is the minimum of what we had to do. Here has on our most poignant
Weakness within the unions demonstrated. Otherwise such facts as we would they
have seen in the Ruhr, in Silesia, in Hamburg, have been impossible.
The increased efficiency of the German production apparatus encounters the barriers
the constricted world market. The capitalist powers are resisting the growing
German exports. This shows, for example, the brusque rejection of carbon understanding
between Germany and England, the fact that America, with high
Tariff protection walls against the pig iron import Germany defends, and another.
These difficulties in foreign markets its counterpart in the
Difficulties on the internal market. Then there are the reparations. In the current
Can we assume that we are experiencing a new rise period of German capitalism are similar in America? Never. The gigantic unemployment is the living signs of the chronic crisis of German capitalism. Despite the

Reduction of production costs by capitalist concentration, the Prices of goods not lowered, but they rise. Especially in industries where monopolization is strongest, we see an increase in prices by the Trust policy. The capitalists are changing over the export at the expense of the internal market to increase. Between the Foreign and domestic prices for some products a difference of 25 percent. All this drives the German capitalism to ruthless exploitation of the working class with the methods of capitalist Rationalization.

The fight against the consequences of capitalist rationalization is next to the struggle against the threat of war, the most important task, because he for the starting point larger mass movements forms.

The whole process of rationalization, to perform the bourgeoisie causes an excessive Increasing exploitation. The work intensity was around 30, 50, or even 100 percent elevated. In mining took place in relation to the pre-war period a 131prozentige, in the Steel industry 129,5prozentige increase of productivity per head. By an unheard Antreibersystem, by repealing the breaks, the reduction the chord prices, through a series of oppressive measures has the bourgeoisie Increase the exploitation enforced. Parallel with this is done, the reduction of real wages, because with the price increase no wage increase is connected.

Comrades In the sphere of the struggle for wage increases, the party has big tasks to fulfill. This is linked to the working time question. If the Social Democracy today so propagated the work Zeitnot law in the union meetings, which in Reality does not contain the demand for the eight-hour day, but the tens and Zwölfstundentag admits she does it because she knows that the proletariat a mood for Eight-hour day is present, and because movements use, such as in Saxony the Battle of Leipzig metalworkers. I think it's good to give an example, which have been made for overtime in 1926, has been committed which crime is at the 2½-million unemployed army that was on the road. The statistics of Reich Labour Office is enough to show the real situation. Thus, for example, 335000 workers in October 1926 made a total of 10 million overtime. In the Metallurgy has ever week paid an average of 54½ hours, in Mining 63 hours, in the chemical industry 57½ hours, in the textile industry 55 Hours, in the paper industry 62 hours, in the wood industry 52½ hours, in the Food and Related Products Industry 53 hours, stone and ores 56½ hours, glass and Ceramic 54 hours, general industry 54 hours, so an average Performance of 56 hours per week and workers. The 48-hour week is therefore in Average been exceeded by 8 hours. Alone in mining are weekly to 32 overtime been done. This demonstrates the great importance of the fight for the Eight-hour day, which communicates with the tactics, with the work that we the have to pay unemployed army.
The bourgeoisie out here a very conscious class politics by their interests. The
Unemployment will fall to work at plant level in the back. On the other hand
to the workers in the factories by the overtime trafficking the unemployed in
fall back. This is a clever way to the bourgeoisie, supported
by social democracy and particularly by the tactics of the reformist
Union leaders. This reflects the attempt of social democracy and the
Union bureaucracy to divide the working class. We are committed to the
Unemployed with the operating staff in a proletarian united front
Struggle to improve the living conditions of all workers together. Of this
Point of the struggle for the eight hour day is very important, because he with
is connected to the struggle of the unemployed movement. The idea also of
Congress of the working people was to connect the unemployed with the Operational
to establish standing. If, as has been already said, the large farms so low on
the Labour Congress were represented, so shows our lack of operating and
Union work.
I have tried to show some problems of the unemployed movement. If
Today 2.5 million unemployed duration can be reported and the latest statistics say that
20 percent of German industrial workers are on the road, so this is a moment,
to which the Communist Party must concentrate. If 20 percent of German
Industrial workers are on the road, we are obliged to enforce in any operating
that the employee refuses the overtime work to the unemployed in the
Production bring in. We are, I think, here all agree that the
Party just has to do more in this field than before. It is necessary to
sharpest struggle against the reduction of unemployment relief and against the graduation, the
is now being introduced to continue.
Another question in connection with the capitalist rationalization is that we
must focus increased attention on the social redeployment in operation. It is one
Fact that capitalism increasingly women and young people in the
Operating in drives to simultaneously even skilled workers out of production
evict. An example that evident to all comrades: In 1907 was of the
female population one third employed, in 1925 it was already half the
female population. Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization,
general need and the miserable situation, the proletarian women in the
Production process dragged. Besides the fight for equal pay for equal work
we need for all interests of the proletarian women enter Communists always. It applies
elucidate for us not only the proletarian youth through courses, but practically in
to support fighting. The methods of capitalist rationalization which only the
make economic side of the struggle, are complemented by the political thrust of the
Bourgeoisie against the working class, against all working people across the board.
The political focus of the German bourgeoisie is making great progress. at the same time
with the general transformation of economic life creates the bourgeoisie
the political superstructure to seriously carry out their plans.
Comrades The result of this development is the citizen block. Let us recall some
Facts in mind. Had we in Germany have ever since 1918 as a
reactionary biirgerblock government? I think we can say that the
The counterrevolutionary government since the November revolution is. The contrasts in the capitalist parties, the still, a year ago at the Dawes report, in Issues of protective tariffs, on the question of republic or monarchy, and at other points showed no longer or only in low dimensions available. The German Nationalists, the "defense associations" and the Army are for anti-Soviet passed policy on the part of England. The Civil block is the Government of the strong Faust, who will try the incipient labor disputes in the coming months ruthlessly crush and gag the workers. The citizen is a block Coalition of the three strongest bourgeois parties, the German Nationalists, the Centre and the German People's Party. But this strength is not only based on these three active Parties but also on the absence of any serious opposition except Communist Party.

Even Wirth who speaks sometimes more radical than the Social Democrats, invited the monarchists one to enter into the political home of the Republic. However, the biirgerblock not supported only to the entire bourgeoisie, but also to the passive attitude and tolerance of Social Democracy. A few days ago Severing has, after all, the meaning in the Social Democrats, has expressed the following on a Reichsbanner conference in Hannover:

"We are experiencing with the new government, with the oath of German National Ministers on the Constitution, the black-red-flag one of the proudest satisfactions. On Schwarzrotgold swears today even a Hergt, and blowing on the car of the Reich Minister of Keudell the blackish-golden pennant."

What Severing declared's toleration of biirgerblock, is approving the policy, the Biirgerblock performs. We explain the other hand, that the citizen block a wave strongest means reaction. We must together think in this the saying of Lenin:

"Political reaction all along the line is a characteristic of imperialism" [Lenin, "The Imperialism and the Split in Socialism ", Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1954, p 4. The Red. ]

This policy response, which today is located in Germany, is already having Advances noticeable in various fields: the dismantling of the entire Social policy, in the liquidation of the last vestiges of the November Revolution, in the cultural reaction, in the shameful judgments of the Supreme Court, which our Communist literature already presents outside the law.

These are beginnings of a particular political system, of a deliberate onslaught against the entire working class, against this political line their own revolutionary front must raise. We see that the Hindenburg Government lossteuert it - I say explicitly "it lossteuert" - to prohibit our Communist Party. We must all trying to prevent. Not because we might for some Reasons to believe that we were not able to illegally our revolutionary principles to wear in the proletariat, but we must recognize that it is with a showdown the bourgeoisie is that the reaction sample attempts how much they can afford. We have in this XI simultaneously. Party say that the legality of our party no democracy or constitutional guarantees, but that it depends on how strong we are rooted in the working class, to what extent we are able, the proletarian Masses to mobilize to defend their interests. The party has already all
Ways to be prepared. We declare that no ban and no violence measure the bourgeoisie will prevent us, our Bolshevik work for the preparation of perform second German revolution. We must understand that it is necessary, even if the bourgeoisie provisionally only tried by reprisals and "legal" Agent against the revolutionary front to advance to strengthen our resistance and of the defensive move on the offensive.

The German bourgeoisie has two important allies, with whose help your policy performs. The fascist organizations reorganize and strengthen themselves and invade the various forms of a so-called operating fascism in the farms. Of the Helmet - no different from the other nationalist organizations such For the Kyffhäuserbund to speak, etc. - as the most important organization of Fascism penetrates today not only for the dissemination of Nazi ideology in Agitation meetings before, but he goes to the factories to the workers in the process clamp of capitalist rationalization in order for the policy of the bourgeoisie to heel in order to exploit the working sharper with fascist methods. The is the line of operation fascism.

If the leader of the Stahlhelm on the recently occurring Stahlhelm meeting in Hamburg in a provocative speech at the Stahlhelmtag who in the 7 and 8 May Berlin is to take place, pointing, so it is necessary that also the XI. Congress of the KPD recognizes that these threats with the steely will of the whole proletariat must be answered. If the helmet comes to Berlin, the red Berlin masses show the fascists that they know how to fight. We do not have to

only all proletarian layers, but also the lower middle classes, the Middle and small pensioners mobilize against Burger block and fascism.

We must especially here in Essen, in the stronghold of the center, as the Communists Christian workers still follow the capitalistic center leadership, saying: Raises you rid of the exploiters, the you for the sake of profit at the German Nationals have bartered! We need to teach Christian workers the conviction that them as proletarians not in the center party but in the revolutionary class front belong.

A mainstay for the domestic and foreign policy of the imperialist German bourgeoisie is undoubtedly the SPD. I have been at the beginning of my remarks on the mentioned problems of the threat of war that the German Social Democracy in its foreign policy, in position to the League of Nations, in its position relative to the threat of war, the colonial policy, for Chinese national-revolutionary movement, the Soviet Union and the international Union unit completely coincides with the bourgeoisie. Parallel with supports German Social Democracy and the fixing of capitalist power in Germany. The SPD is the party of capitalist stabilization, and the KPD is the party of proletarian revolution. That is why we must address all issues against the fiercest battle Social Democracy lead.

Given the reactionary course of the German bourgeoisie developed the Socialist leadership, as is the case in almost every country, continues to right. The very fact of the existence of biirgerblock denotes the bankruptcy of Coalition politics of social democracy. This is also the last versions are leading
Social characteristic that with the current policy of the bourgeoisie could support a biirgerblock government if they carry a different policy would. The speeches and Severing Hörsings show that the Socialists are prepared to to support the German Nationalists, when the for rescuing the capitalist regime should be necessary. Internationally proves the case D'Aragona in Italy that where the bourgeois reaction is stronger, and the treachery of the reformists getting bigger has become. there are similar trends also in Germany. The old Social Democratic Party of Saxony stands in the middle between social democracy and Fascism. The ASPS shows the contact points of Fascism with the social democracy. There is no fundamental difference between today's SPD leadership and the ASPS-people.

The Social Democratic Party as a whole can not go so far today as the ASPS, because they in their own ranks has tens of thousands of workers and their must reckon moods. That is precisely the fundamental contradiction in the policy of Social Democratic Party. On one hand, they must, to the policy of the bourgeoisie support, do not lose their influence on the masses, and the other part to the influence not too loose on the masses, it may not open under the flag of the bourgeois occur. The sharper the class contradictions in Germany, the deeper will even this basic contradiction in the social democratic politics show and Decision will depend on how far we succeed, the social democratic detach workers of the leadership of the Social Democracy. Another direction in the SPD represent the so-called left leaders. The direction finds its organizational expression especially in the Saxon Social Democrats. The "Left" leaders are in complete agreement with the party leadership in the baseline and his policies. You agree with the League policy, the theory of Economic democracy and the sabotage of the international trade union unity. But, Comrades, why then "left" SPD ?, many workers are asking. Because the whole Development, by the intensification of class antagonisms, the workers in the opposition be crowded. The "left" Social Democrats are trying a barrier establish, on which should not join the Communist Party, the Social Democratic workers, and therefore this policy is all the more dangerous because the workers this fraud not see clearly, because of the treachery hides behind the apparent opposition of the "left" Social Democrats. We must draw particular attention to the fact that the strength of the "left" the workers Social Democratic leader lies precisely in their quest to the radical moods really reproduce opposition Workers in words, while virtually all Actions of the party executive drove through. I think you can in connection therewith notice from this point that more severe than the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" hardly a another social democratic journal in Germany the struggle against the Soviet Union has received. Comrades In what line and the direction in which we need to fight the Total SPD lead? We have three main tasks:
1. Our struggle against the entire SPD.
2. Our position on the "left" leaders.
3. Our position toward the proletarian opposition that exists in the SPD.
As for the combat missions against the entire SPD, it is necessary here to show bourgeois character of the SPD in all matters, in particular its role as petty bourgeois "Arbeiter" party. We must engage in a relentless struggle for the exposure of the Social Democratic Leaders, for their expulsion from the labor movement. That is our main task. If I do not speak of a destruction of the SPD today, it is because the SPD only is then destroyed when the working class takes up the fight for political power and performs. We therefore elucidate the Social Democratic workers to the Social Democratic leaders to drive them out of the labor movement. But the party is still not sufficiently strong and not sound enough in theory. Still does not exist a proper understanding of the fact that we properly with a must try and applied elastic united front tactic, much more to do that we tireless, stronger and sharper occur when we us to want to meet implementation of tasks proletarian revolution asked seriously. Before the "Open Letter" was the party a certain method of stick policy. Today we see in tracing the line of the "Open Letter" a great change. But satisfies no way to the Social Democratic workers of the reformists break away. This involves more, this includes the belief in their own ranks, which Meaning, what real benefits the union work. Comrades, in this Areas is the great, the most momentous, the most sensitive weakness of our policy. Because by the activity in the unions, which carries over to the companies that Battles are conducted because the unions are still under the leadership of the reformists, we must make it to the starting points of our revolutionary work. We must avoid at all costs, to fall into the sound as implying the application of United front tactic equating the Social-Democratic workers with the Communist Party. Although the Social Democratic workers are our class brothers, but those who make mistakes, have the misconceptions that of the are blinded Social Democratic leaders. We need to convert them - but not with the stick, but by comradely Conviction to integrate them into the revolutionary class front. I stress this so sharp, because there are comrades from this place who believe that the revolution self developed. We are the factor of motor, the pace of revolutionary must accelerate development. This pace is not only accelerated by the Communists in our party, but we need to accelerate it through the shakeup those workers who unintentionally hinder the class struggle by the Backing of the Socialist policy strengthen the capitalist stabilization. Secondly, we need the sharpest struggle lead against the "left" Socialist Leaders because they cover by their apparent opposition to real betrayal. We are committed anywhere in the kingdom, proceed as in the election campaign in Saxony, where it us has succeeded in a very difficult situation great success against the "left" to SPD win. In Silesia, the Ruhr, in Baden, in Berlin we have to understand, among the Workers to show the betrayal of the "left" SPD leaders. In connection therewith it is necessary to gauge in any given situation, whether it is appropriate that to let Social Democratic workers in the SPD or the fastest in the bringing Communist Party. This depends on the situation of certain things,
Opportunities, which should be examined. But his principle must not only education in the to carry ranks of Social-Democratic workers, but after they are mentally in the have revolutionary front found them organizationally in the Chinese Communist Party convict.

Compared to the "left" SPD is our task precisely in not in the illusions of to tie Social Democratic workers, as for example on the Leipziger Brandler Congress expressed, but these illusions of a fierce battle, in the strongest liquidate demarcation from the SPD. This is the great task that we in us have to make connection with the united front tactic.

The third main question that in our struggle against the SPD has great significance, is our Position for proletarian opposition in the SPD. Although this opposition is not is strong, we have to promote all forms of development carefully. I mention especially:

1. The workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, consisting in the majority were made up of Social Democratic workers;
2. 137 workers of the SPD, who participated in the Congress of the working people;
3. the recent split in the Berlin working-class youth, which shows the strength of this opposition;
4. the places, though still weak opposition in Reichsbanner;
5. the united front movement, which is expressed in the form of various Unit committees in the union opposition in the Russia Committee.

This revolutionary Workers' Opposition is in large part already of our policy convinced. In the assessment of the Soviet Union, on the question of imperialism it is on our soil, they fight with us for the international trade union unity, against the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

We have to win these workers opposition, their advance by all appropriate Means support. Depending on the situation in the different areas, this object to be different. Here I can give only a basic idea for this:

1. The direct approach to kicking oppositional workers wherever they appear;
2. PRECLUDE in some places, industrial areas and, if possible, all districts;
3. Strengthen organizational connection with the opposition over the heads of "Left" and right SPD leaders of the trade unions away;
4. our newspapers have the judge found sound for the recovery of these SPD workers.

Not only in the workplace, in the factories and in the unions, but also in the Press must reign this right tone.

And finally the district lines and all workers must pay attention at the premises observe such trends, because they of great importance for the growth have communist movement.

In connection with this is our political work in the trade unions. The strongest Root for the viability of social democracy lies in the great influence it in the unions and has at the premises. We need to break this influence, because we must bring the workers in fighting and because we take these fights alone can. What was it like during the British miners' strike? Have we the masses mobilize alone? If the opposition claims within our party, that we do not all our attention had focused on this issue, so the comrades may in
Ruhr a thing or two about the efforts we have made to the Workers from the factories to bring out. But the influence of our comrades in the Factories and trade unions was still too low. Therefore, the main task is our Party work in the trade union movement.

The free trade unions are the Arena, on the bottom of the struggle between the SPD and KPD is decided. From the output of this tremendously serious struggle is the future the German revolution depend. Especially in the current period of relative Stabilization unions have an increased importance because they widest the elementary mass organization of the German proletariat are.

Comrades We have to make the unions into real fighting organizations, they internally converted, not from the standpoint of its organizational structure, but their political content. We have a class struggle against the offensive of the tool Capital make. The reformist leaders do everything to the unions to Auxiliary forces the entrepreneur to make to appendages of the capitalist state. At we see the most dramatic one example.

Why exclude you from the SPD-workers who were in the Soviet Union, why, in make the unions opposition? Because the reformists, the "contagion" of the masses fear by the ideas of this opposition comrades, because the mood for Opposition is higher in the ranks of the SPD-workers when we accept themselves. In conjunction with the trade union work we must show the masses how the leaders all apply to deceive the masses, as every serious struggle prevent improvement of the living conditions of the workers. stood in the journal ADGB following:

"To make the overall economy the overall welfare of mankind subservient can not fight Be the profit to the share of labor income, but the democratic participation in the state and on the economy."

So, making the question of wages, depending on the interests of the capitalist Economy. This is the theoretical rejection of any wage struggle.

The son Kautsky has recently published an article about the mechanism of capitalist Production in the collection "The Living Marxism" written. In it, he says following:

"The capitalist mechanism prevailed with elemental force, and all experiments only proved the inadequacy of barbaric Russian methods. Because so little the Obstruction of the mechanism for the elimination of the system performs, so sure it would lead to inhibition of economic development. At this the proletariat is doubly interested in the present, because only an emerging economy it improved living and fighting opportunities, in Future, because any further development of capitalism is a step towards socialism."

This is the theory of social democracy. In the current situation, where the Contradictions between the proletariat and imperialism exacerbated, in the epoch of decaying capitalism where the proletariat reflected capitalism, tried the Son Kautsky prove. That the proletariat a great advance in the way of makes growing into socialism, if it supports capitalism.

Similarly, in the issue of working time. Also in the issue of working time, we see that the union bureaucracy not afraid to write openly that they for
is Upper hours economy. In a number of "forward" a stand very remarkable
Article about the eight-hour day, which states, inter alia:

"The Socialist Group has during the two-day debate on the
Work left no doubt that they will use all its moral authority,
to get anywhere for more power, the more production, where it is in the interest of German
is economic need."

Comrades When is from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie not require a power increase?
It is always necessary. So, here is not the slightest difference between
Bourgeoisie and social democracy.
I want what the union question is concerned, declare that we indeed since the "open
Letter "have made serious progress in the labor union that the activity of our
Union groups has been increased, that we conquered a number positions, a
have achieved several successes that but then still a large number of
Errors can be observed. If, for example, in Southern Germany was possible that a
Communist works his consent to a wage reduction of 20 percent
gave, and similarly in Upper Silesia a communist council would allow that wages
were reduced, so has by this point again emphatically to
screaming inadequacy of our factories and trade unions are pointed.
Such errors discredit not only these comrades in operation but discredit them
the whole party in the eyes of the working class. The Social Democracy uses these error
and makes our comrades great difficulties.
For now taking place
Operating Rate Elections shows it is that we where our comrades in operating recklessly
have taken up the struggle against capitalism, where it against the SPD
have delineated, have the most brilliant successes. Where that has not happened, see
we that the operating rate of elections have a negative result. Comrades, one of our greatest
Weaknesses is that we have not understood the political successes of the
various campaigns, which has led the party organizationally exploit. have
the success of the referendum campaign, the Congress of the working people, etc. enough
organizational exploited? Not at all. This weakness must in the coming year
be absolutely eliminated.
The issue of wage and hour fighting a large role in the near future
play. We see that the 1927 great ways manages to really
Workers bring in in crucial economic struggles. Today already have a
Million workers tariffs canceled. Callable they are until the end of March for 900000
Workers until the end of April for another 550,000 workers. All in all, in the first
Half 1927 about three to four million workers drawn into wage movements.
What does that mean? If the party is a stronger force in the unions can
we propose huge breaches in the process of relative stabilization.
A few words about the work among the middle classes.
In this work we have points of contact in various fields, such
Example in the question of the control pressure, on the issue of rent increases, etc. Likewise,
we managed under the Bauer layers to gain influence, their economic situation
is extremely difficult by the agricultural and industrial tariffs.
I suppose that is still spoken in the debate particularly on farm work.
The intra-party conflicts in the operation of cells must stop, and we
must approach the solution of the issues of the day.
I now come to the end of the unit, the general line of our policy. If the Versatility and complexity of our tasks considered, of which I only key could show, I believe, each delegate is the size of our work, the we have to make in the coming period, recognize. The focus of our whole Activities available in the future, the daily struggles of the German workers' movement. The General line of the party is given to us through the "Open Letter", and the last Kominternbeschlüsse have shown is the manner in which to carry out this line. they consists mainly in the correct application of the united front tactic for obtaining the Majority of the German working class to organize the defense struggle, to Organizing the proletarian revolution. In Germany, we have really great proletarian mass struggles before. The working class revolutionizes itself. The influence of the Social Democratic leadership is pushed back gradually. The transition wider Working class to communism takes place in different forms. It is the fulfillment of our tasks through vigorous implementation of accelerate united front tactics and the formation of the left wing with all promoting agents. We can of course only do this if we have our political line of keep all opportunist deviations dates. That's why we lead that great and heavy fighting all unbolschewistischen tendencies and groupings in our Party. The victory of the "ultra-left" had been historically momentous. had the victorious "ultra-leftists" in this struggle, would be the biggest Communist Party Western Europe today an instrument of the enemies of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to state here that we should not forget that opportunistic threats and right deviations objectively from all over the location for the Communist Party will arise. We will never, after we fight have finished against the "ultra left" deviations, any concessions to the right or right tendencies make over. In the straight course of the Bolshevik development are the experiences that the German party behind him. We have learned from the year 1923rd The clashes that later in the party took place, they have brought to a higher level and the importance of applying the united front tactic hammered in their ranks. The applied in the fall of 1923 "United front" showed itself as a coalition policy with the Social Democrats. As Brandler was then in Chemnitz, as it was a question whether the Saxon Workers in the general strike occurs or not, he made the fight from the participation social democracy depends. That was his general attitude to the wrong Basic seats of the class struggle, the role of the Communist Party, the Leninist State theory. Ruth Fischer and Maslow committed other political mistake. They beat a course one who concealed his passivity translucent radical slogans. We explain, the united front tactic is not the task of our communist standpoint, does not mean the liquidation of the Communist Party in favor of social democracy, but on the contrary a method for obtaining the compositions for the tasks of Revolution and the highest development of their activity. Our XI. Congress must be marked by two general tasks: 1. the internal consolidation of the party; 2. the struggle for leadership of the German working class by the Communist Party. This struggle must be developed between us and the Social Democrats. He enters
active stage, and at this stage we have to face new challenges. We must creating new cadres, to train new cadres, our party with fresh, lively Blood fill to enhance the vanguard of the German proletariat.

Especially in the current serious situation, we must pull together all the forces. Each Communist must have the greatest sense of responsibility. We need ruthless self-criticism in order therefrom to the consequences for the proper application of our policy pull. The party as a whole must learn to think and feel with the working masses and with really act and for them. It is now a matter of our own ranks solid together and to secure the full cohesion of the Party, to our to fulfill work.

In Strictly Teste collective work is necessary, both in the central leadership of the party as in its individual lines. The accuracy of the line of our policy must all Comrade defecate. Not only the Communists must be convinced of the right political line, but we have the task of the German proletariat of the correctness to convince our policy, thereby the foundations of the victory of the proletarian to create revolution. From us it depends primarily on the pace of revolutionary to accelerate development by understanding it, the working masses in the usher upcoming fights.

That's why I say in conclusion: If we want to be the vanguard of the proletariat, if We want to fulfill our historic role as the only revolutionary party German proletariat, then we must also show between two waves of the revolution, that we are able, the revolutionary courage and faith in their own strength in the Proletariat to bring in. In our own ranks more confidence! In our own ranks more determination! In our own ranks more energy! In our own ranks more activity! And after the party circuit with the intraparty Discussion! Forward to the new tasks to new work in the interest of the victory of German proletarian revolution!
For a unified revolutionary class front
in Germany

March 4, 1927

Comrades! With great seriousness and yet with inner joy, the XI. Congress welcomed that Social Democratic and nonparty workers teamed have to to such a document in our Party, the Social Democrats and to judge ADGB. In it is expressed, which moves the working class of Germany and what she expects from the large organizations. The appeal is an appeal to the entire working class of Germany. We know in advance that the SPD and ADGB this reputation answer to his collection with sneers and pass over in silence about him are, because they are enemies of proletarian unity and class struggle. But we want from this place not only to the signatories of the letter, but the Social Democratic, Christian and non-party workers give an honest answer, because we bring unity in the fight against the common enemy, the bourgeoisie, want and be prepared.

Before I respond to the individual points of the letter, let me once again to bring expression to what was our deep experience in this Essen convention. We have seen that large from all over Germany workforces at our Congress Telegrams sent to her inner closeness and solidarity with the Communist express party. We saw yesterday that various delegations, where Social Democratic workers participated, from the Ruhr, from this stronghold of Trust capital, this stronghold of capitalist rationalization, our Congress visited. They expressed their realization that only the Communist Party's confidence the crowd has. Here spoke a socialist council, of over 30 years was organized in the old miners' association as one of the co-signatories of a call in favor of the solidarity campaign for the British miners of Husemannstreet from Association was excluded as his communist and his non-party comrades the works council. On the Zeche Diergardt the united front of the proletariat is already Reality and model for all workforces and works become.

And now the fact that Social Democratic workers from the different factories, Unions and unemployment offices of the Ruhr a document signed on us! It is extremely important and shows the seriousness of this Workers' Opposition with the policies of the Main Board of Social Democracy and the reformist trade union policy is dissatisfied, while the right conclusions
pulling by turns to the Communist Party and expresses that she is connected to the Communist comrades feel. I think, on behalf of the XI. to say Congress that we such a class-conscious rebellion social democratic and other workers welcome.

It is extremely significant that this policy document all the important Days questions have been rolled up, in the in the first item on the agenda Center, the debate stood. This shows that the Chinese Communist Party the feeling and are thinking of the masses and at the same expression in their decisions the Struggle slogan of the German working class has formulated. The document itself is

Position taken instantaneous serious situation to the biirgerblock government to the methods of struggle of the proletariat against capitalist rationalization to the various laws, with which the working class is to be tied up.

Let me to each raised in the document issues an honest answer give.

We need the Social Democratic workers first with all fraternal openness say that we warn against the illusion that by legal measures the government could be achieved something for the workers. We respond clearly and unambiguously:

1. The work Zeitnot law is a false maneuver of ADGB leader, with this one intending to cause temporary solution that does not conflict with the schedule of the bourgeoisie and the practice tithing and Zwölfstundentag in the various industry groups maintains. The eight-hour day, only in the revolutionary class struggle in development of all Energies of the proletariat to be fought.

2. We are the opposite working class obliged to keep this fight with all the strength, because 2½ million unemployed in Germany are on the road, their representatives from the also Ruhrgebiet picked here document signed. The bourgeoisie wants the division of the working maintained in two large groups, wants common struggles prevent these two, because this would mean the end of their power. Therefore they shall right now before shared with the Social Democratic leaders various laws, with which virtually the working class should be tied more than ever. Of the anti-worker character of "Unemployment Insurance Act" and of "OSH Act" under the guise of "rules of labor law" is in the Document already clearly marked. It is progress that Socialist Workers with their criticism go public and that, in a letter of the KPD demand a clear commitment from the ADGB and of the SPD. Our answer is: Fight this legal restraint of the working class across the board. away with these laws. The Social Democratic workers must against the coalition and fight Arbeitsgemeinschaft policies of its leadership.

3. In conjunction with this, the fight is against the overtime and the economy Mediation compulsory. This fight has in common front of standing in farms Workers are performed with the unemployed. The preparation of this unit must be carried out, and we call on this point from the working class, to form unit committees everywhere, order under the leadership of the party, the unemployment inconsistencies with the farms workers in to bring a serious fighting community.

4. The main problem is that we come into communion with the masses to
need to empower the workers in the factories, successful wage and labor disputes to lead, to centralize these struggles and underpin the ongoing struggle against the capitalist rationalization and imperialism the force necessary to give the proletariat against further impoverishment and his political power to strengthen.

In the fight against the domination of the trusts and monopolies, we must free Personalise unions in revolutionary industrial organizations and joint bring martial alliances of individual industry groups.

This is the first part of the question, to which we give a clear answer. Needless to all this to say that we the idea of economic democracy and Arbeitsgemeinschaft basically negative. On the issue of the civil Mietwucherpläne block and the Prussian government we have already demonstrated through our policies that we only the are who honestly represent the interests of the proletarian masses tenants, - while the Social Democracy with the Ministers of homeowners pact.

What the statements in the letter about the Social Democratic and nonparty Workers with respect to the criminal policy of the union leaders within the Organizations concerned, we sign completely. We welcome the fact that in all parts Germany's communist union opposition new influx from the districts class-conscious Social-Democratic and non-party worker receives. Only brave forward in this direction, then we are also in the mass organizations of the proletariat to breaking influence of capital. We want to work together against the exclusion of opposition

Workers from the unions fight. We have the benefit of our class duty together the free trade unions against the reformist destroyers to defend.

Comrades! Our Congress convenes in serious situation, and it is of the utmost its historical importance for the Communist Party. The new German imperialism participates in the war preparations of England against the Soviet Union, in which the letter the Social Democratic workers was described very correctly as "the only country", "the it has been understood, to secure the rights of the working class full recognition ".

We are pleased that the Social Democratic workers to in this question as in Freedom struggle of the Chinese people have come to the realization that the German Working class against imperialist war threats closed and uniform must fight that the international trade union unity is an urgent need.

Once again we have in our deliberations on the Essen convention of the thought guided that only the working class in Germany for long fights to overthrow the Bourgeoisie can perform when an engine, a driving force is present, that is, a party that is aware of its duty to the working class conscious. This party is only the Communist Party. We firmly believe that the social democratic and the Christian workers, which we in this connection also not forget this ever will appreciate more. That broad masses have already recognized, not only proves this document, but also the numerous visiting social democratic, Christian and non-Party cadres in the stands of our Congress. They say a true picture make of our party, they want themselves to declare the truth and in the farms Associations also contribute. You will have made sure, with what great seriousness the Communist delegates at the creation of a mass struggle front against the have worked bourgeoisie and against their lackeys.
Already have great masses of social democratic workers with the Communist Party connected. Such a development could and can not be stopped in the future. Despite the shameless propaganda of the Social Democratic leaders. Many just do not yet dare so come out openly as the Social Democratic workers, who has just spoken to us. You hesitate before that, but we believe that the common need these Scheu is overcome, that the ruling class an even broader soon before the fact will stand united front of the proletariat.

Socialist speaker was the spokesman of an opposition movement within the SPD throughout the Ruhr area, which we call a proletarian opposition and welcome. We make a big difference between the right, the so-called left Social Democratic leaders, the reformist trade union leaders and the Social Democratic workers who so openly talk to us as the signatories of Letter with which we feel connected, even if they are not yet the political and understand fundamental difference between the two parties. But you can see it on they occur, the common feeling with us, trust us as the only party Germany, which has never betrayed the working class and will never betray. This is a growing realization. Here we will soon arrive at a second stage, in of the workers classified with the revolutionary front, the Communist Party.

The prerequisites for this it is necessary to provide: A really serious and revolutionary United Front alliance of the working people in town and country and revolutionary mass action under the leadership of the Communist Party.

We must of this congress of the Social Democratic and not Communist workers say that the German working class as well as the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union gained its freedom only by the sharpest class struggle can. Certainly will not happen overnight, the development and organization of Fights be possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Certainly part struggles are possible, but in them is the strength of the proletariat grow and become such a powerful factor that the question of the conquest of power can be provided. But just then the German get there workers checkout there when they and the solutions that the Communist Party the Communist International have written on its banner, making their own, when under the leadership of the Communist way of revolutionary class struggle Party is treading in the direction of the struggle for workers 'and peasants' government.

In this sense, I would like to say in conclusion: If the SPD comrade asks us how the Disruption of the proletariat can be eliminated, then we tell him - and not so otherwise, as I have shown it in the reply to the letter. Our class brothers who are present and who have signed the document, to be the representatives for their Workforces and organizations appealed to us that in the great mass of unemployed fulfill their class duty, and all proletarians of Germany expressed the XI. party convention the KPD that the KPL) will do their duty after we us in our deliberations have given tasks that serve the major objectives, the revolutionary and uniform create class front in Germany.
Comrades The party can fulfill their duties only if they always thinks of that
Majority of the population of women and youth, male and female
Sex is. The issue of youth and the women's movement has already in this
Congress repeatedly attention. We need these two factors particularly there
note where the party work performs weakest. On the one hand there is the
Women's movement, on the other hand, the youth movement. Therefore it is necessary that
Relationship of the party to the youth organization and conversely the KJVD to party
rectify, to the importance of the tasks of the youth of the whole proletariat in
to move to the fore. It is our duty these tasks not only in the national, but to also provide an international scale. These are: first, the importance of Youth in the total workforce, secondly their role in the proletarian class struggle, thirdly, the importance of youth in the epoch of imperialism in connection with the imperialist war danger, fourthly, the tasks of the youth against the establishment and in the stages of the proletarian dictatorship.

In Germany, the situation is much more difficult than in other major capitalist countries, for example in England, where, as already by the English Communist representatives was expressed, in recent years the number of young members has risen to 2000th. The youth has there been a special Importance. She has in the expedition of British troops 56 distributing leaflets and achieved significant success. The Socialist Youth is not already so strong, because the Labour Party just two years ago to over went, a youth organization. In France, the Communist Youth is the only major organization among the young workers that makes serious work. Just think of the fact that during the occupation of the Ruhr, the French youth comrades with the German Youth worked together to subversive activities among the French troops afford. The result was that at even at various totems of the occupied territory soldiers Demonstrations in the song of the agreed "International" with. These examples show already the importance of youth and on an international scale, especially among Considering the danger of war, as has been shown here already enough. As third example, we have the development of youth during the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. The youth organization in the Soviet Union has more than two million Young workers in their ranks. This youth has therefore so important because they especially the rural youth in the various clubs and at the Meetings influenced where they realize the relationships of socialist construction are shown and where the youth as future generation within the meaning of the revolution and is not reared in the sense of a bourgeois ideology, as in Germany and the other capitalist countries is the case.

Comrades we see What tasks in Germany in more difficult conditions? We In Germany, the Socialist Workers' Youth, we have the youth sections in the Unions, we have the religious youth, the middle-class youth, and finally we have in the militaristic sense in the "military organizations" educated youth. The Catholic youth organizations have an estimated membership of 700,000 to 900,000th. Welch poisoning of young workers as apprentices in large companies work, moreover, since capitalism now in acute extent to which merges

56These are the forces that support the English intervention in March 1927 by China were sent.
among the young workers? We not only have no effect on the rural Proletarians, but we forget easily work on the land. How much Young workers are in the country, who are educated in the ideology of fascism? The War efforts of German imperialism, of the Social Democracy and the Fascists are supported, should lead us all the young workers in revolutionary meaning to educate. It is also a fact of great importance that the social democracy and the Union bureaucracy in any economic struggle with the demands of Teenagers employed. It is usually only to the demands of older colleagues fought. It never brings the struggle of adult workers with youth in Connection. It separates the youth, and the worst is that our own Forgot comrades in the party, even demands for the youth in the factories to put. For example, on March 1 have 150 young workers of the shipyard AG Weser the resigned from work. They demanded 10 Pfennig wage increase per hour. Now imagine, as it must act on the young workers if the older workers work while the youth in the strike goes. What a relationship is that? That is the task of the Party, to support the youth in a way that they are having in the economic struggles draws.

Another issue that is important. The youth, since it partly in a Teacher ratio is, are very easily led to scab labor. Legally, the not once. But if the workers are not strong enough in the operation, is very often the youth to be encouraged to provide relief work that we as strikebreakers working must be designated. The youth does not have the big economic struggles of recent years participated. That is why we need the youth in this sphere the greatest pay attention to and support them, because their experience from these Fought is missing. To a second question: How does the party set itself to the youth against the to support the offensive bürgerschluss that indeed directed against the entire working class is? The trashy and dirty law, the laws that are in preparation, for example, about the association and assembly, the Concordat, the Empire Education Act, all these Laws represent an attack on the basic rights of youth. In the Defense of these rights, we must support the youth active, not only by Applications in the parliaments, but by also outside parliament, in the factories and trade unions, a serious struggle against the Rechtlosmachung youth to lead.

The party is in the ratio of 8: 1 to Communist Youth League. That is a impossible relationship. The few comrades in the youth, the major tasks not fulfill. The party is not only committed to supporting the youth and always bring in new fighters in the Communist youth, but we must bring our own children in the Young Spartacus League, a new generation for the Communist Youth League to educate. The decisions of the enlarged executive put all of us in this commitment. The plenum of the extended executive has in the Theses on Bolshevism following explains:

"One of the tasks of Bolshevism is completely working class youth around the world to conquer, that generation of workers who under the conditions of imperialist world war
The most gentrified top of incurred in the period of peace Labor aristocracy based, so the communist parties around the world have, among other things Task that rest loosely organizing the entire proletarian youth of the new era under to strive for our banner."

[Advanced March executive / April 1925 theses and resolutions", page 27. The Red.]

I think that is clear and unambiguous. Comrades Now some on the issues of communist labor in the Socialist Working class youth, in the youth sections of trade unions and other Youth organizations. If the SAJ to the numbers that are known to us, in the last years declined from 90000 to 56000, so I ask the question, where the 34000 members have remained. An intermediate organization has not developed. So, run the 34000 as independents around. The Communist Youth League and the party did not understood the trap 34000, although they agreed on certain issues with us. We can conclude that the same conditions shown in the Catholic Youth have. Beginning of 1926 was a conference in Essen on which serious Radicalization phenomena showed. I remember the campaign against Prince severance. The Catholic leaders came into serious differences with the Center guide. The front of the opposition was against the leadership of the center, and this has been exploited by the party and the youth not. The opposition in the SAJ but already shows a very different character. Because the Opposition had issued a letter, were different departments in Berlin Total opposition. We see the effects of this rebellion within the SAJ, for example in the district Brandenburg in Werder, also in Leipzig, where the opposition has a majority. Therefore, it is necessary that the party in this field must try everything to this opposition also organizational strengthening, as, for example, already by the delegations which the on Congress appeared, was under way. Therefore, the opposition of the SAJ before the war had meaning because they a had combative character of a revolutionary character during the war accepted. No one can deny that the Youth during the war when Liebknecht led, one of the most revolutionary factor was that the youth in the various fields Germany occurred against the war loan approval and the general line of the SPD. It is no coincidence that the youth now reappears combative, because the capitalist Rationalization affects especially on the youth. We need the youth as consider combative element that we need, and are committed to its largest the to pay attention. In this I will just point out that there is still next to the party the Red Youth Front is that in addition to the party, a class organization of young workers and is eligible to win the young workers for the party. Thus, the party must not only cooperate with the Communist Youth, but in their own initiative Communist Youth League, the conditions for the training of the vanguard of create proletariat. Young people have a different mentality than the adults Workers. One must understand the youth treat to take it, and for the educate revolutionary tasks. The left in the SPD were the ones that the Youth gave the most attention. Karl Liebknecht came frequently with youth together and fought together with her. Particularly in the field of anti-militarist propaganda, the youth Exquisite done. Today the youth is not only working in this field, but also in the Economic struggles a significant factor. Therefore, should the XI. Party Party committed to strengthening the ranks of the Communist Youth League. We need to ask the question whether we have the struggle for political power without the women and the youth can carry out victorious. This question has to the XI. Party with a No.
reply. We can fight the only common revolutionary, tireless
Rings together with the youth and the women to the victorious liberation of
Working class perform.

"Report on the negotiations
the XI. Congress of the Communist Party of Germany
(Section of the Communist International)
Food Geneva, 2 to March 7, 1927"
The Chinese Revolution and the tasks

the workers

I

The open intervention war has begun

 Barely ten years after the Russian revolution the world proletariat is again witness a revolution in world history. The eyes of all mankind are focused on China, where the oldest and largest cultural nation in the world the imperialist Shackles blasts, in which it was beaten for a century. The example of the Russian Revolution undid the forces in China, which now in stormy winning run from the south under the leadership of the revolutionary People's Party, the Kuomintang, the liberation of China from Imperialism will accomplish. The Chinese revolution, from Canton, has the beaten by one the imperialist lackeys, quite. South and Central China with the conquered Yangtze Valley, has in Shanghai, the Chinese Petrograd, planted their flag, after the Shanghai workers in a heroic uprising under constant Threat of the imperialist occupation of foreigners and the district imperialist warships captured the Chinese city and the occupying army of counterrevolutionary Northern generals had sold. Two-thirds of the country, about 250 Millions of inhabitants of China, are now in the camp of national revolution. It is only a matter of time, and also the north of China, of the still under the dictatorship infamous blood General Chang-lin Dso stands, will be conquered by the Revolution. The Unification of China under the national revolutionary flag marches. This enormous danger the imperialists have recognized. They know that the unification of China signifies the beginning of the end of Imperia List domination of the colonial peoples. they know that the victory of the Chinese revolution, the end of the relative stabilization in the will mean capitalist countries. You know that he European Revolution must accelerate exceedingly. They know that the heroic workers' uprising of Shanghai, a signal for the inexorable links development of the Chinese Revolution itself. They know that the young Chinese proletariat, which after a few years the Wars has taken a more rapid political development as the great mass of European workers in 50 years, more and more successful his claim to hegemony logs in the leadership of the Chinese Revolution. You know that the last year Chinese Revolution was enough in the Kuomintang the right-wing bourgeois beating wings in the guide, and the guide now in the hands of Communists and the Left is working together for the next target of China Revolution: the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of all oppressed people and classes relief from the imperialists fight. In particular, the last few weeks confirm unequivocally this development. The left one Leader of the Kuomintang, Wang Djingwee, returned to a one-year exile in the lead back. Chiang Kai-shek was limited to the military command. But even this military leadership is under the control of a Supreme War Council, whose majority
Communists and Kuomintang are. In the Südregierung Communists entered and took over the main police stations. In Shanghai, the local government are the Shanghai Soviets and the Red Guard Shanghai officially joined the troops of Canton army incorporated.

This is what the imperialists, especially the British imperialists, grasped faster than their slaves, the proletarians in the imperialist countries. Only the working class of Soviet Union and the communist vanguard of the working class in the world recognize correctly and in time the significance of the events in China. Therefore imperialism brings under English guide to a decisive blow from which the Chinese and Russian to beat Revolution individually, even before the workers of the world wake up. The open Intervention war has started. followed on the planting of the red flag in Shanghai the nefarious punitive expeditions from Nanking and in the bias Bai. As with all previous Punitve expeditions should be the prelude of the last conditions a common imperialist main shock created. But this time success is not been complete. The imperialists see partly the situation properly. You see today the threat of the survey of all the people, that they, if it is agreed effortlessly into can throw the sea. America, and especially Japan are reluctant to follow the English, who not only its Chinese position, but their Indian Empire see immediate danger. Try with a desperate effort a compromise line with the awakening find China: a united front of Chiang Kai-shek to Dschang Dso-lin floats them before that could save the Imperia List domination again. The most dangerous obstacle to achieving this goal seems to them the state of Soviet workers and peasants, its moral and material support for the Chinese to be revolution. Therefore followed the provocation of Nanking provocations by Beijing, of Tientsin and Shanghai against the representatives of the Soviet people. These recent provocations to the Soviet Union immediately drawn into the fight. they to create those complications which the hesitant Japan especially in Manchuria immediately brings into the open intervention front. But the new devilry, the new front of a World War II does not hesitate to save imperialism, is confounded again become. Even Chiang Kai-shek, the rightmost leader in the ranks of the Kuomintang, raises passionate protest against the imperialist villainy. And the Soviet Union shows that it is not only the refuge of the liberation struggle of all the oppressed of World is, it proves again that it of the only peace power among the powers Today is. In a forming of unprecedented sense of responsibility note she rises Charges against the intended imperialist crimes; but she is content to recall their Beijing embassy in protest - without humiliation for the Chinese People that sighs in the north under the dictatorship of bandits Dschang Dso-lin -, to the absolutely necessary to limit reparation demands and the workers of the world to render assistance to the Chinese liberation movement and against the imperialist call crimes.

Now the world proletariat has the word

The imperialists will continue their provocations. German warships attack on Yangtze already open in the fighting. German and other imperialist
Troops shipments increase permanently the imperialist occupation forces in the Capitals of China. A shameless lying propaganda tries, public opinion the world to poison. In these critical days, only the proletariat can in all countries a new monstrous war action that can not be limited to China, prevent, can only protect the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union.

II

Our tasks

The German imperialists are in the war front of the imperialists. Although they had after its World War II defeat most of their Chinese robbery give up, but not willingly conceded German imperialism its positions. And the reawakening new German imperialism is waiting eagerly for the day when he again can occupy. Even mix in the hypocritical phrases of the German Bourgeois, who for a time not without gloating over the defeat of his English rivals aufspiele as "friend" of China's freedom, after the last Events which Hetztöne that his great concern about the "danger of Bolshevism" in China apply. Column Long scams messages accepts the eat German without comment from the Central lies Reuters, of the cable from China to the world monopolized. And the German bourgeoisie, which since Locarno increasingly into the fairway of the English intervention block device, it has in Geneva especially since recent intrigue proved that she sees near the moment when the decisive blow against the Russian revolution to take place with their support and for their benefit. On May 8, the German fascism in Berlin will demonstrate and as at its peak one of its leaders that Imperialist Ehrhardt, who as a young Marine officer Hohenzollern against the Boxer Rebellion took part and in the Crackdown Munich soviet republic boasted that the Munich Spartakists were slaughtered as the Chinese coolies in the Boxer Rebellion. As an alarm signal it must shake up the German workers, if the helmet explained: The black red Germany, it should no longer tolerate that a "wretched Chinese coolies" as recently on our great China rally in Berlin, the German working together with the may call German Communists against the "racial struggle"!

Just days ago, the government of British lackeys Stresemann had to admit that Germany so far the Chinese counterrevolution supplied weapons, and the Shanghai German colony signed the shameful vote of thanks to the combined Imperialists to the English murderer of Nanking. The Beijing German minister has raised against the Schandstreich Dschang Dso-lins no protest, and the German Reichstag pointed scornfully communist Request for immediate recognition of Canton government back. Whither the German imperialists, showing the vicious attack of the Konigsberg fascists to the Soviet consul. Surely it is high time that the German workers their "Hands off China!" unambiguously express. The more so as the German Social Democracy, the Party of blind anti-Soviet agitation, friendly in the mask benevolence for
Chinese liberation is doing everything to the German and especially the English Imperialists to gain a free hand for their Schandwerk and confuse the workers. In this world historical moment it is for us, it is for the workers of all countries, with tenfold energy the Imperialists and their Zutreibern put a stop. It must be no operation, no workshop in which not the workers solidarity with the bring Chinese Revolution expressed. No job, not on the open and capped Imperialists, the mask is torn from his face. No big city, no Workers center of Germany, in the united front of the working people not in a huge demonstration brings their will, the Chinese Freedom of movement to assist the Soviet Union and a new Imperialist Weltgemetzel prevent. No weapon, no piece of material for the Chinese White Guards and the Imperialists may leave the German ports. And when the should covet British Imperialists, the relief campaign for its Imperialist Robbery plans in China, Having regard to the Section 16 of the League of Nations Staff Regulations, by Germany to the Ostfront throwing troops if it should covet the German bourgeoisie, actively participate in the participate armed intervention against the Soviet Union and China, then the German working class as a man rise to fight for the overthrow of the Imperialist war!

Down with the Imperialist Kriegsprovokateuren! Protest against the attack on the Soviet authorities in China! Protects against the workers 'and peasants' state, the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution the attacks of British Imperialism and his helper! Prevented by trade union action arms transport for Chinese White Guards! Forces the appreciation of the cantonal government! Supports the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

"The Red flag"
April 13 1927th
For Reich Youth Communist
Youth Association of Germany

The proletarian young workers upgraded for this year's Empire Youth in the Workers Hamburg. The preparation for Easter parade of Revolutionary Youth takes place in a situation that primarily through the threat of imperialist war danger is marked. In China already thundering imperialist guns and throwing their Firebrands among the Chinese Workers' and peasants' huts, thousands of Lives devastating. The war against China is only a prelude. The English Imperialism is not limited to the bloody repression of its "Sphere of influence" ruined peoples in the East, but it also supports the same American imperialism in the struggle against the South American countries, and increasingly preparations for military intervention against the Soviet Union. Italian Fascism supported with open cynicism the anti-Soviet campaign England while helping in the defeat of the national-revolutionary People's Movement in China in the expectation in its own imperialist plans on the Balkans to be supported by England. The German bourgeoisie is always open in a font with the English Imperialism in the struggle against the national-revolutionary movement in China and against the Soviet Union. It provides those at English pay of Chinese generals weapons
and ammunition. It is ready to Germany as a staging area for the military release intervention against the Soviet Union. These facts characterizing the situation.
The imperialist world is so filled with explosive that the smallest spark is enough, to re-erupt the world conflagration.
In a national scale of the working class and in particular the young proletariat threaten no less serious dangers. The German bourgeoisie upgraded across the board for intensified offensive against the working class. Capitalist rationalization in increased measure performed. By streamlining policy of the German Bourgeoisie grows the role of young workers within the Production process. The Fordization 57 and Taylorization 58 of establishments allows Entrepreneurs more than ever, the cheap labor of the young, especially the unskilled workers, exploit them as Lohndrücker against the entire working class use. The reaction rises increasingly bolder their heads. The attack of Biirgerblock government against the working time conditions, the advances of the cultural reaction, the provocative appearance of fascist organizations, the accumulating worker murders the fascist police officers are alarm signals.
In the struggle against the imperialist threat of war in the struggle against the intensified Capitalist offensive and cultural reaction, grows young workers a big job.
With justifiable pride the proletarian youth has in the last year Reich Youth Day of Easter Conference in 1916 thought that the political settlement of the opposition proletarian youth with the war policy of the Emperor Socialists brought. The Spirit Karl Liebknecht, the Easter conference dominated 1916 must, even this year dominate Reich Youth Day in Hamburg. Just as the Easter 1916, the proletarian Youth to gather around the banner of revolutionary socialism, the fight against genocidal world war calling, must of Hamburg the reputation of the entire proletarian youth of Germany fare:
Young workers, young workers, includes the iron battle front against the imperialist Threat of war, against reaction and fascism!
The proletarian youth has led the Communist Youth League not only

57 Fordization - the use of brutal exploitation and Antreibersystems; named after the American monopoly capitalists and billionaire Henry Ford (1865-1947). Ford built on the Taylor system, largely mechanized the operations, led the assembly line techniques and forced the workers - who feared dismissal - a heightened to the extreme pace of work on. These Exploitation they wore down physically and mentally such that the majority of workers after a few Years as consumed and was discharged unfit. Ford prevented the workers, the percentage unskilled and young people were 95, the trade union Merger and therefore the struggle for better working conditions, he played them off against each other and let them also be monitored by a fascist police and spies Guard.
58 Taylorism - the use of a sophisticated system of exploitation, the North American of the Capitalists FW Taylor (1856-1915) was developed. Taylor analyzed the individual operations and designed for all work exaggerated hours determined that after the performance of the strongest and cleverest Workers were calculated at the moment of highest tension forces. By constantly rising Labor intensity consumed the physical and mental powers of the worker and the early Impoverishment of the working class speeds. Taylorism combines a sophisticated wage and Bonus system with a brutal control and Antreibersystem, tried the participation of workers off and paralyze their sense of solidarity.
their will emphasized in resolutions on the fight. She has repeatedly by the fact
proved that she her husband is in the atmosphere of war and bloodlust, she has
in their agitation and propaganda no sacrifice spared against militarism. The English
class-conscious youth has only in recent days again an example of successful
antimilitarist work given to China in removal of British troops. Where
ever since 1916 in Germany and other capitalist countries the banner of
Revolution was raised, the young proletarians have boldly and resolutely in the
standing front ranks and not wavered in densely bullets. The number of
Sacrifice that has brought in these struggles, the proletarian youth is huge.
Today in turn is the proletarian youth in the organization of the struggle against
the war at the top. The work of the Communist Youth League under the
Young proletariat has meant that a large part of the proletarian youth already recognized
has that the struggle against imperialist war must not only begin when the
War has broken out, but that the young proletariat, together with the revolutionary
lead workers already and always without ceasing and without interrupting the fight
must, starting from the consideration that the Imperialist war inseparable with the
Imperialism related.
From this knowledge must the struggle of the proletarian youth against the policy of
German bourgeoisie, the struggle against the capitalist offensive, for
Reconquest of the eight-hour day and the conquest of the six-hour day for the
young workers, the struggle against the reactionary bourgeois bloc and its
anti-labor laws against the proletarian youth, the fight against
be supported fascist terrorist organizations.
This battle can only be performed with assured success if the
Communist Party and the Young Communist League succeed in the widest
classified masses of the workers and the young proletariat in the battle front. The
Mass work of the Communist Youth League has been successful in
Socialist Workers' Youth taken root. Part of the Social Democratic
Youth workers have solidarity with the struggle slogans of the Communist Youth
and are ready to shoulder with the communist young workers and to -arbeiterinnen
fight. These layers of the young proletariat organizationally firmly in the revolutionary
classified Youth Front, the mass work among the working youth more intensively than before
to operate, the main task of the Communist Youth League in the must
his preparation of this year's Reichsjugendtages. In this sense arises the
Youth comrades in the Red Youth Front, a particular object.

In the streets of Hamburg, the city of barricades of 1923, Easter 1927 must
Tens of thousands of class-conscious revolutionary young workers under the banner of
Communist Youth League march. Tens of thousands of young workers met,
the spirit of Karl Liebknecht, supported by the iron will of a victorious struggle for
proletarian revolution!

"The Red flag"
April 14 1927th
May 1 - day of struggle of the working class

Since the decision of the International Congress in Paris, 1889, the May 1st a day of fighting
become the working class, a day of Reaffirming the commitment and the will
the working class of the victorious proletarian revolution. All reformist attempts
1 May to take this revolutionary character, are at the resistance of
Workers failed.
More than ever before 1 May 1927 must demonstrate the revolutionary character of May Day.
More than in recent years is May 1, 1927 under the sign of the sharpest
capitalist offensive. It is characterized by an intensification of the international
Situation which has already led to the direct, acute danger of war.
At the center of international events is the gigantic struggle of the toiling
China's population against imperialism and against the imperialist
Hangmen in China itself. The massive rise of the southern army, the
causing major imperialist powers to step up its military forces. through open
Provocations, like the massacre in Nanking, and with their consent
made cast Soviet embassies and consulates have the
direct attack on the Chinese Revolution initiated.
At the same time, they have succeeded, the former commander of the Southern army, Chiang Kai
shek to move to the open betrayal of the cause of the working people of China. Of the
right wing of the Kuomintang, in the the Chinese bourgeoisie themselves
has joined forces tried with the foreign imperialists and with Dschang
Dso-lin to make a pact. lead Chiang Kai-shek and the associated number of generals
Pogroms against the Chinese Communists and union members by and are
so the revolutionary movement stabbed in the back.
But the workers and peasants of China have not the first time the transition of
megalomaniac General witnessed the camp of counterrevolution. The answer
the cantonal government is the sharpest contraction of all revolutionary forces
Concentration of the revolution faithful core troops of the southern army and receiving the
Struggle against the latest hireling of foreign imperialism.
In this severe struggle, the Chinese revolution has only two serious friends: the
Soviet Union, the state of workers and peasants, who in one hand the ladle of
economic construction of socialism, in the other hand the sword of defense
keeps the revolution against all imperialist attacks. The encirclement of
imperialist powers against the Soviet Union has entered into a new stage. Of the
British imperialism has on all around the ring to strangle the Soviet Union,
with ever tighter timeframes. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Lithuania, Mussolini
Recognition of the annexation of Bessarabia, the British note to the Soviet Union,
Organizing raids in China, the intervention Chamberlain for a German-
Polish understanding in Geneva, these are all measures of the British government to
Preparations for an armed foray against the Soviet Union.
The second friend of revolutionary China, at the same time side by side with the Soviet Union
fight against British policy of encirclement, which are the working masses of all countries,
already its sympathy and solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants in
powerful demonstrations have expressed. The 1st of May, for decades a day of fighting
the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, despite all attempted distortions of his
Character the will of the working class represented by the reformist bureaucracy,
to overthrow capitalist rule in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, must in
Mark a huge international demonstration against the imperialist
Suppression campaign, the Chinese against the national revolutionary liberation movement
is underway, and against the new "Holy Alliance" under the leadership of Britain to stand.

However, it is not enough in the struggle against the imperialist efforts to restrict mere demonstrations and solidarity protestations. The preparation of Weapons and ammunition for the strangler of the Chinese revolution must be prevented and Deportation as to proper findings by German seaports out takes place, must be prevented. It is indicative of the attitude of the leaders of the II. International that they to the solution of the ban on arms shipments the imperialist warmongers in China have declined. These leaders also support today on all major issues the imperialist policies of their governments, you think no intention to place cheaper phrases that are only destined to the workers fool to put real solidarity actions.

The government of the German bourgeoisie is the imperialist plans against China and the Soviet Union involved. It is significant for the fact that the members of the German Colony in Shanghai have sent a letter of thanks to the British Agent, which are responsible for the massacre in Nanking and other cities. The German Government rejects it still starting to recognize the revolutionary Canton Government, and Breitscheid defended as spokesman for the Socialist Group in the Reichstag Reichstag for its imperialist attitude in China. By Locarno Treaties and entry into the League of Nations, Germany has declared its readiness to the British to support a policy of encirclement against the Soviet Union. The tremendous increase in the Military spending in the budget for 1927, the subsidy policy for direct and indirect defense industry also show that the German bourgeoisie at involved general upgrade in most dimensions.

Domestically prepare the reactionary forces in Germany new brutal raids against the toiling masses before. The last months have seen a further deterioration of social situation of all working strata. By working Zeitnot law was legally the eight-hour day eliminated without the ADGB did something to the working masses to mobilize against it. Rent increases and rising inflation, further increases tariffs Press the workers into misery, while the contractor does not remember from the billions profits that are the result of rationalization, wage increases to increase the standard of living of the working sound.

For tightening of economic exploitation is the strengthening of political Oppression. To demonstrate the growing power of the reaction, has the steel helmet May 8, organized a large rally in the working class city of Berlin. Under the Protection of Police, Mr Zörgiebel and Grzesinski, to the fascist gangs be allowed to provoke the Berlin working population. The leader of the Berlin Unions and the SPD have refused the opposition to this fascist Provocation uniformly organize. They call on the workers to stay away from the street and to leave the helmet on May 8, Berlin. This may under no circumstances happen. The honor of the Berlin workers commanded her to stay in Berlin on May 8 and the power of the fascists oppose the iron phalanx of the Berlin proletariat. May 1, 1927 has a powerful vow of the fighting spirit of the German working class be. He has the will of the German working for the unity of the revolutionary Class struggle against the reformist policies and the fragmentation intentions of leaders the SPD and the ADGB express. In addition to the expression of the international Solidarity must be the watchword in the center of this May Day rally: Conquest of Eight-hour day and the seven-hour shift in the mining industry by the German Working class! For millions of workers must march this May 1st Your Slogans must be: Against the imperialist war!
Everything about the support of the Chinese Revolution!
No soldiers, no gun for strangler China!
Steer clear of the Soviet Union! High the first Republic of Workers and peasants!
In the struggle against reaction and fascism!
Fight for the eight-hour day!
Down with imperialism!
Long live the brotherhood of peoples!

"The Red flag"
from 1 May 1927th
Be ready

In the class struggle the fire of revolution created proletarian associations, in which the best and most daring, the most enthusiastic fighters opferwilligsten and collected. They marched at the head, they blew the trumpets for the attack, they stormed the fortresses the bourgeoisie. The Revolution, both the bourgeois-democratic of the previous Century when the proletarian in the imperialist era is unthinkable without the Revolutionaries who stormed the Bastille in 1789, without the workers' battalions, 1848 Barricades built without the Communards, the revolutionary Paris against treacherous Versailles defended without the Red Guards that the in 1917 Winter Palace in St. Petersbourg stormed without the red sailors, 1918 in Kiel flags the Revolution hoisted without the battalions and the Revolution 1918/1919 against Noske 1920 workers against Kapp and Severing defended. The victory over the bourgeoisie, the victory of the workers is in the future without combat units the proletariat unthinkable. The Red American Legion who today and tomorrow's Muster keeps within the walls of Berlin, maintains and guards the tradition of the Communards any times. The wreath, which we put down to the tombs of the dead of the revolution, more than faithful remembrance, he has symbolic meaning. It is the iron step of History, the hard road to socialism, who speaks from these graves. And this way continues, inexorably, until victory -

The Red American Legion does not have any weapons - except those of socialism, of knowledge of the proletarian revolution and faith in their victory. The bourgeoisie relies on their bayonets and believes its "peace and order" safe. You just forget a: The people who carry bayonets, are working. And when the bayonet in joined hand of socialism in the brain, then from "bourgeois" bayonets proletarian power. The "high alert" the bobby instills us revolutionary soldiers nor respect a as the "best army in the world". Yes, it is because our fault that their Bourgeois gentlemen four of us years through the trenches of Flanders to Verdun have razed? Is it our fault that your civil officers have taught us with so deal "cute" gizmos, as there are machine guns and flamethrowers? We have learned it and it will not be forgotten. This say the bourgeoisie hundreds of thousands revolutionary workers who accompany the red hot meeting with brotherly sympathy. The Red American Legion emerged after the defeat of the German working class in 1923. He was revolutionary to the forms of their ski lifts, their Collection. He organized and campaigned under the banner of revolutionary unity. And because of RFB knew that the rising again German imperialism anew the threat of war conjured up, so he turned the fight against imperialist war to Main task. Those who are called more to fight this war, than those four years long its immediate victims. After eight years of "peace" is the front to back Symbol of capitalism become the front of the trenches, tanks and
Toxic gases. For the Red Front Fighters also this front will be a red front. This we vow to our III. Reich meeting. The preparation for this greatest task applies our demonstration. Be prepared that is what matters now. Be prepared for the fight against the imperialist war, be prepared for the conversion of the imperialist war in the Civil War. Be prepared that in the hour of danger of the outbreak of war the remain revolutionary working masses under the leadership of the Communist Party alone are untotb of hatred and terror, by the slanders of the bourgeoisie and their reformist lackeys. Be prepared to totgewissen Treason of reformism. Be ready, to jump as the vanguard of the proletariat in the breach of reformist betrayal will tear. Be willing to give everything for the cause of the proletariat and Revolution.

No illusions about the seriousness of the situation. About our red meetings are the Flames sign of imperialist war. The war has already begun - for now against revolutionary China - under the enthusiastic applause of the percentage of Patriots the whole world. But the guns of the imperialist warships before Shanghai and Hankow circled the Chinese revolution, directed against the working class the whole world. The English war provocation against the Soviet Union shows the war plan of imperialism. The capitalists feel that them the workers' revolution on the head begins to grow. English imperialism has assumed its leadership. The Revolution of the working class will be cut down to its very roots. Your heart, the Soviet Union, is to be torn and then the body, the liberation movement of class-conscious proletariat of the whole world. That is the situation. Who says different is a liar or traitors.

And these liars and traitors preach the German neutrality in the campaign Imperialism against the Soviet Union. What neutrality because, gentlemen pacifists and Reformists? Neutrality between capitalism and socialism that neutrality between bourgeoisie and proletariat? The German workers have experienced it like this "Neutrality" of the German bourgeoisie looks, 1918 and 1919, 1920 and 1921 and 1923rd. The German workers know that the war for the bourgeoisie is the best business. they know that the class interests of the bourgeoisie are not decisive for their actions only against the proletariat of their country, but also in the world-historical struggle between imperialism and world revolution, which by the attack of the English Imperialism is announced on the Soviet Union. And in this war, we are Red Frontkampfer our man standing. We - and with us the class-conscious workers of world - know no country other than the Soviet Union. It can and should also not Doubt: If the imperialist bloodhounds invaded the Soviet Union, then there will be no way that we will not apply in defending Russian Revolution. Your armies are composed of workers, their bourgeois gentlemen, forget the not! Beware, in the end you will pay the piper! We promise, the to lead revolutionary counterblow in the back of your imperialist front when you should covet, you the to the imperialist rampage against the socialist state, Workers 'and peasants' government to involve the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. We are not afraid of your words of treason. The homeland of the Hindenburg, Borsig and Krupp, the catfish, Noske and Scheidemann is not the fatherland of the German Workers - Our Fatherland will be when the gables of the victorious banners
And that is the way to peace. Capitalism is war. We can not help against him fight than by the overthrow of bourgeois class rule. Only defeated the Revolution imperialism and war. The reformism and pacifism extend the War, they are the henchmen of the war. The worst enemy is the enemy in our own ranks, reformism, the German, the Working class lulls to sleep of oblivion the four years of imperialist Slaughter of peoples, reformism, of the working class to the war chariot of German Bourgeoisie chains, reformism, whose symbol is the 4 August 1914, and will remain, also at the outbreak of the new war. Who supports reformism which prepares the War. Who do not fight against reformism, which helps the imperialist Bourgeoisie. This tells the III. Reich meeting of the Red Front Fighters' League Hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers, resulting from the power of the reformist Treason could not deliver. And the fact that the slogans of the Red Reich meeting of the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war for the defense of the Russian and the Chinese revolution, be the common property of the whole German working class, demonstrating for and we fight for that we gather our forces. Our march is to demonstrate how much the may proletariat dominated revolutionary unit. We hope that red after Meet thousands Red Front Fighters will enter our Party to show that they understand: Without strong Communist Party no victorious revolution. The imperialist bourgeoisie we call for: hands off the Russian and Chinese Revolution! The working class: Away with the reformist droning we need a new sword, the sword of the revolution!

"The Red flag"

5 June 1927th
Sets the warmongers the craft!

_Speech at the III. Reich meeting of RFB in Berlin_

_June 5, 1927_

On behalf of the Federal leadership I bring all Red Front fighters, the
Workers' delegations, the sports organizations, the Reichsbanner opposition and Berlin
Workers the revolutionary greetings. Not only from all parts of Germany, from the
world have been running with us greeting telegrams. The international character
our Empire rally more than ever expressed by the presence of
Delegations from the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the
Switzerland, Denmark and Holland. They too are subject to our revolutionary greetings.
For the third time takes the kingdom meetings held within the walls of Berlin. As with the I. and II.
Reich meeting the general political responsibilities of the concrete situation in accordance of
have been provided, as well as each of these meetings had an intra-organizational and
political importance for the development of the RFB. The First State meeting was a first
massive kick off the development of mass organization. The II. Reich meeting urged
Increase the political maturity in our organization. The III. Reich meeting provides
the seriousness of the situation in accordance with larger and more powerful functions to us. When I.
Reich meeting marched Front fighters on in companies. When II. Empire meetings were
they already grown into battalions and regiments. Today there are already red
Divisions that have followed the call of our organization.
While on 7 and 8 May, the Stahlhelm formations contempt for the toiling Population came to feel, had to walk through the streets of the gauntlet, as prisoners under the protection of the Social Democrats led Zörgiebel police armed marched power, showed the sympathy of the toiling masses, the great Enthusiasm with which our frontline fighters were received and welcomed the opposite. The massive march itself proves the value and importance of our political Organization that all again gives us the confirmation that the RFB as the only protective and Military organization of the proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war and fascism has to meet in addition to the KPD large tasks.

Never the danger of a new imperialist war was greater than in recent years in the present situation. The struggle of the imperialist powers to the Redivision of the world has entered its decisive phase and drives inevitably to new wars, if not the victory of the proletarian revolution domination of the Bourgeoisie breaks. Currently provide the imperialist powers back their opposites and try to join forces, the Soviet Union, the mortal enemy of imperialist World domination, and the Chinese revolution to strangle. English imperialism forged to this end to the battle front of the golden International of exploiters States against the first workers 'and peasants' government, against the Soviet Union. The international situation requires the greatest attention of the entire international revolutionary proletariat.

We are in the feverish imperialist armaments for war against Soviet Union. The imperialist war against the Chinese revolution continues. Of the Campaign against the international working class intensifies by the day. What are the Causes that force the bourgeoisie to cooperate with stricter activity plans perform?

1. The Soviet Union is growing in the interior and is a major threat to world imperialism.
2. The Chinese revolution is undermining one of the main pillars of imperialism.
3. This results in the need for the imperialists, the paralysis of Working class in their own country as the ally of the Soviet Union and China perform.

In England, by the policy of the Conservative government, through the adoption of Strike Act created the political prerequisite for war measures. In France, the government approaches more and more the English policy and leads Landing an intensified by baiting. Germany joins with his aggressive foreign policy increasingly into the military front of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. Even the aggressive American intervention in China is of particular Importance, especially in the state of the Chinese revolution, where despite tough Setbacks the national revolution to revolution on a higher scale controls. Therefore, the intensified attack by the imperialists in recent weeks in China. The Offensive against the international working class is of the big bourgeoisie, with the help of Fascist Garden or purely fascist governments performed. In Germany, where in addition to the Social Democracy, the fascist organizations auxiliary troops for capitalist plans, shows that especially the fascist organizations their demonstrative character of 1923 have changed and systematic attempt in the Large companies to create organizational forms, their development all Working class has to draw her utmost attention.

The helmet issued on May 8, on the occasion of the helmet day, a message. These
Stahlhelm message was a manifesto for a new imperialist War. Against this helmet is the message we sent on the occasion of the III. red Reich meeting the red message, the declaration of war against the imperialist war. We will use all our forces, and need to use right now to the Soviet Union to protect the fatherland of the working class around the world, it all Means to defend and cover yourself with our bodies. With all of revolutionary class available power and passion we will continue to Germany warmongers put a stop, either, especially when the German bourgeoisie by the civil block reactionary methods inside with new imperialist Objectives connects, both against the Soviet Union and against the whole itself Revolutionary Front judge. That's why our todays mighty red rally as a understand large antiwar rally within the meaning of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht the Soldiers of the red class front, the Young Pioneers and the revolutionary workers in Berlin, calling out in Germany and throughout the world, that we vow before and during The outbreak of war on the front and in the army for the overthrow of capitalist Rule and to fight for the victory of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, comrades and classmates, raises his clenched fist and speak to me fight the pledge Red Front Fighters. This fight vow is the one for the tasks in the next few weeks and Months. We will forge and organize the revolutionary power that the Conditions for the victory of the German proletariat creates. In this sense agrees with me: The revolutionary fighting united front, they Hurrah!

"The Red flag"
8 June 1927th

International Red counteroffensive

From the speech at the international conference against imperialist war and fascism
Berlin, June 6, 1927

I want at this international conference in my report to the main restrict problems of the general international situation, which for guidance on the Development and the task number of our military and organizations necessary are. The whole world is entering a new phase of development of the relationship between the
The struggle of the imperialist powers the redistribution of the markets has entered its decisive phase and drives inevitably to new wars, if not the victory of the proletarian revolution, Rule of the bourgeoisie breaks. The main driving forces of imperialism focus their military front against the Soviet Union. In China we see a unified military Action against the Chinese revolution. The intense activity of the aggressive USA wins against America lately increased.

Importance. Nicaragua is already occupied, the US government organized riots in Mexico and takes active part in the military struggle against the Chinese people. The last action of the British government against the working class, the demolition of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, the attempts of England, all involve border states in the iron front of the military struggle and the strong English-Italian rapprochement have intensified signs of aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union. The adoption of the Armed Forces Act in France, the approach in England, the so related campaign against the Communists in their own Country represent an asset for the entire imperialists. The German bourgeoisie, which, forced by the world market crisis, a more active foreign policy carried out, connects this with reinforced internal political measures such as prohibition of strikes and Right of association and implementation of reactionary cultural and socio-political laws against the working class.

We see that in connection with the preparations for the attack against the Soviet Union and the war against revolutionary China for world imperialism, the question of Struggle against the world proletariat is acute. The international capitalism feels anew the immediate danger of the revolutionary movement. In the period of October 1917 to 1921 was an immediate international danger for him Bolshevism. Today we see a new revolutionary development in the whole proletariat in connection with the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the revolution in China. Karl Marx said once that the party of the revolution together closes the counterrevolution. The forces of Counterrevolution want a single block against the Soviet Union and the create Chinese revolution. Marx wrote in 1853 in an article in the "New York Daily Tribune ", where he analyzed the penetration of English capitalism in China:

"Under these circumstances ... one may confidently predict that the Chinese revolution the throwing sparks into the overflowing powder case of the current industrial system and the long prepared general crisis will bring the outbreak, then the spread to foreign countries Political revolutions are immediately followed on the Continent. It would be a curious spectacle when China unrest would be placed in the Western world, while the Western powers on the English, French and American warships, peace and order ' transported to Shanghai, Nanking and the mouths of the Grand Canal. "

This Marxist view has, as we see, almost completely realized. It's all aware of the importance of the revolution Lenin in the colonial and semicolonial Countries attributed. We can say in full agreement with Lenin today that the Battle of basic historical forces of our time now in a new phase has occurred and is now on a battlefield of immense dimensions is going on.
In China, we see more of the revolution despite tough setbacks, a deepening of the revolution and the rapid development of the workers' and peasants' movement. Surprises even for the near future nor inevitable, but the tasks and tactics, the communists have faced in China in this period, force the imperialists of the world to intensified attacks against Chinese initiate revolutionary front.

The offensive against the working class by the bourgeoisie with the aid of fascist Garden or purely fascist governments performed. This offensive directed not only against Bolshevism, but against the entire working class of the world. In this struggle, Social Democracy plays a unique role. The II. Although International recognizes the existence of a threat of war, but she does not think about organizing against the warmongers to fight. This is also expressed in the dispute over the nature of the threat of war. Following views can be found: The case of threat of war are the countries without Democracy (Italy, Soviet Union, the Balkans, etc.). This is the official view of the II. International, as it was laid down on Mars Edler Congress. The second tendency is: the danger of war comes from "red imperialism" from, linked to the colonial violence propaganda of Bolshevism. The third trend: the danger of war is great because the Socialists are nowhere in the government. The fourth trend: the British imperialism in alliance with fascism is the danger of war. And the fifth tendency, which is represented by the so-called left leaders: imperialism is the threat of war, in which emphasis must be put on it, that is not the fact of Presence of imperialism, but its association with the reactionary forces pose the danger of war. This is also the view of Hilferding in his theory the "About imperialism".

The active participation of social democracy to the war preparations is reflected both in ideological as in practical terms. By League ideology suggests the II. International for the spiritual disarmament of the working class and the preparation of War two ways. A. The right wing operates a systematic campaign against the Bolshevism to the elemental confidence of the working masses to the proletarian policy to undermine the Soviet Union, while the "left" over and over again emphasize that the policy of the Soviet Union a capitalist and imperialist character itself wearing. I recall the Soviet grenades campaign. For the "left" is the leader Main decomposers of antiwar front pacifism. The practical participation in the War preparations is particularly evident in France (military law Boncour), in England by the position of MacDonald and Thomas on the events in China, in Poland the attitude of the PPS 59 to Pilsudski and eventually by the foreign policy Vandervelde. The Social Democracy in all countries conceals the fact that the advances of the reaction on the inner front part of the preparations for war are, and they sabotaged so aware of the

59PPS (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna) - Polish Socialist Party, a petty-bourgeois nationalist Party, which was founded 1893rd Under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the PPS split in 1906 into two fractions. During World War I, a part of the left wing of PPS took an internationalist Position, approached the Polish Social Democratic Party and formed with it in December 1918, Communist Party of Poland. The "Right" wing under Pilsudski from which later emerged the PPS, continued the policy of National chauvinism continued. As the ruling party led by an anti-Soviet policy.
Concretization of action against the war and its transformation into the Civil war against its own bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie operates internationally with two wings: the Social Democrats and the Fascism. This front is the proletariat in front of large, massive objects. That's why the revolutionary workers' movement was due to the intensification of Class struggle in the postwar period to over, through the formation of protective and Military organizations complement and enrich their organizations initiate. These organizations were the more necessary when the bourgeoisie soon more or less fascist "military organizations" everywhere brought into being. Particularly strong are these Organizations in Germany. They no longer carry the demonstrative character, are important auxiliaries in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat, for reserves Reichswehr and police to promote dictatorship plans of Trust capital hotbeds to for the new imperialist war the necessary mood among the masses to create. The black-red-Reichsbanner is for the purpose of protection of civil Republic and the bourgeois class interests has been established. By contrast, the RFB was founded as a real protective and military organization of the proletariat in the year 1924th His work and his task circle show that even on an international scale everywhere Such organizations have to be launched. Opposite the nationalist Wehr thought wearing the RFB the spirit of proletarian Wehrhaftigkeit and proletarian class struggle in itself. In the task shows that the RFB does not differ from the interests of the whole working class interests. The RFB is not a substitute for the political party of the proletariat, of the revolutionary struggle must give proletariat goal and direction. The RFB can not replace trade unions, can not fight cultural organizations and also the sports organizations replace. He complemented by its special methods of agitation the struggle of all these Organizations.

The goals and aspirations of the RFB are broadly consistent with those of the KPD. The KPD is the only party of the proletariat, which supports the RFB. Social democracy includes all Social Democratic workers who join the RFB, but the Membership of their membership to civil military units is not prohibited. The Red American Legion must in the closest fraternal relationship with all Organizations are like: sports organizations, war victims' organizations, Red Aid and Workers International Relief. In establishments operating groups of RFB with the need Unions a revolutionary united front against the factory sports clubs and against make operation fascism.

Today's conference must bring uniform expresses the fact that the promotion of international solidarity of the oppressed classes and peoples one of our most distinguished Tasks. Therefore also the endeavor to make international calls, existing proletarian Frontkämpfer- and antifascist military organizations international basis weld together. We need these international Connecting the more so since we on the eve of the outbreak of a war against the Soviet Union are. As during the war the Amsterdam Trade Union International has emerged as the strongest bulwark of imperialism in appearance, it is also not today, and with it the league, the II. International on the side of the revolutionary front but standing on the side of the imperialists. Our main slogan in this period: Defense of the Russian and the Chinese revolution.

Today's international conference must first be a prelude to the establishment of a International all protection and defense organizations. Secondly, in those countries where yet no protection and military organizations of the proletariat exist, such need in addition to the Communist parties are established. Third: Energetic preparations for Tasks that are provided to us before the war, are necessary to not know how am. 4
August, to be taken by surprise by the war. And fourth, against its own
Imperialism tougher fight that with the strengthening of the revolutionary front in their own
Land only sets the stage for strengthening the entire international front.
This is the factual starting point of today's international conference, and the
here the decisions taken must guide our future national and
his international work.

"The Red Flag" of 8 June 1927th
Against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti

*Speech in the Berlin Lustgarten*
*August 24, 1927*

We are demonstrating today against the killing Sacco and Vanzetti by the white Blood Justice of the American bourgeoisie. This demonstration is aimed at the same time against the bloodstained capitalist system to the real culprit of the murder Sacco and Vanzetti is. The slaughter Sacco and Vanzetti is not an isolated case, but in all capitalist countries rages class justice against the fighters of revolutionary proletariat. We all remember for the bestial murder of Rosa and Karl, of Jogiches and Leviné, Sylt and many others of the white terror German capitalism have fallen victim. This terror rages still in the entire capitalist world, in Hungary, Pulen, Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Austria and also in Germany. Judicial murder and treacherous slaughter of proletarians are in all capitalist Countries on the agenda. At the same time, thousands of fighters for the Proletariat tormented behind prison walls and often tortured to death. Hundreds of workers languishing in Germany in the prisons who have committed no more than that they have defended the interests of the oppressed and exploited. Millions of workers are protesting against the planned murder of Sacco and Vanzetti took to the streets. But the American bourgeoisie still felt strong enough not to shrink from the murder. Of course, the struggle of The world proletariat against the brutal crimes of the American bourgeoisie was not uniform. The social democratic parties, which II. International and Amsterdam Trade Union International have sabotaged from the start this fight. What in their Forces stood, they have done to weaken the workers in their protest and to prevent. On most shameless, the German Social Democratic Party has behaved. The "forward" even surpassed some of the capitalist press, by the Slaughter Sacco and Vanzetti with the shootings counterrevolutionary bandits in the Soviet Union equated. In Germany, the class justice has under the bürgerblock government a tougher course smashed. Recently, the Niedner Justice has in Stuttgart a number of workers to 45 Years prison sentenced because they had dared the Württemberg workers to organize for the struggle against fascism. The same Niedner has against the Centre the KPD initiated a process that will take place in October. While part of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders a loathing dissemble the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, they are the same in many cities the most brutal means to take action against demonstrating workers. In Paris and Geneva, London and Amsterdam, in Leipzig and Halle were workers bludgeoned and murdered because they dared not only against American Criminal justice, but to march against class justice in their own country. In
Germany were just Socialist chief of police who at this Niederknüppelung of workers by shameless pandering to the capitalist have excellent company.

With us today swear millions of workers around the world in revenge for Sacco and Vanzetti! The means to do this is in the organization of better combating the white justice in their own country, in the reinforcement of the struggle for the liberation of all proletarian political prisoners, in Germany in particular, in the summary of all forces to overthrow the reactionary bourgeois bloc government.

"The Red Flag" of 25 August 1927th

10 years Soviet power and the international working class

The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world is watching these days, since the victorious Russian proletariat the tenth anniversary of the first workers' state celebrates with pride and Enthusiasm for the only country where the working class attained power and alleged hit all enemies and is paced from success to success. blazing send greetings the class-conscious workers, and especially the Communists of all countries, their Soviet comrades that a the exploited and oppressed all over the world have given a shining example, as the struggle for the conquest of power out, as the victory must be won.

We remember the fateful day when the brave little band of Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, the workers and soldiers in Petrograd and Moscow in the uprising led, as the wave of peasant uprisings, the power of the landowners in the countryside broke when in the whole wide territory of the Russian Empire the power of Workers' Councils triumphed.

Since then ten years have elapsed. In these ten years of bloody fighting in class every country has the international proletariat accumulated rich experience and many Lessons learned. But all experience could only confirm the doctrine of Marxism - guided by Lenin and the Bolsheviks did - that there is no other way to Liberation of the working class, for the realization of socialism, are a way of proletarian revolution led by the Communist Party, the way, on 7.

November has led to the first world-historical victory of the working class. But the Russian working class has not only shown us how the proletariat the power conquered, but also as it maintains the power and in the interests of the proletariat, the socialist construction exploits. The bourgeoisie and the reformists believed that the Bolsheviks had come only by some "misunderstanding" to power. And you have repeatedly predicted the downfall of proletarian power. Otto Bauer in mid-October 1917 just before the victory of the Bolsheviks, under the name of Heinrich Weber, a brochure entitled "The Russian Revolution and the European proletariat" written in it (27 p.26 /) prophesied the following:

"The Russian revolution can not end with the dictatorship of the proletariat, they can not be a socialist system upright. Even if the Russian Revolution all her dangers overcomes her result may be nothing more than a bourgeois Democratic Republic."
And he claimed, after the agrarian revolution in Russia, the farmers also there allying with the bourgeoisie against the workers.

The lights of the USPD Haase and Kautsky, declared in November 1918 that one should do not bind to the Bolsheviks, because you might not know if they are at three days of would remain power. It turned out differently. The apparent power of social democratic "People's deputy" is melted away in a few months, the dictatorship of Proletariat in the Soviet Union but is after 10 years of struggle against a world of Enemies stronger and stronger than ever since.

The need to even the bitterest enemies of Soviet power, the reformist Workers traitor admit. That is why they always invent new stories and lies to the deter workers from following the Russian example. You dizzy from the "Degeneration" of Soviet power, of the "lawlessness" of the worker, the "growth" of Kulaks and nepmen, from the "misery" of the Russian proletariat.

With deepest bitterness we see Communists in the capitalist countries, we in hard perennial struggle abgewinnen the social-imperialists ground that in the Ranks of the Bolshevik party itself has evolved an opposition group in the vilest manner the real life and the development of the Soviet Union disfigured and abused and defiled his own party. Better helper agents Capitalism in the camp of the workers, the Social Democrats, there are not as the hateful opposition, fighting under the guise of adherence to principles the Leninist party and leads to the fundamental teachings of Leninism. The friends of Trotsky and Zinoviev, the renegades Ruth Fischer and Maslow in Germany, the Souvarine in France, etc., already as the centrists play no other role within the Social Democratic Party: By hypocritical and dishonest for the defense speak of the Soviet Union, they are trying in the hearts of the workers and the enthusiasm suffocating love for the land of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction.

By decrease the danger of war and of exaggeration in the interests of talk intraparty struggle, they try the resistance of the workers against threatening war to paralyze. Through the political and organizational alliance with the counterrevolutionary Maslow group promoting Trotsky and Zinoviev directly anti-Bolshevik propaganda in the capitalist countries.

We firmly believe that our sister party the handful of treacherous and apostate Leaders will make the other counterrevolutionary work impossible! Trotsky and Zinoviev may know that all Communists are convinced that with their unscrupulous Group work conclusion must be made. Despite the support of Trotsky and Zinoviev finds the anti-Bolshevik scams the social-chauvinists and Renegades no faith in the German workers.

The politically-minded workers understand very well that after the breakdown of the economy by war and civil war years of heavy sacrifices, hard work, great privations were needed to rebuild the economy. They understand very well that in this six years of building socialism is not completed, overall prosperity not could be created. But they recognize with admiration the immense creative Power of the Soviet working class, in those six years, without significant help abroad rebuilt the industry, increased wages on the state of peace, the
by tsarism held in deepest misery peasant masses a human existence
created and the cultural and political level of the working people on a no
bourgeois country has brought possible height.
The example of heroic struggle, the grandiose victories and the successful
socialist construction in the Soviet Union is emerging as the strongest lever
the revolutionary movement in all countries. Let the imperialists and reactionaries
also temporarily triumphs celebrate - the awakening of the vast masses in the East, where the
Shattering of the empire, the realization of self-determination of
Peoples showed the country of workers and peasants the way to liberation, means a
huge blow to the world domination of imperialism, engaged his final
Sinking in the vicinity.

In the labor movement of all countries, the Russian Revolution led to the divorce of
Spirits. Who did not understand the teachings of the greatest revolution in the world history, who is
not unreservedly and unconditionally solidarity with the proletarian state, which landed
very quickly in the camp of counter-revolution, as we in the right USPD, in Levi
Group at Höglund, Souvarine and last saw at the group Maslow-Ruth Fischer.
In the CPSU (B), in the party of Lenin, was the vanguard of the proletariat of all countries, found
the communist parties and friends, advisers and leaders of the working class the way
to victory, her at every historical juncture, the key steps
showed. The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of imperialism as the last stage of the

Capitalism, the alliance between the proletariat and all working people - in particular with the
poorer farmers - of the world revolution as the joint struggle of
Industrial proletariat of the advanced countries and the oppressed masses of return
permanent colonial countries - we owe everything to the leading party of Russia
Working class, the party of Lenin.
In the struggle against opportunism and against the translucent radical, but basically
likewise opportunistic sectarianism, found the Communist Parties
Germany, France, Britain, Italy and so always support the Soviet
Comrades. They have taught us how the proletarian party theoretical at the sharpest and
political demarcation against all forms and shades of reformism in the closest
remain conjunction with the proletarian masses, they conduct in the daily struggles of
free reformist illusions and must lead to the path of the power struggle.
The dictatorship of the proletariat, the center and source of the revolutionary movement of
around the world, is therefore subject to the implacable hostility of the bourgeoisie and the
Reformists. The class-conscious workers, the peace, friendship and
Neutrality talk of the bourgeoisie not be fooled. We do not forget the role that the
German imperialism 1917 and 1918 with the blessing of the Social Democracy as Executioner
Revolution in the Baltic states, Finland, played in Ukraine.
We know that the British imperialists, driven by the diehards, not only the
Relations with the Soviet Union broke off, but try everything to the
capitalist states in a "holy war" of the bourgeoisie against the first workers'
and to lead peasant state. We know that the British oil magnate by their
have enforced the dismissal Rakovsky pressure on the Poincaré, Briand and Co.
and that the campaign of the corrupt bourgeois press in France against the
Soviet Union continues. We know that in Italy, Austria, Hungary, the
Czechoslovakia and blowing in the Balkans the same wind. We know that the Mercenaries of German imperialism are always ready to face the "enemy of Culture" to march to the east, when the organizer of the anti-Bolshevik Crusade, Chamberlain, appropriate payment, be it on the border of Poland, whether in Rhineland, whether in Cameroon, holds out the prospect.

The international proletariat does not rely on the assurances of peace of the bourgeoisie, the public and secretly feverishly gearing for war. The Communist Parties in all countries are mobilizing to study the biirgerblock governments all forces to Overthrow the forces that equip the reactionary war, the fight for workers' and Bauer governments that are the Soviet Union reach out to the fraternal alliance.

Not by greetings and wishes alone we want this most joyous day of international working class, the tenth anniversary of a workers' state party, but to follow by the firm vow, your example, Russian brethren, and to do everything for the realization of our objectives.

Long live the Soviet Union and its leader, the CPSU (B)!

Long live the alliance between the world proletariat and the workers of the Soviet Union!

Long live the world of October!

"International Press Correspondence"

of 4 November 1927

S.2342 / 2343rd

Against the reactionary policies of biirgerblock

Speech in the Reichstag
January 20, 1928

Yesterday's speech of the Finance Minister Koehler was a demagogic obfuscation the anti-working class policies of biirgerblock. Striking was in plenary those icy calm, which at the end of a half-hour lecture on the government to was recorded, and the silent demonstration of the German national parliament, which it had preferred to stay outside the plenary. The Communist Party and the Communist fraction of the working class and against the working classes the Importance of the existence of biirgerblock and his policy both in the past as show in the future months as it the related to the position Social Democrats to block citizens and in the interests of the class struggle is necessary. Here I want to make two preliminary remarks. First, I do not want me to engage individual discussion of the various budgets. Secondly, I will Reparations in connection with the load distribution on the working classes not very detailed treat because the fundamentals of the budget give us the opportunities, to show the key issues of civil bloc politics and to treat the combat tasks,
which is the working population.
I will give just a few dramatic juxtapositions of the total expenditure of the budget,
order of the basis of the budgets of the anti-worker policies of the citizens in their block
to show the whole field.
In 1924 amounted Reich expenditure in the regular budget 7.063 billion, in
1925 7.7 billion, in 1926 8.5 billion, in 1927 8.6 billion, in the year
1928 9.3 billion. Regarding the expenditures of the regular budget, so we see that in
1924 for the Army and Navy 459 million, 633 million in 1925, 1926 704, 1927 769 and
1928 827 million is recorded.
Production represents, in the course of this whole development, a steady degradation of
Social budgets noticeable. In 1927 in this budget 1.1 billion were included, is today
he let down to 700 million. This means a deduction of 400 million, or almost
40 percent.
We also see that the resources on which to build up the budget, primarily from the
Proletariat scheduled to be extracted. For the income tax for 1928 compared to 1927 a
Increase from 1.2 billion to 1.3 billion, ie an increase of 100 million
provided for an increase in turnover of 890 million to 1,050 million, or
160 million. For culture maintenance only 15 million are estimated, while for
the armored cruiser 80 million calls. So we see that to ground Taxes 450
Million marks more than are required in the year 1927th
The ratio in the budget of mass taxes to property taxes is about as that 70 to 75
Percent of total tax revenues will be borne by the working classes.
In connection with a few brief remarks on the fact that the German
Bourgeoisie, for example, is able to apply for the tax assessment means
to cheat the state, which they undoubtedly still supported by the possession biirgerblock
becomes. We see that in spite of the fact that an average of 70 to 75 percent by
Mass taxes are applied, income tax holidays, tax rebates, tax privileges,
Tax subsidies and state subsidies are granted to the bourgeoisie. Am. 1
October were from the property and transfer taxes total 498.7 million - that's 69
Percent of the total volume in October - backward. Thereof 276 600 000
deferred. From the estate tax were 97 million in October backward thereof
were deferred 48.3 million. We can see from these two examples, the whole
Development pursued by the possession biirgerblock and of course in this budget
sharper than ever expressed.
What is the significance of this budget for the working classes in Germany, when
Considering the whole application of the budget from the standpoint of how it yesterday
the Finance Köhler has outlined here? He explained that the revenue and expenditure
can only be balanced if the economy still continue, even the
Fact that the cash balance of the Empire of 500 million dropped to 200 million
is the further fact that in advance uncertainty of the total economy
announced that the first signs of crisis Frankfurt also been through the "
Newspaper "are indicated, the fact that on 1 September 1928, the Normal Year
Reparations begins where 2.5 billion annually due to the Dawes Tribute
apply are - all these facts show that more of the part of the bourgeoisie nor
tougher measures against the working classes, particularly against the proletariat to
are expected. From this principle also the speech of the Finance Minister Koehler was born. In the whole baseline of the budget itself illustrates that difficulty, by virtue of which the German Bourgeoisie will try later, despite the huge profits that can be reported against proceed the proletariat. This line shows up in recent times, first in the demands of Reichsbank President Schacht, of the states and municipalities not will give more bonds; secondly, in the fact the thrust of German industry, in the claims that are set out in its emergency program; thirdly, in the fact the call Luther and his friends, the Federation for the renewal of the empire and finally in the demands for the creation of a unified state, which of the focus negotiations of the last countries were meeting.

Given the various other phenomena which we in recent months come saw: the ruthless suppression of economic struggles, through which the working class trying to improve their living situation and their working time and conditions to facilitate.

The control problem, ie the distribution of loads on the proletariat is one of the key issues that will play a role in the future. In addition, the reactionary laws that has enforced the civil block or next in the months intended push through until the end of its term.

All this illustrates the seriousness of the situation and requested by either party that the on the ground proletarian class struggle and stands on the ground of the proletarian revolution, relentless clarity about strategy, tactics and policy of the bourgeoisie at this stage development.

Still today biirgerblock coalition no parliamentary existence has more, as the result of the last elections showed everywhere, they tried as the brought MPs Wallraf also in his last remarks again expressed has, to use until the last moment this parliamentary majority for its policies. This means that the parliamentary elections, though a very different mood in the population exists, should be postponed until the final date.

But the policy, which is made of this biirgerblock government has deeper roots than in parliament. It has its roots in the class interests of the bourgeoisie Trust. We see just that the key lesson of the whole development of this year, biirgerblock policy is that the Social Democrats supported these citizens Blockpolitik and approves. The Prussian coalition government, in which the Social Democrats the strongest have influence, for example, on the main issues, the citizens Blockpolitik supported. The reformist leaders in the unions capitalist Economic policy support to the detriment of the working class. The 1927 is a information on the policies of biirgerblock. We see that the burden of the widest layers of taxes and duties in the current budget still to be further raised.

If the citizen block as the Trust bourgeoisie has announced in the emergency program, an further reduction of taxes in view provides, they naturally think only of the Property taxes, which have been reduced in recent years by 3 billion, while the mass taxes such as income tax, indirect taxes, the rent tax and the tariffs have been increased tremendously. Most of the revenue of the budget by a downright refined class control system of the landless layers
Discussion by the tax committee of the payroll tax and the Lex Bruning has shown that the citizens block the living standards of the working masses will increasingly depressing. In particular, this has at the in 1925 adopted-labor and peasant hostile customs laws shown whereby the duties in last summer and before Christmas of the Civil block parties have been substantially increased.

In agriculture, arising as a result of the tax pressure on small farmers great difficulties. Add to this that the big landowners in the tax payment Special consideration is given. has been found in various parts of that the big landowners have to pay any income tax, while the Central and Small farmers are obliged. Here are some examples:

In the circle Prenzlau in Brandenburg an landlordism is a agricultural area of 452000 morning. That's 66 percent of the total Estates in this circle; Nevertheless pays the landowners concerned only 25 Percent income tax, while the small and medium-possession, 34 percent of Surface holds, pays 75 percent income tax.

In Pasow, in circles Köslin in Pomerania, sits a noble landowner named Gerlach, of 730 hectares there has, at another place 800 hectares, in Trienke 1680 hectares, Dreschkof 1310 hectares and in Koszalin even 130 hectares, ie together or 4650 hectares 18600 Morning. This man pays no income tax, for allegedly not Income has. In Pasow but sit still 6 farmers with 54 morning, each shall pay annually 103 Mark income tax.

Another example. The farm owner Bajuhn presents at the party of the German Democratic Party in Hamburg found that the landowners in circles Gardelegen all pay no income tax.

We see from these few examples that the citizens block the big landowners Granted income tax holidays, while the small farmers the Steuerexekutor on the neck sends. These few figures clearly show that also in agriculture a Policy is carried out, the oppressed, the working classes with the tax burden, while she takes the big landowners in protection.

On the basis of the latest movement in the steel industry is to increase rates of the iron already announced. This of course shortly an enormous price increase for all other important products. We also see that the Housing Code of biirgerblock and increasing the rents were directed only against the working people, in particular the rent tax, which has been the biggest deception of the people that we in recent years experienced. Yesterday Köhler has not said a word about the housing problem, although it is clear that missing more than one million homes in Germany and that in Accommodation Committee, representatives of the various capitalist parties little or have not made attempts to remedy the catastrophic housing shortage. The Communist Party has submitted a housing program in Flat Committee, after which on the basis of five years by loading the haves the possibility is to remedy the housing shortage. The overall trend of the policy of biirgerblock goes in the line of liquidating the protection of tenants. The beginnings of this are in the Hirtsiefer regulation against the middle class and the other measures that lately
want to bring propertied classes no victims, but that they only au continuing
those shameless enrichment think that has been shown in recent years.
In all matters relating to tax, customs and housing policy is the way the Prussian government,
in which the Social Democrats sit, always consistent with the government biirgerblock
procedure and has expressly consented to all the laws in the Reichsrat. (deputy
Artist: "You do not believe myself!") Of course! In the tariff issue in the housing problem
have agreed to your comrades of Hirstiefer regulation. Have customs policy
not accepted? Respond but before the public, but you say yes or no!
(Deputy artist: "False information") You might be of the Prussian
Government misinformation.
On the situation of the working class in general is to say that in 1927 at a
relatively favorable cyclical lowering of real wages has occurred because at
the rising prices, wages have not risen enough. At the same time we see
But, as is clear from various examples, immense profits of the Trust bourgeoisie
and also the manufacturing industry. The performance in the factories both in
Mining as in the steel industry and in the major monopolistic enterprises shows
that the performance by streamlining as the Antreibermaßnahmen in
Enterprises has been brought to such a high level that the current record number in the
Similar major holdings, as it is known from the American system. Despite
but the massive increase per capita in mining as in the steel industry is the real wage
still relatively declined. Add to this that the current method of capitalist
Rationalization has not yet ended, that the addition to the previous frame
still continued exploitation system against the working class in various fields
becomes. So promised the miners that after eliminating the lack of coal
should be introduced seven hour shift again. Some figures for the development of
Coal production: In 1913, the coal production was in the Ruhr to 112
Million tons, in 1927 but to 118 million tonnes. In 1913 were
426000 workers employed in 1927 with increased production figures but only 398,000th
So we see a coal output of 6 million tons more at 28000 miners
fewer. For the worm area, there are similar figures, as well as in other regions
Germany.
Despite this increase in production volume, we see no real implementation of
Reduction of working time. On the other hand show the budgets of the various
Large enterprises the rapid profit, the industry has experienced. Record of
Krupp works shows an increase of 33 to 43 million. The value of inventories
of 44 has risen to 62 million. Securities and investments are from 54 to 68
risen million. In Klöckner Group we see an operating surplus of 33
Million, an increase of 33 percent, an increase in the dividend from 5 to 7
Percent. Hoesch has profit more than tripled; it is from 2.9 to 9.5
risen million. In all these figures those reserves are not taken into account that in
the balance are still veiled.
Consider by contrast the development of accidents especially in mining, so showing
that the number of accidents in recent years - from 1926 to the first half of 1927
increased per 10,000 layers underground from 7.76 to 8.61. This is a strong
Increase the number of accidents. The fatal accidents in the mining industry have steadily
increased. When lately the "German mine newspaper" in the face of these
Accidents declared that they had an effect of the Miners Act, so that's a
Mockery of the working class.
Next we see that although the September 1926 to October 1927 for one and a half
Million unemployed were classified in the farms that still since October 1927
Number of unemployed has risen continuously. On the issue of unemployment has Working class as yet not properly understood what the Unemployment Insurance Act its impact is, although the downturn in the past few months Publication came. Even the classification is made in this Act, must cause friction among the workers. Then effect due to the narrowing the number of supported unemployed measures taken by the crisis care, by allowing waiting seasonal workers, such as construction workers, three weeks before benefiting from any support. The more unemployment will grow, the more difficult the implementation of the Unemployment Insurance Act will. The working class is also in this field, such as the Communist Party has already shown here in the Reichstag, must realize that they belong to, despite their attraction Payment of these funds in practice receives so minimal support that they know this now receives with indignation.

We note further that the social pensioners in the last period of the Civil Block have received little or nothing. The increase in the so-called increments at the disability benefits yielded no effective increase in many cases. Although attempts have been made to fix the standard rates for a married couple, on average, 45 Mark, but due to the Fixing this average for each of 30 marks and a couple at 45 Mark is the social pensioners no longer possible to achieve any increase that they still could be given by the individual municipalities as a grant. And despite this wretched supply was any requirement to increase the social pension of the Bürgerschaft fought in the strongest. Also in the present budget are no means provided for the increase of pensions. The same appears in another form in the small pensioners. Contrary to the rest of the Parties operated appreciation scams ask the communists for the small rentier, as for all the needy, a legal right to adequate supply. The current type of support of small pensioners from the general care and thus related obligation to return the current power, the implementation of Means testing, etc., supplies the small rentier the arbitrariness of the social welfare authorities. The bourgeois parties, in particular the German Nationalists and the German People's Party, have been tricked again monstrous small pensioners. The current Minister of Justice Hergt promised Klein retired years ago a wholly owned Appreciation. But after the German National Party government were having Klein retired except consolations seen anything yet. The creation of a Kleinrentner-Supply Act, the Social Policy Committee in November last year should consult, was prevented by the government on the grounds that the created implementation of such a law until next budget the condition would be. But now, in the present budget for the participation of the empire at the Klein retired supply no further means are provided; in 1928 budget are only 25 Million used.

As for the war Supply Act, we see here that the main Demands of war victims are left unconsidered. They have been indeed a given off aid, but the pensions of up to 20 percent-disabled again canceled. This one has a lot of the war wounded easy to qualify brought support. These are the effects of these anti-social policies. A few comments on the economic struggles that we in this year imminent, the as well as to the teachings of the most important economic struggles last year and to the policy of bürgerschaft to the entire Arbitration policy, which is operated by the various arbitration bodies. The Proletariat has clearly seen in recent economic struggles that his position despite
good economy has continued to deteriorate, although social democratic according to

Statements they really should have been improved. This could only happen because the policy of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which accepted each award and the workers prevented them wage increases, even if only 1 or 2 Pfennig were, with their own means of power, in the way of strikes to enforce. Just the yet at this moment raging in Halle metalworkers struggle shows that the workers on

Due to the difficult situation is forced to fight and ready. The workers demand 15 Pfennig wage increase, while the award will concede only 3 cents. The Working class does not accept this award, and so is the Minister of Labour in a difficult position. It is perhaps in the next few days to pass, some pennies, zuzulegen in order to strike cancel tip. Moreover, just showed the miners struggle in central Germany, that the proletariat more could prevail if the reformist trade union bureaucracy in

With regard to their general state setting in league with the mediators to Arbitration would not be recognized. This corresponds fully to their theoretical attitude that Hilferding tried to make the workers at the Kiel Congress tasty. On

Thus, the line of the class struggle is abandoned. This also shows the foam beats innovative speech of Mr. Severing, he gave today. When he on the lot metallurgical workers came to speak, he suggested that the main Representatives of the Metalworkers' Federation were not willing to follow the guidelines from the 16th July 1927 for the implementation of the three-layer system bring to. So declared on 12th December 1927, the association chairman Reichelt on a press reception in the ADGB Berlin quite frankly that in view of the operation of the smelters of a schematic eight-hour day could not be any question. And in answering Inquiries about the trade union tactics, he stated that the trade unions intended not to lead the fight against the Ministry of Labour when it persisted, that the working time regulation is performed loyal. That said Reichelt, chairman the Metalworkers' Federation. Those statutory provisions from 16 July 1927 to without Battle will be enforced; you will be loyal to the Ministry of Labour behave, no fighting stance against the Trust bourgeoisie will take, but working collaborative possible measures must be taken to look towards the dictatorial threats of steel industrialists who have recently become known.

Top this frame, it is the task of the Communist Party, the proletariat to make the fraud of the arbitration being attentive, to the betrayal of Social Democracy, which the binding declaration of arbitration awards submits. Such work Community policy with the bourgeoisie must, of course to a reduction in Real wages, leading to a deterioration of the situation of the proletariat. were also on cultural political field, in the last period biirgerblock measures enforced against the proletariat, reminiscent of the state at the turn of the century. For the sniffing commissions for carrying out the trashy and dirty Act has used in this budget 280000 Mark. Also, the purpose of this law is primarily the revolutionary proletarian and even to prevent any other advanced literature. The Handling of this law by the bourgeoisie is, of course, in the line of previous Activities of class justice, as the case against booksellers against poets as have shown particular the now adjourned trial cup. The Prussian Coalition government but this biirgerblock law approved in parliament! The
Lustbarkeitsgesetz expands the dirt and filth fight on all events working youth from. It is, as soon as was the in 1908 created Reich Associations Act, a law against the proletarian youth. At that time, also has the

60This refers to the "Regulation on working in steel works, rolling mills and other plants of Big business "of 16 July 1927 which for some groups of workers of metallurgical and steel industry the eight-hour day and the three-layer system reintroduced.

Social Democratic Party were against such. Now try the bourgeois state, the use Bobby as moral guardians, the proletarian youth of their general theoretical and cultural education to rob. On the other hand it wants to shut the complicate organizing those proletarian revolutionary youth of the stinking spirit of reformism is not so saturated. also this Lustbarkeitsgesetz were of Prussian coalition government not big made difficulties.

The most important, located currently in preparation Law is the black Empire Education Act of biirgerblock. It features quite the political and social Reaction in which the growing power of clericalism is recognizable. To the youth to make more docile exploitation objects of rationalizing capitalism to them early in the sense implicit obedience and total dependence on the be educated "divinely ordained authority"; therefore separate for all denominations School, therefore sectarian incitement and therefore imperialist-chauvinist Educational work, therefore clerical daily school supervision and complete construction of the entire School education on a religious basis. But beyond that, we see that the Community School and the secular school Whilst recognizing on paper that but according to the will of the citizens block over 90 percent of all schools the character medieval monastic schools contribute. Hypocritical one speaks of the fulfillment of the Will the parents, but only recognizes the right of religious parents to the Church to give new power and new influence. The teachers will be, even though they in themselves various petitions throughout Germany, but especially in Schleswig Holstein, Hamburg and Saxony, has turned against it, turned into henchmen of the Church. Demagogically can see through the German People's Party in recent weeks by liberal phrases from the stack can be that she is willing, together with the Trust bourgeoisie approve the Verpfaffung. Social democracy poses as fierce opponent of Black's plans. However, it has been found that in all coalition governments, Prussia, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Oldenburg, short in all, with the exception of Saxony and Hamburg, where the conditions are different, with the help of the SPD of the Church as far as possible Supervisory power was passed through the schools. The Prussian government was even openly that even without Reich School Law progressive clericalization the Prussian schools was assured. To deceive the masses, arguing as to Interpretation of the Constitution and in particular the Weimar school compromise between Center and SPD, the basis of the constitutional rule of cravings Bishop rod. The general observations on the Education Act you can still Add that the Bavarian Concordat and the Concordat plans in the realm scale the entirely sure power of the church. The § 16a of the Reich Education Act has shown that the German People's Party strikes again with the same center line to the Catholic church next to the enormous enrichment also most extensive temporal power
to obtain. Especially in the age of imperialism thus makes use of the monopolistic Capitalism like the ecclesiastical aid in the secular clericalism tasks leaves.

About this frame beyond a few brief comments to class justice. It has emerged in recent times that the practiced against the working class class justice with was carried out a brutal, as we have not had in a long time.

This class justice directed against the majority of the working classes. The in But the Soviet Union experienced class justice is directed against those who try to proletarian state to destroy. The Senate President Niedner which forced the departure was because he is morally objectionable anyway, convicted one of our Comrades to eight years in prison. Others were sentenced to 44½ years in prison. In lately been out lawsuits against workers who have some trade union

Newspaper among police officers spread. Although even the Prussian Interior Minister has expressed at consultation of the budget, the Communists stand to the right, also in the police to make propaganda for their political views, condemned the Supreme Court comrades to long prison sentences. For example, if one of our Enjoyed the "Red Flag" spread among the Reichswehr, he will, if he in this Action is concerned, sentenced to one year in prison. Such outrageous Conditions have prevailed during the reign of bürgerbloc the judiciary. We but the duty of the working class who pay attention to the class justice repeatedly do.

Next, a man in Lübeck, which does not belong to the Communist Party, on its own a series of hand-written note satirical content to the Reichswehr and distributed Bobby and it received two years in prison. I remember next to the countless become known in recent times processes against communist Booksellers and writers, so the cup-process and others. I remember that the senior prosecutor did not leave for Christmas, our political prisoners, while deposited on the other side of the case against the Claß and Co. was, during the procedure for political assassinations is to be resumed with aiming to mitigate the sentences passed. But no atonement of the last worker murders Fascists. In this class justice will in particular when discussing the budgets of our speakers are received.

A very dramatic event was ausgeklagt in 1926, where two workers, one of whom Communist Party belongs, their fellow workers in the coal mine for the purpose of Wage increase to strike calling on and also brought to the strikes. Against these two Workers charge was made, and the court ruled that the expenses that the Entrepreneurs incurred by the strike, will be borne by the two workers should; they were sentenced to 15,000 marks in damages. Practically, this means that the Lives of these two workers is destroyed for all eternity, because they at each week's wages be seized and the bailiff at any time and hour distraint may make. In this field, we see the strongest response in the line of Introduction of measures against the proletariat, which by its position ordnance to improve searches.

Now for reinforced imperialist policy of the German bourgeoisie! Just recently Time to make signs in the field of armaments and the imperialist
War preparations clearly noticeable. We have seen that in addition to the 827 million Mark, spent on the army and navy, in the budget for other positions for this Instrument of capitalist republic are used, which are also to imperialist Upgrades include. With a total strength of 115,000 men in the army and navy accounts on each man 7191 Mark; the head of the national population of 14 Mark Expenditure. Thus, in the budget of the Ministry of Transport for the aviation beings 23 Million "for immediate supporting scientific or in general-economic purposes "- it is said - has been used. In various countries of the Empire are these sums even increased threefold. For example, alone in the budget of the city of Munich provided 1.9 million for the Munich airport. Continue but will require 190 million for the Police in the budget, which mainly for their are intended militarization. We also see totals for expenses Web protection, the kingdom of water protection, the Technical relief, subsidies for the Kraftfahrwesen etc., so that we arrive at a total of about 950 million marks, the of empire due to be spent on armaments policy. In addition to these figures may be but remember that development, viewed in conjunction with the general internal Upgrades at the German bourgeoisie shows. Various operations of the previous illustrate the dramatic. A few weeks ago in the Jesuit church in Munich large arms caches uncovered. The Bavarian government has this fact as harmless portrayed and explained that these were weapons in disarming Hitler Garde were removed and combined into a collection camp. From the organs of Bavarian People's Party can be read out even with all clarity that in churches and monasteries more such weapons caches are still housed. Already in advising the War Equipment Act, we have a number of measures Note that, the German bourgeoisie the scope of this Law will prevail. In various companies that are known to us, is, for example, War machine made. Why is the government silent on the findings, we at the Advising the War Equipment Act have placed in the foreground of the discussions? If our officials spread the brought forward in the Reichstag material to it under the proletarian masses and to bring even under the Army, then our Comrades punished by imprisonment, although it is legal material from the Tribune of the Reichstag has been disclosed. We therefore call for the entire Proletariat of Germany, especially the proletarians in the chemical industry and in the other Trust industry, to notify us measures in the line of secret Upgrades are in order the warlike character of those under the guise Pacifism is facing new German imperialist movement in the stocks to put. One fact in confirmation of hundreds of facts which are known to us! On the Schichau shipyard in Elbing were made in the summer of 1927 guns and grenades. To for October 1927 60 guns had already been completed. We see that the new German Imperialism in the field of armaments works tirelessly. In addition to the technical We also see the organizational preparation in the Reichswehr. I remember the Tresckow process which has already been mentioned earlier, the one on the Reichswehr special spotlight has thrown to the Phoebus scandal 6Where it is not just about the Gessler case is, but primarily to the system of imperialist policy. The
Statement of Chancellor Marx, with whom he has tried to Phoebus scandal and the deport all corruption phenomena on the Captain Lohmann, is an attempt the public from the real cause of the corruption scandal, which the Phöbus has brought scandal to light, divert. We as Communist Party require the Chancellor Marx, that the material of the inquiry commission, where the Budget commissioner Saemisch has chaired, the Reichstag and the public is published. We see the whole development from 1923 on: the denial the Black Reichswehr 1923 and 1924, the cover-up of the various political assassinations, the close relationship of the fascist organizations Reichswehr, the secret Upgrades, the behavior of the army line when Tresckow process, in the case of Visit of Prince Henry on a "republican" cruiser, the Phoebus scandal the installation of black stockpiles, which revealed in Kiel weapon thrusts, the Transportation of weapons to support the Chinese counter-revolution. All this is only a small selection of the many, many measures which the German bourgeoisie in their "peace and disarmament policy" that will bring them the League of Nations expressed, is unmasked.

61 The Phoebus scandal was beginning August 1927 announced by the press. The deeper connections were uncovered by the KPD. From a cloaked fund the Reichswehr Ministry, among other things the Phoebus Film AG were Contributions amounting granted several million Reichsmark. won these contributions the Ministry of Defense in the interest of nationalist propaganda decisive influence on the Phoebus-Film AG. The scandal revealed that out because the same fund secret armor, Preparatory work for arms production and an extensive intelligence apparatus were funded.

In this connection, I refer to the fascist organizations such as helmet, Werewolf and Jungdo out that like in the notorious speech Seldte to, Expression came lately democracy and parliamentarism battle with Cannons announce. Of course, this challenge does not arise Seldte alone, but they carried out on the instructions of the most prominent leaders of the Trust bourgeoisie, which Parliament the is not docile enough to enforce its imperialist plans. The Development of the Stahlhelm, the tactics and the policy of the "Marxism of the Left" the solutions that have been issued in the direction of the line, which strikes the helmet, also show open dictatorship aspirations, as and in the emergency program of the bourgeoisie where Luther call very clearly expressed. And the political objective the Trust bourgeoisie, which is included in the emergency program in particular, and the propagandistic purpose, founded by Mr. Luther on behalf of heavy industry "Federal renewing the empire" is the naked dictatorship of finance capital over the toiling masses. In emergency program itself shows the categorical announcement Entrepreneurial class to tolerate any further burden of ownership. It requires the Emergency program in the form of an ultimatum administrative reform, reducing the lower and middle officers to the same extent, how in the Dawes Railroad 350000 employees, civil servants and workers has reduced over the last two years. These Question is related to the funded by the Trust capital treatment of the question the unitary state and the associated more centralized power structure the bourgeoisie. It calls for the amendment of the electoral law. It requires the expansion
the powers of the President. It requires a sharper dictatorial financial control.
Campaign of the unitary state is carried for the purpose of dismantling the apparatus, the
initiate degradation of the lower and middle officers to dictatorial measures, as
are included in the emergency program to enforce against the working classes. You want
restrict the self-administration of the various communities and cities.
By no means will you how countries conference showed the reactionary federalism
overcome, for example, by the representative of Bavaria on the countries meeting as to
Expression was brought. As the Social Democratic Party in the line of the unitary state
joined the campaign, they supported the reactionary aspirations of the German
Bourgeoisie in the creation of a reactionary unit State. The Communist Party
explains: The unitary state can only be achieved through the power of the victorious
Proletariat, where really the lower organs of the Soviets self-determination,
bring revival from bottom to top and so the basis of the general system in
the line of proletarian self-government through the power of the proletariat really
seriously enforce.
I tried to determine, in discussing the budget with reference to some important questions,
as the SPD at all key points supporting the bourgeoisie. In addition,
but it is necessary because part of the proletariat does not understand today that the
Slip opposition Social Democratic Party, as in also sometimes here
Parliament shows, is not something through the actions of a serious fight against
Bourgeoisie has to do. An interesting example of those tactics of social democracy was the
Severing speech. Those of Tribune Visitors workers in the factories and
Unemployed, who felt that it was a speech for advertising to the bourgeoisie,
the invitation for the grand coalition in support of the policy, which in recent years
German social democracy has prevailed in all fields. Where was the
fundamental criticism of the policies of biirgerblock? Where also showed just the thought
the class struggle, the will to mobilize the proletariat against the bourgeois bloc?
Small and purely external defects, Mr. Stamper were led by Mr. Severing,
without the foundations of class struggle, like him, the proletariat against the bourgeoisie
has to lead, have been demonstrated. Where was the class character of the citizens in block
the speech of Mr. Severing shown?
This whole policy of the Social Democratic Party is in their fundamental attitude to
capitalist economy and justified the capitalist state. Social democracy
entered for capitalist rationalization and explained that she of the uplift
will lead life situation of the proletariat. The opposite has occurred. I have already
found that the real wage of the proletariat has fallen. Hilferding this development
of monopoly capitalism as an overcoming of the capitalist economic anarchy and
considered a development to a planned economy. Therein, of course, was an affirmation
the capitalist state, and the Social Democratic leadership raised at the
Social Democratic workers the illusion that one within the capitalist State
stronger influence of the capitalist economy by the working class is possible.
In the same direction is also the question of economic democracy of the reformist
asked union bureaucracy, and it is this fundamental affirmation of both the
capitalist economy as the capitalist state presents to the Social Democracy
Mercy of the bourgeoisie. Therefore their coalition politics in Prussia, however, the support of the bourgeoisie in Baden and in other countries. This theory and practice of social democracy is dictated by the will to Economic peace and has the further deterioration of the situation of the working class to Episode. Especially 1927 is a prime example of this trend despite a really good Economy. While when crises and economic recession were in previous years, the Working class was mobilized by the unions, you force the working class now recognize arbitration awards reward and any other measures. The common destiny of the social democratic leaders with the capitalists shows today more than ever in the various fields. Where and when has, for example, Prussian government, but in the social democracy, as it claims, a significant exerts influence, against the reactionary policies of biirgerblock only modestly protests? Where did the Prussian government and the Social Democrats against the Biirgerblock policy in economic, political and cultural issues somehow resisted? Where does the Social Democracy tried the masses against the mobilizing citizens block? In the general internal politics has not tried the exploit economic struggles and the revolutionary front in the economic struggle strengthen. We also see that the German Social Democrats in the foreign policy German citizens Blockpolitik completely supported as by Breitscheid often has been expressed. The Soviet Union against the SPD comes to about that anti-Soviet efforts to support the unconditional recognition of to provide English politics to the fore. We also see that the aspirations of Bourgeoisie, which in the line of dictatorship, the extension of power and the power of strengthening show of the Social Democratic Party in the versions of Severing thus answered that a ballot is to be delivered in order the strengthen Social Democratic Party. Just this course of Severing means Invitation to the bourgeoisie to join the grand coalition, so that the social democracy come to the manger in the later stage of development left in the realm scale can. Opposite this betrayal of social democracy, against this bourgeois of Labor movement that seeks social democracy, against this theory wrong Line, which has been given in Kiel, which one wants to convince the workers that the can conquer proletariat in the state of Trust bourgeoisie positions of power, it is our Task, not exploit the labor movement as a tool of bourgeois democracy to leave as it was a tool of the imperialist war ever. Our Responsibility is with all our available forces to try the proletariat to bring in his own interest to the bottom of the proletarian class struggle. Cooperation with capitalist means for the proletariat and the toiling Layers impoverishment, more political repression and muzzling and a new Into skidding in an imperialist war. Task of the proletariat, it is not like the Social democracy explains to conquer with the ballots Parliament - because it means not improving the situation. Task now and in the future it is that to develop revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party and to unfold. Only then could the task facing the working class is to be met. The
Communist Party is the struggle against bourgeois bloc, against the coalition parties and continue against the imperialist policy years increasingly. We call on the working class, the toiling layers, the black block of Trust bourgeoisie oppose fight block of the toiling masses. The task in the next Presence will be to the red class front on the floor of the proletarian struggle, particularly in the factories and trade unions, on the floor of the implementation of the Eight-hour day and the increase in wages to organize and activate. The party will summarize the struggles of the working class and to a higher revolutionary level bring, on the line of the struggle for the overthrow of the citizens and the entire block Trust bourgeoisie, the struggle against capitalist oppression, against the Gagging and against dictatorship measures, which were lately in the foreground. How do we do it? By working in the factories and trade unions strengthen and increase and the workers for a general strike and revolutionary struggle for Calling their demands! Finally, I would like to say: Given the stringent forays Trust bourgeoisie against the working class, in view of the role played by social democracy today, it is the Task of the working class, led by the Communist Party to fight continue biirgerblock and coalition politics with enhanced power and increase. With We combine our struggle against imperialist war danger, for this fight Defense of the Soviet Union. More importantly, it is now, the fight against to increase coalition politics of social democracy with its treacherous character and strengthened to fight for the fulfillment of the tasks of the program in Communist Party laid down: win the battle of workers and peasants government, Establishment of the proletarian dictatorship!

"Negotiations of the Reichstag, III. Legislature in 1924 "
Vol. 394, pp 12262-12270.
War preparations of the imperialist powers under England's leadership against the Soviet Union and the intensification of class conflict in all capitalist countries show the entire proletariat the necessity in the fight against imperialism, against the increasingly advancing reaction and for the protection of the Soviet Union. Unions expand into real fighting organizations. The recent Organizational forms and methods of struggle as they led the ADGB and IGB [International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)] were applied, correspond in any case the given by the situation needs. Most egregious is the occasion of the English general and miners' strike in 1926 found expression. Both the have English General, as the ITUC, the ADGB and the miners International fails completely. The proletariat is heavier in the future currently Conflicts are. I throw only one question: What preparations had the official instances taken in the case of open struggle in the Rhenish-Westphalian metallurgical industry, the international and national support of the German ensure metalworkers? They had just as 1926 by nothing - because they himself no fight want.

In the struggle against imperialist war preparations for the destruction of Soviet power and have the destruction of the revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples has not only failed the instances of Free Trade Unions everything to a carry out mobilization against the imperialists, they have the contrary League policy and "disarmament" of the great powers supported and at the same time a Incitement against the Soviet power and against the official at the rate of reformist Leader dissenting workers performed.

The preparation of the national and international struggle alliances, transforming the Professional associations in combat-capable industry associations and the preparation of the international Trade union unity, these are problems of the active political struggle, rather than purely Organisational questions. Each union struggle and every major political Dispute must be used, the most decisive battle in much solidarity wider scale than previously apply. As a means to the greater assurance of such solidarity and to increase the combat power of the organized proletariat is the need of international trade union unity and the transformation of the trade unions in Industry associations to propagate more than before.

The achievement of trade union unity can only stronger, active struggle of Working masses are carried out, and each step towards the realization is also the Advertising power of trade unions among the unorganized and even among the Christian in boost and yellow associations organized workers enormously.

The crucial obstacle in the way to transform the unions according to the current needs in the organizations themselves with the Imperialism connected at the mercy of reformist leaders who Leipart, Oudegeest, Jouhaux, etc. In all major issues these leaders agree with "their" Bourgeoisie match: against the danger of war and the encirclement of the Soviet Union they appeal to the League of Nations, against the increased offensive Trust bourgeoisie all areas they propagate cartel control and economic democracy (the nothing but a new kind of working relationship with old methods) and praise the Arbitration and Conciliation beings. Imagine the state increasingly as Executive organs available and looking for the mass struggle through parliamentary

Footnote: ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation) - synonymous with Amsterdam Trade Union International.
replace affair. In almost scandalously trying at every
Opportunity (elections), the entire apparatus of the trade unions on the
clamp Social Democracy. True to its policies these leaders have no
Interest in the transformation of the trade unions and industry associations at the
Preparation of the international trade union unity.
The battle for the preparation of the trade union unity and to the increase in
Combat capability and combat power of the unions must thus also against as a struggle
managed the reformist policies. It is self-evident that we as
revolutionary unionists have every interest in political sharpest
Combating social democratic reformism classmates in an objective and
comradely manner and to convince through joint work. Only on the of
we marked paths can the unions their daily tasks in the "small war
between capital and labor "in connection with their great historical task of
Participation in the "elimination of the wage system and the rule of capital" really
meet, only in this way can the unions to organizational centers of the
Working class and the interests of the proletariat and its revolutionary
Combat duties serving.

"The unit,

Journal of questions of socialism and trade union unity"

Berlin, February 4, 1928 68/69.
For V. National Conference
Red Front Fighters' League

The protection and defense organization of the German proletariat, the Red American Legion, occurs on 23 March his V. Reich conference.
In Hamburg, the delegates of the RFB will meet in the kingdom to over the line and the method of upcoming work to taking important decisions. It applies, the advance of the Red Front by clarity of the tasks, by exhaustive Analysis of policy issues and open self-criticism of the weaknesses and deficiencies to promote the work to date.

Enormous tasks to be solved! The termination of the German-Soviet Economic negotiations highlights the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union closer. The role of German imperialism, be swiveled into the War Front of world imperialism against the Soviet Union, can not even the "left" SPD press denying more. The protection of the proletarian fatherland, the active solidarity will battle slogans of the German proletariat with the first workers' state. The RFB has succeeded in the course of the past year, broad masses of the working people for the mobilizing struggle against imperialist war. We are all of the overwhelming Impression of the III. Reich meeting still present. And the crowded rallies of Occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army have proved that the best class-conscious layers of the working class continues to follow before the cries of the red front. Now it is but, not to be content with what has been achieved, but the systematic daily struggle to lead the shakeup of all workers who are still of Social mislead the stamp of Wels, Stampfer, Breitscheid and not see danger of a new 4 August 1914th We have to show that the strangulation of Economic struggles of the working class by the reformists also the implementation of the Program of German imperialism served.

The united front between the bourgeois bloc and the SPD in covering up the Phöbus-Scandal provides the classic proof that social democracy imperialist "Weir" policy of the German bourgeoisie, the armament of the army and the navy more openly supports. These relationships, it is the broad masses of working people understandable to make. It is true, the pacifist frauds of reformism which Unveiling its imperialist character and a large-scale propaganda for oppose disarmament program of the Soviet Union.

As nonpartisan mass organization of the RFB can just to collect the still standing on an undeveloped stage of proletarian class consciousness contribute much working masses and in this way the revolutionary class struggle prove invaluable.

In intimate connection with the struggle against imperialist war is the second major area of responsibility of the RFB: the struggle against fascism. Well explain the reformist leaders: "There is no danger of fascism more!" Especially with this but deceptions they prove to be the accomplices of fascism. No Liquidation, but a change in the forms of fascist warmongering: that is the nature of political development in recent years. This change, it is however timely identification and the battle tactics of the proletarian Protective adjust Defence Organisation it. It is important to understand that the German Trust capital
even immediately fascist methods will apply once the resolute
Resistance of the proletariat reached a degree of the implementation
Scharfmacher policy impossible through traditional means.
The fascist Garden of birgerblock not be sent home. They stand
ready to command the trust kings following in economic struggles the strikers

knock and rebellious workers. Their influence among the workers themselves
declined, but, just like that of Reichsbanner, not yet broken. The RFB
is notwithstanding any harassment and persecution of the republican police, regardless
the prohibitions of the resolution of several local groups and the heavy class judgments against
Red Front Fighters to fight against fascism with tireless and increased
continue energy.
The work of the RFB since the IV. National Conference has increased requirements for these
created increased revolutionary activity. The internal political unity of
Federal comes, among other things expressed that the tests of Maslow agents,
in the ranks of the RFB confusion and disagreement into carry, with lamentable failure
ended. The V. National Conference is to on various Gaukonferenzen already
have adopted resolutions to comment, after which those with the
anti-Soviet organizations associated or their literature spread in
RFB have no place.
In organizational terms, the RFB is strengthened internally and consolidated there.
This non-weakened advertising power of the Federal however there is a high turnover
opposite to. It is one of the most important tasks of the Fifth National Conference, such
establish working methods, which are suitable not only the advertising appeal more to
increase, but also suppress the fluctuation to an unavoidable minimum.
For this it is necessary that the RFB life of its own as a proletarian Protective
preserved defense organization. In addition to the necessary cooperation in all fields of
revolutionary class struggle, especially the economy struggles, the main task
the RFB in the specific activity on its own territory.
Course to the conquest of the masses! The RFB has its doors wide open for the young,
the revolutionary urge fulfilled proletarian elements, they must use, for
political work schools, new tens of thousands of active fighters against
imperialist war, against the Citizens Block, against fascism and reformism
attract and educate.
This goal can only achieved through the establishment of the proletarian united front
will. The Red American Legion has against the reformist divider of the
Workers Front, for the establishment of uniform red battlefront of workers still
back beyond his strength. Intensified struggle against reformism, against the
Legal risk in the labor movement - those valid on an international scale solution
means for RFB intensification and concretization of the fight against
Socialist Reichsbanner guide. The powers of the RFB are almost
be focused exclusively on the establishment of the united front from below. Despite the
favorable objective opportunities were despite Reichsbanner crisis in previous years on
this field achieved any major success. Only the thorough political training
entire membership, the equipment of the soldiers of the red class front with the arms
the revolutionary knowledge will be able to bring us forward a decisive step.
The more the danger of war comes to a head, the greater is the importance of obtaining the
working youth of the red class front. Strongest support the Red Youth Front is the task not only of the RFB, but of the entire revolutionary proletariat. The good ones Merits of March banns the Red Youth Front intended here for further enhanced work inspire.

The German Communist Party directed hot struggle greetings to the national conference Red Front Fighters' League. The revolutionary party of the proletariat and its protection and defense organization in the future as in the past to shoulder Shoulder fight. Not only the leaders, all members of the party must understand that the Party must support proletarian protective and defensive organization politically, as well as

All comrades of the Red Front in the KPD the leader of the revolutionary working class behold, the victory also means victory. In this sense, the members of the party and with them also agree the broad masses of with the revolutionary organizations sympathizing workers on March 23 in our Greeting struggle a:
"Rot Front of V. National Conference of RFB!"

"The Red flag"
March 23, 1928th
Clear Front!

The Reichstag and the Dawes Locarnopolitik, the Reichstag of the capitalist Reconstruction is resolved. With him at the same time go the diets of Prussia coalition and the right-wing governments apart in Bavaria and Württemberg. four Years allowed the working people take loads up, had to duck had watch as these Reconstruction policy the Truste, the Big industry, the Bank enterprises, the landowners with profits showered, the misery of the broad Masses increased and revolutionary fighters incarcerated. Now come and governments Government parties, the open and silent partner of this policy, of the German Nationalists to the Social Democrats, went out before the masses to their voices capture. Coalitions are declared dissolved (in the kingdom and in Bavaria!) Or the Responsibility for the consequences of the policy is rejected (Prussia coalition that supposedly "Prevented worse" has!). All the parties to the citizens and the block Coalition governments are suddenly full of concern for the welfare of the working people. Governments and government parties know that under the heavy pressure of the recent years carried out the policy of working people increasingly have become unhappy and start to rebel. Workers' struggles, peasant marches and carried out in the previous elections for the ruling class Warning signals. That is why for them the main task: to take advantage of the current election campaign to the toiling masses to weigh in new illusions. The ballot is a levy give carte blanche for the continuation of the reactionary course. The SPD is in line with the other parties in complete agreement: responsibility for the "construction of the Economy "and" order "in the state, which is the most important, the decisive factor. Or what Severing, the upcoming ministerial candidate says: Do everything that promotes the development of all refrain from what it inhibits! That is why they lead together with the bourgeoisie to fight against us communists! That is why they prevent the release of the proletarian political Prisoners!
For us Communists the elections are an indicator of how much the masses in Class consciousness and matured in the revolutionary struggle will or how far they still full of illusions about the European Parliament and the outgoing for votes parties. At the same time give us the opportunity to contest the broadest mass mobilization for our goals, our methods of struggle and the daily demands which today in Interest of the working class and the entire working population are enforced have to.

What is the ruling class, the bourgeois parties? What is at stake for the reformist leaders of the SPD and the trade unions? To that aim must for toiling masses go in town and country?

The policies of the past four years was totally determined by the strengthening of the new German imperialism, which through reference to the major imperialist World powers - the United States and England - again looking to gain international importance. Implementation of the Dawes Plan and the Locarnopakts, entry into the League of Nations, warning to the Soviet Union on the occasion of the Anglo-Soviet conflict, provocative demolition business negotiations with the Soviet Union - these are the main stages of the German Foreign policy, and of Stresemann on behalf of the Trust mighty, the banks Agrarian Party with the consent of the bourgeois parties and the SPD were performed. "At this policy nothing will be changed!" Announced the spokesman of the German People's Party, the party of heavy industry, only in recent days. He also celebrated this policy with pathetic words as a policy of "peace in the interest of humanity!"

Groener, the clear and energetic representatives of the New German militarism, which advocates of German rearmament 'against the East' and for the implementation of the League of Nations executive, illustrated the peaceful policy as "reasonable pacifist" with the requirement of several hundred million for upgrade and new million for the construction of Armored cruisers. The Reichstag and the Reichsrat, with inclusion of the Prussian State Government - approved the sums. The SPD but that Stresemann's foreign policy her than the praises "socialist" foreign policy, explicitly emphasizes the always sharper this policy against the Soviet Union! The SPD opposed the Disarmament proposals of the Soviet delegation in Geneva and supported the arguments of the British imperialists. The SPD called for the demolition of the trade negotiations with the Soviet Union and acted as cheerleader: "Even a socialist government would not have done otherwise."

The SPD declared by their leader Hermann Müller (in the "Society", February issue), that Germany must protect themselves from the Soviet Union, in its policies still "elements Tsarist policy "were included, and Hilferding pointed the way to the government complete break with the Soviet Union "in the interests of the working class!"

Germany's rise as an imperialist power should thus in intensified fighting the Soviet Union make! Enormous military spending for the army and for Secret armaments in preparation for the armed conflict - that is the "Peace policy" of the German ruling class and the German Social Democracy, the again only covered when Phoebius scandal secret armor, for expenditure of 35 endorsed million marks and 7 million for the liquidation of Phoebus history
has specifically approved waiving disclosure of secret military fund!
Opposite this front of the imperialists and their social-imperialist helpers deserve our
Battle of the collection of the masses:
For the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist encirclement;
against the arms policy, to the new militarism; against bourgeois
Defence Associations and the Reichsbanner as a reservoir for a new war army;
against the pacifist illusions about the League of Nations, arbitration and disarmament, against
the militaristic youth education. that the strengthening of free trade unions and for
Strengthening red Front and the mass organizations of the RFB and the RFMB;
to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union by energetic struggle for
Overthrow their own bourgeoisie!

The imperialist foreign policy that, in the struggle for the destruction of Soviet power
the capitalist subjugation and plundering of the Soviet Union, new markets and
Hobbies, facilitating the Dawes Plan, border corrections and new
Upgrade Paths achieve investigated corresponds to the structure of internal policy
Germany. The German trust lords, the bankers and the Junkers could not
more willing tools for the implementation and support of its policy of
Massenausplünderung and mass impoverishment want as the Reichstag 1924-1928, the
State parliaments, not least the Prussian Landtag the Weimar coalition and from
them emerged governments. Capitalist stabilization was completely on
Cost of the working population carried out! If the National Federation of Industry,
the banks and the big landowners gave only a hint when they threatened softly, the
Construction work is in danger, taxes were deferred, granted loans, paid subsidies
Duties increased. From year to year the Dawes loads (1928/1929 2.5 billion!) Rose, rose
the cost of military, police and justice (in Germany and countries around 3 billion), the
social expenditure has been curtailed; to the same extent but decreased property taxes, and
the mass taxes grew unbearable!

But if the workers their demands applicable: eight-hour day, living wages,
Ensuring the supply of unemployed, protection of workers, the young
Workers when the workers demanded: an end to the fiscal policy creates
decent housing, granted to victims of war, labor, inflation
auskömmliche pensions, leading the Prince expropriation by, blocking the high salaries and
Pensions for ministers, generals, admirals, puts an end to the military spending, etc. -
then they found deaf ears. Battleship necessary for the imperialists, but
not feeding children! If the proletarians grumbled and dared to step into the battle,
then they were gagged by the state apparatus. The class justice forbade labor disputes,
Police and Technical emergency rushed to entrepreneurs to help. The small farmers and
Small businesses were seized ruthlessly; the impoverished pensioners, the
but indebted lower officials, the hundreds of thousands starving unemployed drowned
it contrary: The kingdom is poor, we can not help you.
The leaders of the SPD and the unions boast of capitalist development work,
which was carried out with their help. Rationalization was their demand. They claim,
without arbitration sectors, salaries would be much lower; the work Zeitnot law
Arbeitsgerichtsgesetz and the unemployment insurance law was "progress" in the
Direction of control of the economy by the state! Instead mobilization for Fighting the Trust domination they had only one thing in mind: strangulation of fighting and the exclusion offensive against the opposition, the application of revolutionary Methods of struggle against the increased power of the allied bourgeoisie and Trust State apparatus called!
The SPD helped for years to bring about defeat after defeat. She led a Sham fight against biirgerblock sparing the center; she tried to explain, that only the German Nationalists were to blame for the civil bloc politics, it hopes thus to renounce its own responsibility. She has the Civil Block until today the implementation of the transactions, the adoption of the budget and the allows emergency program in favor of the propertied class. They consoled each time Defeat of the workers for change through elections. If they, the SPD, in Government sitting, then it would be different. But it was the SPD not to imperial politics already actively involved? What did the SPD in Prussia government? Agreed this their Prussia government not the customs and tax laws, as the nefarious Labor laws? not Trat them as cheerleaders for rent increases (Hirstiefer)? not led to the prince by severance and pressed most strongly on increasing the Salaries for ministers and senior officials? Engine not against the small farmers the same policy as the governments of Bavaria and Württemberg, as the Land League: namely the Great, loans and subsidies, the little but by primary and Commercial taxes throat turned a blind!
For the workers and laborers can this policy of governments and Parliaments, give to the promises of the parties only one answer: Finally with this system!
What you did, helped the propertied class! With fine words and grand Promises will not serve us! The working people in town and country, the workers, Small farmers, small businesses, lower officials, war and social pensioners, etc. need to a closed battlefront to their demands come together! You must unite under revolutionary leadership! Not Consortium and coalition, but revolutionary struggle is the solution! Fight for eight-hour day and living wages, for the demands of the unemployed and the pensioners of all kinds for decent existence!

conclusion With the Mediation services, With the noncombat accept of the Hunger arbitration awards! Enforcement revolutionary slogans into free Unions!
Struggle of all working people to adequate housing, to eliminate the mass and taxes Duties to breaking through the grass roots financial and economic policies and the anti-worker legislation!
Fight each coalition politics, working community and economic democracy!
The bourgeoisie does the rest to the growing resistance of the working masses to meet in time. You do not know that by brute force alone the masses are to hold down. Why was feverishly in recent years to a stronger ideological loyalty of the masses worked. The Kingdom Education Act should the basic
place for such a youth education that complete within the meaning of clericalism as drill
and compulsory school the proletarian youth the spiritual and mental stunting
handed down in addition to the catastrophic impoverishment of hunger, housing and
Child labor! Precursors of this law were the law to "protect" the youth against
Filth and dirt and the law to "protect" the youth in merrymaking! That this
Empire Education Act did not take place in the Reichstag, not saying about that the driving
Strength left - the struggle for clericalization school is still on the
Agenda. The agreement between the parties was already almost
completed - only the proximity of elections, they defeated. In particular, the SPD has in the
Prussian government, as well as in the Prussian State Council, its agreement in principle with
the law declares as indeed proves more services in the government the clergy when he
even expected: Prussia is ready, as it has done Bavaria, a concordat with the
complete church, the church still grants more rights and instead of separation
State and church full coupling of church and state for a common struggle
brings against the toiling masses.
During the election campaign to be the most diverse parties especially the working women
contact with an appeal for Christian education, Christian morality and Christian family
enter; Only in this way can be remedied by the social distress. This disgusting
Hypocrisy over, we show that the close ties of cultural, social, economic
and foreign policy, cultural impoverishment, social impoverishment, imperialist
Upgrade, capitalist enrichment belong to a system! Especially in these
Issues of culture, the church, the government can no dealings with the
ruling class give, even in these matters is the front of the exploited against
the front of the propertied class and their accomplices! Separation of church and state,
Preventing clericalization school, design of youth education in the sense
productive work education on the basis of Marxist ideology,
real care for the growing up generation by school meals,
Wohnungsfürsorge, health care, prevention of capitalist exploitation,
Six-hour for young workers - these are the demands of the fight against
ruling class against the bourgeois parties and reformists with all
Decisiveness fight, for all working people must use, for the
Communist Party calls for battle.

There are only three problems of the struggle of the working people in the present situation
been singled out! Where we always turn our gaze, what problem we always
treat, before us is the fact: Only the toughest fight against the ruling class,
only in the fight against the capitalist state, the daily interests of
Working people are perceived. The main obstacle to the collection of the masses
the coalition politics of the SPD, the politics of the Working Group, of the
Economic democracy. They help the policy of Trust bourgeoisie, the imperialists

conceal and carry. To ministerial posts bartered the SPD the interests of
Proletariat! Fearing the growing rebellion, before the revolution of the masses
aggravated them the fight - not against the bourgeoisie, but against the
impelling the masses to some, closed combat collecting
Communist Party!
The facts of the past years, the current policy of the bourgeoisie and the SPD thus creating a clear front! On the one hand, the defense of the capitalist Construction, the imperialist policy of war, immiseration of the proletariat under the banner of Weimar Republic on the other hand the Communists as a champion of Mass interests, as a champion against imperialism and militarism, for social Revolution, for the proletarian dictatorship, for socialism. Ten years German Republic, ten years oppression, plunder, muzzling the ten years tracking the Communist Party of the Working People, - that is the way of Rise of the trusts and the way of preparing new wars, the way the encirclement the Soviet Union!

*The Way of the Communist Party but is fighting misery and Oppression; Fight for immediate demands of the working people in town and country; struggle against the system of imperialism and militarism; Struggle to defend Soviet Union; Struggle for smashing the republic of capitalists and the Junkers following the example of the Russian workers and peasants, for the creation of a Workers' state, for establishment of a workers and peasants government!*

We Communists do not make promises. We tell the masses that we for their demands in Parliament occur, they must be enforced but against the Bourgeoisie and its government (whether civil or block coalition), the united front against the bourgeois parties and the SPD in the mass struggle, the implacable, inexorable Power struggle.

In this sense, we promote among the exploited, dispossessed, oppressed, under the for their existence hard struggling working people:

Schartmann you to the Communist Party!

Following the battle slogans of the Communist Party! Selects Communists!

"The Red flag"  
April 1, 1928th
The German national Interior Minister Keudell the steward of the Stahlhelm in Biiirgerblock government has ordered the state governments, the Red American Legion, to ban the only protection and defense organization of the class-conscious proletariat. The "Daily Rundschau", the institution of the Foreign Minister Stresemann, hastens determine that the "suggestion of the Minister of the Interior not to a cabinet decision back, but gone out of him as police minister ". It is common ground that this measure with the approval of the central Chancellor Marx and the bourgeois bloc government took place. This is not a sudden impulse of little with invasions blessed Lord of Keudell, but a conscious, deliberate and well-prepared blow the whole bourgeoisie against the entire working class.

The German bourgeoisie, which at the same time an intensified offensive of capital for holding down the wages and the extension of working and an intensified imperialist Course has embarked in the service of the British war plans against the Soviet Union, sees the risk that the implementation of this policy on the part of the class-conscious Workers threatened. The Social Democratic leaders are always ready, the plans of to support the bourgeoisie. They help with all the forces in the strangulation of Labor disputes and in the agitation against the workers' state. But the working class begins, to understand the role of the reformist leaders, the masses turn more and more red front to the class struggle.

When the disappointed by the Social Democratic policy working masses from the Reformists away and under the leadership of the Communist Party red in the unite front of the class struggle, then has the last hour for capitalist exploitation in Germany defeated. That is why the bourgeoisie wants the very time when she goes to it, even harder to tie their reformist lackeys se, Suppression and violent measures against the revolutionary proletariat and its Organizations tighten. The Social Democratic government men do not think of the fascist to suppress murder organizations.

At the beginning of the election campaign, Socialist government men in Prussia, true to the instructions of the citizens block the ban on Nazi Fascist party has terminated. The fascists educate their people for the imperialist War. The bourgeoisie wants war. The Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie allied. How could they seriously fascist organizations prohibit? The German Nationalists, the fascists who Bourgeoisparteien do not think that Reichsbanner combat. The Reichsbanner educates his followers for valor for the bourgeois republic, for defending the imperialist "fatherland", as Fighting force against Bolshevism. The bourgeoisie wants to stop war and civil war the "Bolshevik threat". Why should they fight the Reichsbanner? How long nor will it tolerate the honest proletarians in Reichsbanner that they by their leaders be misused for the counter-revolutionary aims of the bourgeoisie? The Red American Legion educates workers to irreconcilable revolutionary class struggle, to defend the vital interests of all working people in town and country, the ruthless war against the imperialist war, for unconditional defense the proletarian state, the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie wants the class struggle of reflected proletariat by all means to make the way for the Capitalist offensive. The bourgeoisie wants the union of the working people under the red prevent flag by all means, the bourgeoisie is preparing the war against proletarian state before. That is why they want to ban the Red Front Fighters Federation. open talks the the "cross newspaper" from:
"The Red American Legion is the power factor of Bolshevism in Germany."

We thank the gentlemen of the "cross newspaper" for this clear language. You want to Conflict with the Soviet Union. They fear the American Legion, the backbone of the proletarian mass resistance against this war crime. As far as these Men right. But if they think they can break that backbone with a ban, then they will charge. You have it before 1923, a ban on Communist Party tries. The party has emerged stronger from the prohibition. This trial will not end differently.
The Prussian government and the other coalition governments against Instruction of the Lord Keudell appeal with the State Court applicable. The intention is clear: before the masses of the workers, the Social Democrats want the Weimar Coalition responsible for the suppression of proletarian organization roll off. You want from the biirgerblock Government and the State Court "Rape" blank. The cheap gesture of protest will not forget for a worker make that it was the Prussian government, with its prohibitions and resolution decrees showed up local groups of RFB fascist interior minister the way. The Prussian government, as the "forward" the already announced, this time, as always, play the role of out-leading organ of biirgerblock reaction. We already read in the bourgeois and the socialist leaves mutual Solidaritätserklärungen. The "cross newspaper" Notes:

"Affected by the communist approach, has the method, but all organizations to Reichsbanner."

For the declaration of love of the fascists sheet, the institution of the Reichsbanner thanked the "Forward", "objective" by noting that the fights steel helmet and Red Front fighters "are equally guilty". Hundreds of workers, communist like Socialist, have been seriously wounded or killed by the fascists. These hundreds of thousands cases fascist raids is hardly a case opposite where the Red Front fighters could be demonstrated that they the Measure justified self-defense have been exceeded. But the righteous judge of the "forward" explains: "equally guilty"!
Not enough impudence with this shameless solidarity with the fascist bandits the Stamper sheet to speak of, "how close the friendship between extreme is right and extreme left, how German National and Communists each other in hands play ".
The German national interior ministers want the Communist Party to the prohibit sympathizing American Legion. Interaction between German Nationals and Communists? Yes, says Mr. Stampfer, "an attempt to Communists Agitation materials to gain ".
One has since put only the question of why the social democratic political friends of "Forward" the Communists so eager to play throughout the government in your hands. Because no less than the German national interior ministers biirgerblock government provides the Socialist Home Secretary of the Prussian government by prohibitions Repression, etc. "Agitation materials" for the communists.
But the silly and naughty jokes of the Social Democratic central institution to the not hide the workers of the seriousness of the situation. This prohibition is only one Beginning. Keudell impudence to the suppression of a mass organization with the protection
the "freedom of choice" to justify. Freedom of choice for the fascists, for the Terrorist organizations of the bourgeoisie! That is the meaning. Such justifications can prohibit any proletarian organization. Similarly, the development of fascism in other countries began. In Italy were first the communist Fighting organizations suppressed until finally every non-fascist union Labor organization fell under the ban. All workers, where their proletarian organizations are expensive, knowing that the Proletariat needs its fighting organizations to defend its existence, must rise as one man against this ban. If it were the bourgeoisie, the proletarian suppress organization without serious resistance, as would one after another to the series come. This can not and must not be! In any holdings in any workers' meeting, in every mass organization must toilers, the voice of protest rise. The organization of the reactionary bourgeoisie is suppressed, is an organization of the working class, meat of their flesh, blood of her blood. That must understand each worker. If the Traitors who have now established their "anti" -Leninbund, our organizations "Reformist" want to discredit the workers, so instruct the new beats our enemies all workers, where the bourgeoisie their mortal enemies, the champions of proletarian revolution looks. For every comrade red front the impending ban is a confirmation that our organization in the right revolutionary path is. Double zeal double Enthusiasm, double victim's will for our cause, which is the response of each Red his front fighter, every communist, every class-conscious worker. The proletarian class struggle can not forbid it. Under the terrible terror of Tsarism was the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin created in Russia, that the powerful Russian imperialism shattered. is under the terror of fascism the Communist Party in Poland and Italy at the top of the working masses in the struggle for power. Bans, oppression, terror also in Germany, the revolutionary not wrestle labor movement. With twice the power we are the bourgeoisie, their reformist servants and all traitors oppose. We call all workers to: Now fortiori into the red front! Now fortiori into the Communist Party! Well certainly work and struggle for the victory of communism!

"The Red flag"
April 19 1928th
And after the elections?

In the last hour we take a look of the toiling masses to what after the elections comes. All other parties but focus all their energy on the Votes on May 20, to be sure! After election day so are all major words and promises that were given in the heat of votes Fangs not more. Then should, in the opinion of those parties, of the German Nationalists to the SPD, the masses silent and leave politics to the "appointed" leaders. Before the elections, dripping their Talking only as of public welfare, of general interest, of social people's state, etc. Especially in the Social Democratic press could get in the last few weeks even not do enough - under the highlighting of the sentence of the Constitution "all power emanates from the The people "- to insure absolutely remedy any hardship if only the Social democracy by choosing "power", ie ministerial posts, will be given. After the elections occur again the sober, real facts in their full rights. The toiling masses are allowed to vote, but do not determine. Write Only ballot, but do not make yourself active policy! All parties who committed the capital and the existing order by their actions are who love the capitalist oppressor State (they him thousandfold Volksstaat call) and the capitalist economy represented, see in the masses only the objects Politics; they must be mortal enemies of the mass activity and mass initiative. Therefore the Hot effort to strengthen illusions to comfort by promises to catch votes. Hence also the great silence of all these parties about what after the elections comes. We, however, call the toiling masses on: You yourselves are called to the work of your perform liberation. We show you the way, we lead you. Unlike through the struggle of the working class and all other working people can not you help will. This path of struggle, the progression from small to large battles, from Partial strikes and mass strikes of Erkämpfung higher wages and shorter hours to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, to the destruction of the bourgeois State by a general strike and uprising - this is mass politics, against the fraudulent Recommended policy of the parliamentary system, the politics of horse-trading, the Minister haggling, the Volksausplünderung and Volksentrechtung! The liberation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself! admonishes This brazen word, warns the toiling masses in the last hour: Do not be beguile, do not be caught, do not be lulled! All your needs can not defeated all your longing, your desire for happiness can not be satisfied when its not your fortunes take into the hands even among target clear leadership.
We say all the workers, all plundered, all disenfranchised and oppressed:
Think about the development of the last ten years since the war! What do you have
brought? Restoration of the rule of capital, gradually increasing
political disenfranchisement and growing terror, year increased to year plunder of
toiling to year increased armor for an active imperialist nation, year
Robbery and war policy! Think about the developments of recent weeks and months and
says itself which path it has. What approaches it contains, that their promises on
trust could? We say: No! What approaches it shows that a new tightening
the exploitation and oppression occurs? We say: All! Do not you see how a large
Tidal wave of new price increases more threatening swells, dictated by the profit interests
the trust and agricultural capital? Do you not see how the preparation of the prohibition of
RFB the increased repression of the entire proletariat, its disarmament
is introduced? Do you not see how a new shameless incitement against the Soviet power
on the occasion of the engineering process in Moscow further steps to tighten
imperialist actions against the Soviet Union prepared? promises before the elections
one bread, freedom, peace! After the elections, the initiated and prepared
promote steps to enhance hunger, terror and war offensive energetically
will! Or do you think that Socialist Prime prevent this development?
Do you think that the bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic leaders even one day in the
Government can, when, just one step against the interests of Truste, the banks of the
Agricultural capital ventured? You are in the government, when the policy of the propertied class
perform, they are as long as it keeps the ruling class necessary! You mean,
Toilers that difficult for them this policy? The small layer of the labor aristocracy,
the reformist party and union bureaucracy is with the capitalist system
grown in the state and economy, matted - she has no other interests than this
For system and to help expand! And you try to convince: your
Interests are served when they reap state salaries and ministers' salaries when
they stall at the ministerial sake strikes, rent increases, control and
Tariff increases grant. As if the burden of hunger, housing misery,
Unemployment, the Antreibersystems who Akkordschinderei endure sweet when
Socialist Minister instead of the German national at the Tete are!
Hunger elections, terrorist elections, war elections, which is the purpose of political decision
on May 20, when the working masses for the parties to the Trust capital,
Business associations, the big landowners agree or if the for the party
Minister haggling agree. increased demand, the interests of the ruling class
Hunger, increased political disenfranchisement, increased war preparations!
on the other hand, we call for the fight elections! Every vote for the Communist Party
is means consent, support the revolutionary class struggle, every vote
a threat against the bourgeoisie and its state. We will not be long, desolate
driving, rushing to death. We are tired of ducking us in misery and need, to bow
hunger arbitration awards under truncheon and class justice. We laugh your
hypocritical speeches of People's Welfare and peace, we mock your League of Nations, the
means nothing more than a scheming kitchen against the Soviet Union, against the
Colonial peoples, against the exploited and oppressed in capitalist countries - we
take our destiny into our own hands. Not in parliament - to the exclusion of
working people, and not by Ministers haggling between the reformist leaders representatives of the propertied class, but in the revolutionary struggle against class Class, the exploited against the exploiters, creators against parasites, Suppressed, Disenfranchised against brutal dictatorship of capital, we will encounter the capitalist offensive, we will break it. We will enforce our demands - our Forderengen to earn a living - and your rule breaking, break as the Russian workers and farmers have done for more than ten years ago!

Fight elections - which thus also means most to the development of relations point after 20 May to this anti-working class development in can successfully meet mass struggle. The elections are only part of the Mobilization for this fight! The elections show the fronts: Here capital dictatorship Support of Civil block and coalition - there implacable revolutionary class struggle to for the overthrow of the ruling class, to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship! Here Represenation of the propertied class and labor aristocracy - there fight the block Working people in town and country! it is just after the elections, the millions of workers, Small farmers, impoverished SMEs that for citizens block parties, for the coalition and Minister Party voted, but disappointed by the policies of the coalition as well be who were beaten by the citizens Blockpolitik to work incessantly. It always and everywhere true with respect to the passive Hinnehmenmüssen of what the ruling class performs, to show the way of mass struggle: Well certainly be not cower and hold still, now really strengthen the class front, now really in some closed front march!

The growing inflation will put more stringent than in the past years the task Hunger arbitration awards in recent months to break. Whether coalition if Bürgerblock government, only in the struggle of the broadest masses the misery rates will fall. Only in the struggle of new tariff robbery, control and exorbitant rents are to be blocked. In these battles both the full assurance of the right to strike must be enforced. The Arbitration and Conciliation beings must disappear, as well as the attacks against the RFB nullifying the right to the road, the right to revolutionary agitation secured and propaganda against the capital dictatorship, against the capitalist class state

Need to become. Thus the possibility is secured, the fight against the increased War policy, against the increasing agitation against the Soviet Union and communism propel!

Fight elections, that is for us as Communists: We do not humble us with the Result of 20 May, we are not content with increase in votes, we put off not to later elections, we go immediately to the increased work against the policy of upcoming Reichstag and his government! The tens and hundreds of thousands of Voices fallen to us more, they are an expression of heightened class consciousness and Will to fight, they give us the responsibility, now more eagerly our revolutionary to fulfill your duty!

Fight elections, that is: After 20 May there for us no rest; Fight elections ie: to strengthen immediately the strengthened front more, immediately advance Minister Schacher and horse trading. The mass demonstration to IV. Empire meet on May 27 will take place under the slogans of our choice Kampfes. And all the battles the next time be kindled for these slogans - against the front of schwarzweißrotgoldene
Bürgerblock- and coalition parties, against the alliance of the capitalist class with the reformist leaders, against the bourgeois state, against the capital dictatorship for you
Battlefront of all working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Alliance the workers and the small farmers and impoverished middle class, for the proletarian state, for the proletarian dictatorship, for socialism!
In proud consciousness of the historical role under the leadership of the proletariat
Communist Party in heavy fighting for the destruction of capitalism conduct has, we use the last hours of the campaign to promote the major objectives of the revolutionary proletariat, for the goals, which the great leader, Karl Marx and Engels to Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, their whole have devoted large and rich life and work. For us there is no resting! Still at Evening of election day, when the first election results are announced - we raise our Voice, our battle cry: enough of biirgerblock, down with any coalition! struggle the capitalist hunger, terror and war regime! On to Berlin to IV. Reich meeting, the huge mass demonstration of the revolutionary workers against the new Wave of capitalist offensive, for the revolutionary liberation!
The struggle of the masses marching to Pfingsttreffen - this is the "welcome" the new Reichstag:
The red front is on the field!
The red front marching forward!
The red front protects the Soviet power!
The red front breaks the shackles of capital dictatorship!
The red front - under the leadership of the Communist Party - is against biirgerblock and Coalition victory against the capitalist state and the proletarian state, the proletarian dictatorship, the revolutionary workers and peasants government of socialist Germany win!

In the last hour we admonish: fight elections! Vote for the revolutionary class struggle!
Vote for the Chinese Communist Party!

"The Red flag"
of 20 May 1928th
The utilization of the election victory

Our election victory on May 20, 63 must be serious, sober reviewed by the party. The large non-uniformity of the results of the different areas not only reveals the contradictory nature of the links development of the masses, it is not only due the diversity of the opposing forces and the local situation, it shows no doubt a number of weaknesses of each organization in the various fields. A quick overview of the local results - so quite apart from the District Result - allows addition of extremely good results also surprisingly poor results with the same structure of the population, identify the party relationships. This was already evident in preparing for elections. In similar, juxtaposed Places - great disparity in the caucuses, in the mood of Population!
With agitation alone we can not win the masses! We must deeds prove that we the better representative of the interests of the masses than those who to pose as friends of the people, whether bourgeois parties and are there particular Reformists! Although the deeds testify against the SPD - but our actions have for us witness!

With all seriousness and emphasis we emphasize: The party must from the elections, the serious lesson pull, more activity, creating more facts, more by deeds the reformist strike leaders and persuade the Social Democratic workers!

Right now, after the elections, the situation is more favorable for us than before, because the SPD can no longer play the sham opposition and also does not want to and because at the same time by the Decline of the bourgeois parties a strengthened force consciousness in the working class is available. These facts, it is exploiting. Now it is, deeper into the masses, now it is, edit the loosened soil deeper. Our struggle against the Conciliation beings against hunger dictatorship of arbitral awards to date only in grow rare cases for practical action. But he is therefore fruitless?

The workers in their majority no longer recognizes undoubtedly the arbitration system - as the reformists have preached through four years - a step forward, but a Obstacle to the enforcement of workers' interests. The willingness to tackle mediation Fessel has grown significantly, not least by zealous agitation Campaign in conjunction with the felt by all workers consequences of hunger tariffs last months with constantly rising price wave!

This fight must be strengthened. It can not be overlooked if the struggle of Rhine boatman is broken by an arbitration dictation and whether it is possible at this point to achieve a breakthrough. More fights are inevitable. In a few weeks the textile workers are struggling. The Berlin metalworkers are also in a Move. Moreover, it should be noted: All workers are stronger than in recent years wage cuts by price increases in all fields as hard Facts to light. For one year, but the rates are fixed. If the working class still and wait patiently? Should they rely on the assistance of the Parliament? Should they wait until the SPD leaders make true their promises, the price wave counter?

Here is the point where we use, where we see the effects of the reformist Arbeitsgemeinschafts- and coalition politics, the policy of building the economy and can demonstrate state conservation for all workers visible and at the same time by our active work in factories and trade unions, through our deeds of release and

63 In the Reichstag elections on 20 May 1928 voted 3,263,354 voters for the candidates of Communist Party of Germany. Those were 555,009 more than in the previous parliamentary elections on 7 December 1924. Particular successes scored the party in a number of industrial districts and Big cities.

show leadership necessary struggles that only our proposed revolutionary methods of struggle are the workers' interests.

*Deeper into the masses, promote through deeds, by deeds the reformist leaders debunk - that is the crucial step*, we go beyond the agitation, to Reinforcing the agitation, to thwart the coalition politics and the Capitalist offensive - serving just the coalition - must do!

This policy requires the strongest exertion of all forces of the party and a jerk
forward in the approach to the Social Democratic workers. To each worker applies it to struggle to win him over to the proletarian united front. This United front policy is the Social Democratic leadership, the incitement against the out during the election campaign to the clashes among the workers has in Hamburg and Glauchau even fatalities demanded! This Rollkommando policy of the SPD Guide is a part of their coalition and fission policy! Our task is that Cleavage policy by the proletarian united front for the enforcement of the proletarian overcoming demands. A tenacious, patient, purposeful clear work of the whole Party, the rapid utilization of each, even the smallest possibility of arousing the masses clever attachment to the company and locally given situation we are the bring greatest successes.

But the greater our success, the harder the resistance of the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders against mass demands to in increasingly strong opposition the needs of imperialist policy come! The choice has been shown: The hunger and terror policy in recent years is the Working class has been significantly strengthened in their class consciousness and fighting spirit. For the bourgeoisie, the election result is a serious sign: The increase in votes for the SPD is the basis for a stronger growth of Communist influence - because the SPD is their voices growth can not be happy because it despite Arbeitsgemeinschafts- and coalition politics of the reformist leaders just yet the will the toiling masses puts fight against capital dictatorship! In the same extent as the SPD leaders show as a tool of enhanced for the future capitalist offensive, is to the extent - through their work in the trade unions, the Ministerkuhhandels etc. succeed the Communist Party to improve its position considerably and the trigger next fights that the mass will, the mass interests directly correspond: to real, adequate wage increases and eight-hour day! Battles that with the imperialist policy, with the profit policy of decline before one of Economic standing bourgeoisie are incompatible, against them with all means, the power resources of the state will defend (including Article 48).

Less than ever, less than at the time of the civil government block is the bourgeoisie Make concessions to the occupying workers! Energetic as previously it is just now try propel their capital campaign - also with the means of further political disenfranchisement With stronger Attract of the Conciliation fetter With Prohibiting measures against the revolutionary policy, not least with cultural Gagging (the Education Act is required from the center again!).

Our task, the working masses, the masses of the working people is immediately to this set situation. The elections have decided against the bourgeoisie - it is everything do to political and especially economic power means the growing to suppress demands of working people. And it is the coalition to her as a means serve. So the struggle for economic demands of the workers is un-separable with the struggle for political demands, with the struggle against the capitalist state connected!

Likewise inseparable this fight with the crossing of the war policy of the German imperialism. The gas poisoning disaster of Hamburg
many revelations about secret armaments, which were presented in Parliament, with shattering emphatically shown the working people, like Germany in reality "Peace policy" drives.
The monstrous mendacity, with every secret armor, any war preparations was denied - by the disaster of Hamburg it is the entire toiling People demonstrated. We emphasize: This is like the "Phoebus" just a small piece, a small section of the large, sinister chapter of Secret armor against the Soviet power. The Reich meeting of RFB wins just by the new revelations even more important - as the next action of the proletariat, as massive rally against the new German imperialism and the "socialist" Policy of reformist leaders. Here's greatest vigilance strongest increase our activity our first duty to the Masses to convince them of the great impending imperialist war danger and for the active struggle against the - in all peace talk! - Imperialist policy of German bourgeoisie to win the German Republic for the protection of the Soviet Union. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can precisely this decisive battle be conducted. Fighting to earn a living, fight against oppression and white terror fight imperialist war policies they have even better than before their starting point in the active representation of workers' interests by each individual Communists and the cell found in the operation. Campaigners aim was to advertise during elections to these immense task to accomplish. Campaigners it is even more true now after the elections to win. The millions who voted for us, they are lined up with us in the red Front also perform the revolutionary days work. Let us go forward exemplary. Our activity in the Representation of the day interests of the workers supported best Yard work. And activity is the best weapon against the coalition politics because they acts directly on the Social Democratic workers and is best suited for them the proletarian united front to win. Now it does not have to wait, now it does not only see what the SPD will do. now have we face at the head of the masses: break the capitalist offensive, the proletarian help interests to victory, step by step, position for position. The election campaign has shown the fronts, he has shown that the masses evolve to the left. Now it is for us: Let us ensure that the proletarian front marches that they be in conflict strengthened. We advertise through our actions for the proletarian united front - against Capitalist offensive and against coalition politics. All preconditions for our advance are low - we use the time and the Situation for a strengthened, improved mass revolutionary politics.

"The Red flag"
of 23 May 1928th

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64On May 20, 1928 on the premises of Stolzenberg in Hamburg took a poison gas explosion. The escaping gas caused especially in the working class districts of the city, hundreds of light and serious illnesses and called several deaths. Right-wing Social Democratic leaders took the Hamburger poison gas disaster as an opportunity of a vile anti-Soviet propaganda, but soon collapsed.
VI. WORLD CONGRESS
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MOSCOW 17 JULY TO 1 September 1928

Welcome speech on behalf
the communist parties of Europe

July 17, 1928

Comrades On behalf of the sections of the Comintern of Europe I bring hereby the delegates of the VI. World Congress, the guests present here, the Soviet and the international proletariat revolutionary greetings.

My first word is the growing major threat of war against the Soviet Union. From V. to VI. we see World Congress a chain of preparations for war against the Soviet Union in the economic, political, ideological and military areas. The counter-revolutionary bloc of imperialist powers, which now by the entrance formed Social Democrats in a coalition government with the German bourgeoisie was amplified preparations against a closed concentric attack the Soviet Union. Even the military counterrevolutionary blood and executioner regime in China is closely related to the imperialist war preparations against Soviet Union in all capitalist countries. Given some morphology in time from V. to VI. World Congress: the Trade Union Act in England, which against the Working class is directed, sharp military law Boncour in France, the last Measures against the revolutionary front in China, Japan and India. reprisals against the Communists in all countries and the increased military activities in addition to the large maneuvers in recent months clearly indicate that the threat of war against Soviet Union is greater than ever.

At the Congress of the II. International in Marseille in 1925, it was the Social Democrats, the in the treatment of the issue of "the danger of war in the East" is open to a capitalist pronounced orientation in the League of Nations and that knowingly false allegation aufstellte, that the Soviet Union would help make the danger of the outbreak of a new war to strengthen. Social democracy needs this barefaced lie, the proletarian Masses from their increasingly rising revolutionary consciousness and their sympathy dissuade the Soviet Union. The counter-revolutionary social democracy is based on the defense of capitalism in World War II and in the revolutionary situations to above, capitalism in all matters to support and perfectly with the military operations of the capitalist to show solidarity bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union.

A recent example from the last few days is the current coalition government in Germany from Stresemann to to the Socialists Hermann Müller, Which the Preparations for war against the Soviet Union to the outside and the reactionary Entrepreneurs arbitrary and repressive measures against the proletariat inside completely supported.

The Communist International has doubted for a moment that any Social Democratic government in Europe - also governments that may be in the will form the next months - from us in the strongest terms as socially treacherous fights must be and that we must do everything to the proletarian masses to overthrow this to mobilize governments.
The II. International and its set to "national" interests different Organizations attempt with brutal ruthlessness the fight against take Soviet Union and deepen divisions of the proletariat. Why is the Fight against the threat of a new imperialist war against the Soviet Union and the consequent increased splitting policy of the reformists against the whole working class around the world at the heart of the responsibilities of all parties to the Communist International.

With the increasing threat of war, we also see a growing Communist Move. And therefore intensified also with the struggle against the Soviet Union of Fight against communism in all countries. In the last world war only existed weak revolutionary groups, were only small groups of Communists available. Today we see in the world a great mighty revolutionary international movement led by the Communist Intcrnationale, next large Mass organizations such as the Red Front Fighters' Union in Germany. During the whole development have become richer the experience, the revolutionary spirit of new growing. If in the Soviet Union now defending week takes place to the Albeiter and peasants to defend the real and single mobilize fatherland of the proletariat throughout the world, so I suggest all recommended sections of the Communist International, a defense week in world in defense of the Soviet Union and to support the fight against perform imperialism and social democracy. The fight against imperialist war is a struggle against their own bourgeoisie and against the Social Democracy.

We believe that in the given historical moment the Communist International will consist in the storms of the coming war their great ordeal as it stood victorious during the war the Bolshevik Party. Under Lenin's leadership of the bloody tsarism was overthrown, and one-sixth of Earth's surface was the Soviet power, the only fatherland of the toilers of the whole World. The counter-revolutionary social democracy knows that the proletariat the horrors of War clearly has in mind yet, and she fears that a power that against the new war fighting: the Communist International and the revolutionary force of the Proletariat. The major driving contradictions in the imperialist camp, the revolutionary Movements, the national revolutionary movements among the Eastern peoples are serious Mark a major development in the agenda of the VI. World Congress will play a major role. The sections must be prepared, when our strength is not enough, the imperialist war against the Soviet Union to prevent summarize all revolutionary forces at the outbreak of the war and under the slogan, which spent the Bolshevik Party in October 1917, in the battle to Pull: overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Establishment of the proletarian dictatorship!
Comrades The German delegation is in full agreement with the baseline of the Theses which, sanctioned by the Bolshevik delegation and the ECCI, the plenum of Congress have been submitted. We will continue our amendments and objective Supplements, such as the general assessment of the worsening of the international situation and a special section on the "left" SPD and other changes in the be represented by our comrades political Commission.

I remember at this meeting at the Fifth World Congress, on the threshold of relative Stabilization of capitalism began. Meanwhile, four years of great experience, four Years sharpest struggle of parties, four years of severe and difficult struggles of Proletariat passed throughout the world. The various plenary sessions of ECCI have due to the changed situation in these four years, the individual sections where decisions and policies on the issue of tactics - such as the IX. Plenum of the ECCI - the English and the French party in the struggle against Bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats were a big help.

What was this relative stabilization of capitalism in these four years? Only the important events of this past four years: The English general strike and the month-long miners' strike, the Indonesian revolt and the great revolutionary Events in China, the wave of strikes in Central Europe, the strike in Scandinavia against the Strike law, the great Sacco and Vanzetti movement throughout the world, the Vienna Uprising, the peasant uprisings in the Balkans and the recent events in Greece - they all show the growing contradictions of capitalism in the period of relative Stabilization. The assessment of the Fifth World Congress was correct: the stabilization of the Capitalism is a temporary, partial, relative stabilization. The VI. World Congress must draw his practical conclusions from the rich experience of recent years. The exacerbate growing contradictions of capitalism, which have already been characterized, the internal contradictions and external contradictions. Both are in constant Interaction. The internal contradictions that aggravation of the situation of the bourgeoisie by the imperialist antagonisms drive directly to the revolution and to either Wars of imperialist countries themselves or for imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, which then results with necessity also to the proletarian revolution. One can not predict which way the final assault Proletariat and the bourgeoisie is unleashing faster. Our task is to do everything to the mobilize masses so far before the imperialists to light the torch of war - when the
objective and subjective conditions in the countries are given - that they to
Revolution stride. Just by this our activity, which is at the contradictions
developed capitalism more, we have these difficulties to increased
exploit political struggle; thereby we can also postpone the war. The
Imperialists might already have clashed, there were no
Communist International, the Communist parties that an energetic struggle
against imperialist war preparations lead, there would not the Soviet Union,
their peace policy depends as lead weight on the feet of the warmongers. We must
not the facts deny that the danger of war in all corners of the world with
uncanny speed grows. Given only four important examples: First, the large
Conflict that takes place on a world scale between America and England; secondly,
recent events in China, the Japanese intervention, which the Japanese imperialists
doing there, is not preparing for war, but is already war; thirdly

Tightening of the Lithuanian-Polish conflict, the sudden breakdown of negotiations
in recent days intensified the growing threat of war; fourthly, the incessant
Attacks against the Soviet Union, of the White Guard terrorist acts to preparation
the economic blockade.
At the time of VIII. Plenum we took to the growing threat of war in the world
Position. At the same time, was used as a special war Commission, the
unanimously accepted the war theses, England broke the economic negotiations with the
Soviet Union from, and after a few days was the assassination of the ambassador
Voikov performed in Warsaw. Since then, we have the following new facts: The
shameless killings of the Soviet representatives in China, the provocation of the French
Foreign policy towards the Soviet Union, the conflict because of the Soviet money in America and
the assassination of a Soviet representative in Warsaw this spring; Finally, the naughty
Challenge by the German Stresemann government that the occasion of the arrest
German counterrevolutionary engineers the German-Soviet
Economic negotiations broke off. This is only a small selection of the many facts that
I do not want any light here. In addition, we can not prepare the
forgotten war that continue tirelessly in silence, in the darkness of the secret diplomacy
operate,
These imperialist war preparations social democracy plays in
international scale, a major role. Everyone must look at the fact that the
Imperialism could unleash war impossible, when the Social Democrats not
imperialist war preparations supported. In 1914 surrendered the
Social Democracy before the bourgeoisie and before the war; the decisions of the International
being compromised. Today it is the most active pioneers of imperialist
War measures in the world. A special role is played by the
Social Democracy in Germany. The development of the new imperialism
domestically reinforced by the higher, with tremendous speed developing
Technology, by strengthening and supporting the capitalist rationalization,
through the expansion of production, by experiments greater involvement in the
Competition in the global economy market. In the sphere of foreign policy takes the
German bourgeoisie aggressive on to fight for a better position. The
Formation of the Social Democratic government shows most clearly the pact between
Trust capital and social democracy. The Social Democrats in this government is the driving
Factor in the line of preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Hilferding, the current Social Democratic finance minister, until recently in the old Reichstag, in addressing the issue of Abbruches the German-Soviet demanded negotiations to grant loans for the Soviet Union and the Negotiations not only break, but to a more stringent policy against the USSR operate so that even the representatives of the German Nationalists and other leaders of bourgeois parties were surprised and a different tone anschlagen. Interesting and peculiar is that the internal and external contradictions of relative capitalist stabilization also in the nature and the development of Social Democracy reflect. The development of reformism to social fascism is a phenomenon which is different in different countries examples can illustrate. For example, in Germany, where reformism the mainstay of Bourgeoisie and will remain so in the coming years, when the communist Movement is not amplified even more. Raiding, so-called shock troops of Reichsbanner, are campaigning assaulted the Red Front Fighters Federation and against the

65 The development of reformism to social fascism, of Ernst Thalmann at this point is characterized, in Germany reached in May 1929 a climax. (See Walter Ulbricht, "To History of the German workers' movement", Vol. 1, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1955, p 455.)

Communists proceeded. We have recorded the same fact in Poland. In Warsaw was on May 1, at the great heroic march of the working class fascist police supported by raiding the PPS, while in this Struggle against the revolutionary workers, several hundred demonstrators workers töteten and wounded. After an article in the "International Press Correspondence" they are venturing out even against the revolutionary cadres of the working class in the factories and there have beaten the Communists. This development of reformism to Social fascism is closely linked with the growing war preparations Bourgeoisie and the growing threat of war. Social democracy is not only a Fighting organization against the revolutionary proletariat and the proletarian revolution, but she is preparing today before war organizations in order to with the bourgeoisie This ideological and military areas to act together. In Germany she starts it, the Reich Banner, a Socialist "Protection and defense organization", for this Republic with such a "national-social" impregnate ideology and Socialist supporters to this line adjust. A Social Democrat, Pagels, resulted in a paper on "Reichsbanner and Shooting "in a Berlin Reichsbanner Assembly, that:

"I want my comrades advised that they should not be too pacifist. Especially for the young Mates it would be important - as they are called, the police at a later coup to help - to acquire the preconditions in small-bore shooting for."

What does that mean? That is, not only in revolutionary upheavals to this Organizations against the working class struggle, but it is, preparations for meet in the realm of those military education that you perform in Reichsbanner want. In a secret directive of Reichsbanner federal leadership to the Gau in June 1927, states:
"All comrades must be summarized in sports clubs to extend through body care the training and to be able to devote the drill better."

I would point out that in other capitalist countries connection with the growing threat of war, a similar development in the under social democratic influence standing mass organizations is recorded. Another example: On the proposal of "Izvestia", the "forward" may be the demolition the Soviet-German economic negotiations take place, he wrote the following:

"... We can not very desirable friendship with Russia that for Europe vital good relations between Germany and the Western powers sacrifice."

So a very open-Bolshevik language. One clear signal of the Support of the bourgeoisie in conjunction with the Western powers in the struggle against Soviet Union. Another fact is that the reformists in Germany split the sports movement, to adjust the workers' sports movement to imperialist ideology. In front a few weeks accused the Bundestag in Leipzig part of the best revolutionary fighters without addition to the grounds. In Berlin and Halle was openly this cleavage rate smashed. And the last fact which proves how far the leaders of the Social Democracy already with the resign fascism, is the appearance of Thomas in the fascist Congress of Trade Unions in Italy this year. Thomas, of no ordinary Social is but one of the most representative leaders of the II. International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and as such Chairman of the International Labour Office is said, among other things, that the fascist Italy "a champion of justice for all workers" was. He has also asserts that "the fascist government workers the benefits just reforms guarantees "and that the Italian fascist experience" for the other countries can be very useful. " He also said that there "for Mussolini only one Passion are: the workers to secure employment, their prosperity and moral and mental able to lift ". Finally, he asserts that fascism and socialism differ only in the method, but that both represent the interests of workers. These few facts illustrate most clearly how deeply these leaders are going down. The bourgeoisie uses two methods of oppression and subjugation of Working class reformism and fascism. With the growth of communist movement and the declining influence of reformism are also Means of bourgeois democracy not to suppress the working class. sufficient You will then apply enhanced fascist methods. The reactionary tendencies that embodies the social democracy, strengthen and unite in the coalition politics. Where it the policy of the bourgeoisie in the Social Democratic government performs decided she is threatened to break with the proletarian and other toiling masses, the march to communism. Where it performs the imperialist policy wavering, it is the financial capital with Kicks sent packing. The fight against the coalition politics of social democracy
one of our main tasks in the fight against reformism. Socialist Governments in all countries perform intra-political oppression and suppression of Proletariat. In foreign policy, they support the military operations of the Imperialism in the governments under the guise of hypocritical pacifism. Through their treacherous activities and by the appearance and the work of Communist Parties and the revolutionary movement are the Socialist supporters wavering and call slow communism to. In this situation occurs "left" social democracy on the plan to the migration of to prevent Social Democratic workers to the Communist Party. The Coalition politics of social democracy was only the opinion of the "left" allowing Social Democrats in the various countries. The fact is known that at the Kiel congress in Germany, where Hilferding this general theory "approach to the state "aufstellte in conjunction with coalition politics, the" left "leaders no show resistance. After the Vienna uprising Bauer and Company went together with the rights, with Renner, etc., to about, the question of coalition with the to ask the bourgeoisie in Austria. The German delegation has a special asked amendment to this danger of "left" social democracy today noted, because they have a in this period in connection with the growing threat of war will play greater role than is currently seen already. The closer the war advances, the more dangerous the "left" SPD will appear. The war theses that on the VIII. Plenary adopted, have very clearly indicated that the dangerous enemies of Communism in the labor movement, the "left" Social Democratic leaders are. Precisely because they with revolutionary phrases, with hypocritical radical agitation methods work, they serve - in a situation which deepening contradictions, where the communist movement even more visible occurs - with its pacifist "left" phraseology of the coalition and the war policy Rights. Here below they are based in all its policies to fight against the Soviet Union, the fight against Communism and assist in the suppression of the working class. That is why our position to the "left" social democracy in the present period is of great fundamental importance. Each wavering, hesitation in exposing the "left"

Social democracy must be fought in our ranks with the utmost sharpness. In the German party we had with the right group clashes because of their highly compromised attitude towards the "left" social democracy. The Essen convention adopted a formulation in which the "left" social democracy as the most dangerous enemy Communism is called in the workers' movement. We hope that the VI. World Congress on this issue a clear decision is made because this issue is for a number of the sections of the utmost importance. I, only to England, Austria and Poland and also to Germany towards. So we see how the widespread, complicated struggle apparatus of imperialism against the proletarian revolution all fighting methods applies: all the power of capitalist state, fascism, the bourgeois parties and eventually be main instrument, the Social Democrats, including the "left" leaders. To have something We oppose this system of hostile forces? The triple front: The Soviet Union, the proletarian class struggle in the capitalist countries and the colonial liberation wars.
I think it is necessary, on the VI determine World Congress that the current period
the socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union has made tremendous progress.
We can not be overstated, the fact that the annual growth of
Production in the socialist big industry of the Soviet Union amounts to 15 percent. The
Soviet Union build whole new industries on the automotive, aerospace, chemical and
Engineering industry. The number of workers in heavy industry in the last three
Years grew by 33 percent. Bearing in mind that these successes without influx
foreign capital have been carried out on the basis of socialist accumulation, so
turns out that the Soviet Union has reached a world record. The world proletariat is to
This construction of socialist economic interest on liveliest. Each new large
Success in the field of economic returns of the working class around the world to
Proof of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.
This world-historical question decides in the last instance the struggle between us and the
Bourgeoisie, between communism and social democracy. Of course, difficulties,
do not sign the arrest, but the growth is, viewed in the various
Periods of proletarian dictatorship have shown yet. The international
Social Democracy dizzy and feigns on the results of socialist construction,
it raises an outcry around the world, to the working masses even more closely to the
to captivate capitalist system, to inform them of the development of socialist construction
mislead. You must have such an orientation, the creation of such an ideology,
because it sees that the sympathy of the proletarian masses for the development of
Soviet Union has become one far greater than it has ever been in recent years the case.
has the full development of the proletarian dictatorship in the eleven years of its existence
shown that by the force, through the initiative and by the millions of influence
Bolshevik Party any new difficulty soon by a new victory from the
Way was cleared. Anyone who has experienced such vast masses with stormy enthusiasm
the bailout of the Red sailors of Krasin expedition 66 responded, feeling the
political sense of this echo. Not the mere act of salvation, but the fact that the
Soviet Union, that the only proletarian state in the world, this really bold act
has accomplished, was the joyful assent of the working people all over the world. Not
that was what that half a dozen fascist adventurer was rescued, but

66This refers to the relief of the Soviet icebreaker "Krasin" in June and July 1928. The of the
Italian Government led and negligently prepared Polar Expedition of General Nobile was only
intended as a demonstration of fascist Italy and ended with the crash of the airship "Italia" and
the death of a part of the crew. The survivors were only by the boldness and sacrifice
saved the Soviet sailors.

millions Echo announced the massive solidarity of all working people with the sole
State workers around the world.
Now for some comments on the links development. It is, together with the
growing threat of war one of the most important phenomena of the current period. In
Germany we have a number of new phenomena of the left movement, which I in
individual does not want to show here. The choices are there for a clear signal. As well as
Elections in Poland and France showed a growth of links development, as well as announce
the recent economic struggles and strike waves this character even more clearly on. In
Germany are tendencies of a new revolutionary upsurge available.
Our party won in the elections more than 550,000 votes, 80 percent, namely, 490,000 in the 13 most important industrial districts. The party captured at new followers in Dresden 41,000, 38,000 Halle, Leipzig 30,000, Hamburg 26,000, in Chemnitz 16,000 and especially in the red Berlin and its surroundings more than 230,000 votes. We won 210,000 votes alone in 40 large industrial cities, particularly in those cities where the working class has a long revolutionary tradition, as in Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Frankfurt, etc. These facts show that really the most advanced cadres of the German proletariat behind our party, behind the Comintern stand.

Of course one cannot deny the fact that the Social Democracy 9 million voices scored. But they got these voices in a middle-class with the ideology of the election campaign, promises, with the help of their demagogic policy the grand coalition, which then also formed the subsequent government. Our voices were we under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, which we in the election struggle in the set the foreground of our principled struggle.

Another fact which in conjunction with the coalition politics of social democracy must consider is that an estimated 3 million of the 9 million voices for Social Democracy was submitted petty bourgeois voices. This shifted the social base among the Social Democrats. Our voices we won, were almost exclusively proletarian. The voices that Social Democracy won (in our loss districts they won workers' votes from us), were to largely middle-class votes.

Of course, the links development will not go to Germany on one side in front of him. She is very complicated. The tactical problems that has to solve the party, require the greatest Concretization in any situation that tomorrow, the day, in the near future before us stands.

The German delegation fully agrees that on the one hand in the theses the tremendous growth of the Communists, on the other hand the strong contradiction between it is determined the political influence of the party and its organizational strength. The Membership in the Communist Party does not correspond to the remotest her big influence it has in the working class already. For this disproportion we could various reasons cited. Many us sympathizers and independents before scare the hard work of a revolutionary fighter back, and others who come to us, go back out of the party. That's why the high turnover. In the application of the United front tactic our whole party is not elastic and durable enough. This large weakness must eliminate the whole party. A new, improved system of labor must be performed.

The result of the elections resulted in the formation of the Social Democratic coalition government. I think we can already two phases of the development of these speak governmental activity. The first phase is that of promises, where the Social Democrats still can awaken certain illusions in the working class and where they in is able to keep the masses even in their party and on its periphery. The activity

Social Democracy in the few days since the new Reichstag met, showed us that all promises that were made in the election campaign of the Social Democracy, not being held. Even taken over by the Communists Socialist Applications were by this government with the help and the support of...
Socialists rejected. In this first phase of the development was the bourgeoisie use the Social Democrats on certain actions by which the bourgeoisie itself will not stain. Just like in 1919, the Social Democratic government to Versailles Peace Treaty signed, it is today the greater rapprochement with France perform, the perform the bourgeois parties, particularly those from the right Wings, is not pleasant. This object is the Social Democrats in the government have to solve service of the bourgeoisie at this stage. Further, the Stresemann-Müller-government is the strengthening of all measures against the Soviet Union ruthlessly perform. The second phase of development that will be very briefly, is the bankruptcy of bring social democratic coalition politics. Because the pressure of the masses is stronger because the Social Democrats their masses not want to lose, it is forced on the one hand, in the government an impedance afford to, on the other hand it is of the imperialist bourgeoisie also kicked out if they do not perform their policy in the domestic and foreign policy. If this social-democratic government, by the pressure of the proletarian masses through the months of preparation work of our Party and the Red Aid with the Demand the release of political prisoners and amnesty for prisoners Now the proletarian prisoners from penitentiaries, prisons and fortresses dismissed, so that's mainly due to this pressure of the masses and also that she wants to arouse certain illusions in the working classes. The return of our comrades and all other proletarian prisoners in Germany to work in the party all is welcomed on the liveliest of us. The Communist Party of Germany promises to act to that even those revolutionaries who today yet to languish in prisons, by the pressure of the proletariat under Leadership of the KPD in the shortest time in the ranks of the proletariat to their class brothers can return.

Comrades Some brief remarks on the economy struggles. The wave of large Economic struggles we have in Germany behind us, is not the objective situation, the situation in which the bourgeoisie is, by the action the Social Democrats in the government reduced but will be next in the Month rise reinforced. The wave of price increases, the wage pressure by the methods capitalist rationalization, by increasing the unemployment figures in coming winter, is exacerbated when going back the economy - all these show facts that we in Germany in the coming months with great must expect economic struggles. The main task of the Communist Party is to make their daily demands so, that the daily tasks that arise from all the struggles, with the principled struggle against the capitalist state under the slogan of establishment of workers' and Bauer government are connected. The current economic struggles to must perform opening of the conciliation system take, more than ever, due to the Treachery of the union bureaucracy and as a result of the amalgamation of part of the Trade union apparatus with the state apparatus, a political character. With the Growing the state capitalist tendencies is also the character of each Economic struggle be more political than the in recent years in addition to basic issues of the general struggle against the capitalist state and the Struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship was the case. The Communist
Party must more as an independent active factor in all the issues of the day and days tasks occur, the sole really the interests of the proletariat to every penny
Wage increase and all demands of the proletariat and all the toiling masses represents.
The whole complex of questions of the struggle against the Social Democratic Coalition politics is versatile, and the problems of tactics are extremely complicated.
The main points of this struggle are: First, the forthcoming economic struggles higher wages and for the reduction of working time; secondly, the sharpest struggle against Tax policy of the government and, third, the fight against the deterioration of the Social policy and on how to improve the benefit of all working people in Germany. With all these issues we have to struggle against imperialism and the threat of war connect.
Especially in the treatment of these tactical problems also show tactical Nuances and disagreements within the party. Here, the most important question the organization of the struggle for immediate demands in the factories and unions. The party does not have enough as the senior factor in these issues among the masses on. Our applications must directives for the masses, for the work in the factories and trade unions included.
Due to such claims emanating from the premises, must the take union bureaucracy position to our demands. Not by the slogan "This forces the union bureaucracy to fight" - tries the union bureaucracy now through the mediation beings cancel each marketing struggle - we will Combat energy awaken, but by putting our own demands, they in the bear farms and so force the reformist trade union bureaucracy to this Receivables to comment.
These tactical difficulties which exist, come the internal political and intraparty difficulties there: a general retreat before Reformism, an accumulation of opportunist dangers, even some cases of Apostasy, in some cases, the approval of the reformist trade union policy. On a bandage days was even a resolution of social democracy, the spelling the Communist press against the Social Democrats condemned by our comrades Approved. One example of many that could be cited - the report of the Board of we read Workers' Association:
"By and large, the friction with the Association instances and communists in very fortunately reduced. This is not, however, the effect of the intentions of the Communist Party line. As before, their efforts went out out at our Association comrades and association comrades influence on the tactics in paying agencies and associations exercise. We managed not that a sign of improvement in association body. "

To honor our communist colleagues, we note that it where it in battle to pay and working conditions were with us in a responsible position, in general have us found consistent decisions. Few Exceptions prove the rule in this case. That shows but insufficient Activity and the lack of sharpness of our comrades who work in this associations. Some comments on the results of the last members elections in Germany, which in proportion to the, result of the parliamentary elections in May 1928 are. The result one hand on the type of reformism in the factories and trade unions and secondly due to the fact that the revolutionary opposition in the Unions not sharp enough in under the leadership of the Communist Party Support the economy struggles occurred in the given situation. It is one Fact that where the opposition really energetic and we worked our revolutionary line most defended, the successes are far better than in the
other parts of Germany, where this was not exactly the case. We can not present forget that we are obliged to promote the political level of the cells work and lift and clear in the implementation and preparation of fighting the revolutionary line work out in the work of trade union opposition. We also need more than the far unfortunately was the case, act as active leaders of the working class. Some comrades in Germany give a reason for the unsatisfactory results in the metalworkers elections, the lack of transitional slogans on. These comrades demanded not - as the right group - the slogan of production, but sought for other transitional solutions, which are known in this situation not authorized had. For us there is only transitional slogans than action slogans associated with an acutely revolutionary situation, as control of production, creation of Soviets, Arming the proletariat. These are the transitional slogans that are the Endzielforderungen that we put in such a period. But in the current situation means the demand of transitional slogans than action slogans opportunistic Deviation. The party must establish in accordance with the concrete situation partial demands and thereby define their tactics for the work among the masses. We have also recorded various shortcomings and mistakes in the overall policy. It is, for example, a fact that we turn of the newer and methods, Have not detected early reformism that emanated from Kiel Congress to our adjust its own specific tactics it. It must also - what I have related shall deal with the intra-party location - more control in the party be enforced in order to achieve that even in this field the general activity the party is strengthened. Nevertheless, the influence of the KPD rose to the working class. The best proof of our positive achievements is the crackdown of the reformists, their Cleaving action it takes against the communists and revolutionaries in the unions and all mass organizations prevail. Never before has the cleavage rate against the Communists were carried out as sharp as in recent months. Various Local groups in the unions, in the vast majority under the Communist Influence are were dissolved. In the Federal Congress of the Workers' Gymnastic and - Sports Federation in Leipzig decided the reformists, a major split in the action initiate sports movement, because they were afraid that we in the next few years in this, the Majority conquer. Therefore, it was concluded the best communists and split a few days later the sports movement in Berlin and Halle. Similar operations and sharper Measures appeared at the Imperial Conference of freethinkers in Frankfurt, the last few has occurred weeks. I think over this split the reformists Offensive It is our task, with the sharpest offensive measures the proletarian masses for the unit to mobilize in the labor movement. Of course, with the increase of the contradictions in the relative capitalist Stabilization, with the strengthening of the whole imperialist orientation, with the growth the communist movement is the lack of consideration of social democracy against the revolutionary movement to increase more and more. Germany is the classic example of this policy. The maximum intensity of the struggle against social democracy - the turn on IX. was conducted Plenum of FKKI - takes place in Germany. A Such changes in the political situation also has certain internal partisan consequences. This brings me to the inner-party conflicts and the assessment of intraparty situation.
We can on the VI. World Congress following observations: The Communist Party Germany is the first time in three years in the fortunate position to report to can that the renegades of the "ultra-left" Trotskyism finally and completely are beaten. They have partially dissolved in a philistine Nothing, partially

they ended up with the Social Democrats. We need about them here no more words to lose.

The pressure of the stabilization in Germany, the Social Democratic government policy, Entrepreneurs attack and the crackdown of opposition and revolutionary workers in the factories and the fission offensive in the unions show in shockingly falling back a portion of our Communist officials before the SPD policy. This is partly the result of inadequate training and the lack of control within the party. But are these phenomena in the party dangerous if these deviations find their support in a theory which Reformism adapts. This is the meaning of the slogan of production, as in Action Programme of Comrade Brandler is included. Unfortunately, it is not only "theory" of right elements of our party, but a systematic practice in daily politics. In the practice of the policy also show strong opportunistic Trends and deviations. They come lately in sharper opposition against the decisions of the IV. RGI-Congress, in the highly compromised moods compared to the "left" social democracy in the capitulation to the reactionary Union bureaucracy and against the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, in the Adaptation to the capitalist mediation beings and in the grossest opportunist Errors in the municipal parliaments expressed.

I want the Congress only two formulations of the official organs of the party recite. An article in the official organ of the Leipzig district, "The party work" writes a contemporary, inter alia:

"The Party must declare to the workers that it is willing and ready, a Social Democratic government support. The party must explain clearly and specifically which Demands it imposes on the government."

This is a completely opportunistic theory to the theory of leadership from the 1923 recalls.

In Thuringian official organ, "The Bolshevik", is on the "left" SPD among others following:

"The arguments of the 'left' SPD of Ostthüringen be in such areas in the SPD Workers can generate greater understanding than if we in these areas the, abstract 'Communist point recite the workers. Of course we will have to do that, but the Arguments of leftists' are the best starting points to the SPD-workers to think and to cause them to move gen coalition politicians to bring."

So first differentiations in the SPD to take advantage of their arguments. Where the Rights are, we should take advantage of the arguments of the "left" against the extreme right, while should we refrain, "the abstract 'communist position" in the foreground deliver. A perfect mess! The more the social democrats to the right
develops, the greater the danger of such deviations. Are the dangers in the Party today "ultra-left" or "left"? Not at all! The hazards arising from the main danger is the Right danger in the Party today. We have the "Ultra-left" always as petty bourgeois, deviating from communism elements designated. We have always fought as a people with the right ideology and have predicted that they would go to social democracy. But as far as today, "left" Trends and moods in the party are present, they may be more than in the lack of specification of the application of the united front tactic show. These are but not so great dangers, as we recorded in 1924 and in the other years had.

In Germany we have an old experienced social democracy with old functionaries and On the other hand a young Communist Party, the only born in the fire of revolution has been. The party has great experience behind them: The October Crisis of 1923, which no great difficulty was overcome, and the Ruth Fischer-period. The party is become and grown really mature. Although it has grown, today this right Sources of danger in Germany more than even leading comrades in the German accept party. Therefore, it is also the task of the leadership Bolshevik guarantees against the penetration of social democratic influences in the ranks of our party to create. The party must step up their fight against the Right deviation.

Certainly, the rights are in our party only a small group with no real influence for membership. But in recent times the right group shall already against fractionally the policy of the party. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the VI. World Congress on the iron discipline, to the statutes, to the 21 conditions that Lenin at the II. Congress presented and adopted unanimously, remember. In point 12 of this Conditions states:

"12 The Communist International parties belonging to on the basis of Principle of democratic centralism are constructed. In the present epoch of acute civil war, the Communist Party only be able to fulfill their duty to suffice if it is organized in centralized manner possible, if iron discipline in their prevails and if its Party center, supported by the confidence of the party membership, with the Fullness of power, authority and the most far-reaching powers is equipped."

"Principles and Statutes the Communist International ", o. O. 1920 29. The Red. ]

This point applies in the present situation, not only for the German party, but for various other sections to also in the Communist International. The location in the Polish party is in a sense an example. The role of Poland in makes connection with the growing threat of war, is known: Poland plays as Aufmarsch- and attack area, the most important role against the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is necessary here - Nevertheless, the factional tendencies and groups are very pronounced - by all means to try to reach an agreement on the Polish question. We need to here the VI. World Congress trying to find a way to make the party uniform. Because of the current internal situation in the Polish Party benefited only the bourgeoisie and with their social democracy.

In the 21 conditions of the unconditional subordination of the minority to the Majority, the subordination of the parliamentary faction, the union and the Group
Press spoke under the Central Committee. This Forderengen the 21 conditions
now all the more necessary, because we are dealing with great difficulty and the
largest events are approaching. Of course, the 21 conditions do not mean that we
to refrain in party devices available via all us ideological means
those comrades who have a false position, from their false position
dissuade. This is the first task of the Central Committee and the party as a whole. But one
can apply not only took this ideological dimension when the warranties
Ensuring the implementation of the correct policy of the Party no longer sufficient. We
need a comprehensive democracy. We need the collective work in the whole
strengthen party from top to bottom and from bottom to top. But discipline must
therefore not loosened, but still must be increased.
On the IX. Plenum conceived the delegation of the CPSU (B) and the German delegation
including a joint decision on the issue of tolerance towards the media
Right danger. There is a certain tendency of the right deviation
politically delineate, but at the same time the Right danger in the German party
underestimate. Above all, these comrades underestimate the ideological action
those who have already set up a whole system of deviations. You see They see
under the present circumstances is not the enhanced exposure of reformism,
this right ideology, our Party, especially on part of officials in the
Unions, in parliaments, in the mass organizations and even
Party lines. From this false political assessment out make these comrades
to reflect necessary measures sometimes resistance. Some leading comrades
Decrease of the districts and gloss over the importance of the theoretical deviation
the right group and the opportunist offenses in practice, often to
lead limit of betraying the KPD and the revolutionary workers' movement. Also in
our delegation to the VI. World Congress passed in this issue some
Disagreements. The vast majority of comrades spoke, however,
against the toleration of the carriers the right risk.
Meanwhile, the delegation of the CPSU (B) has in turn a supplementary application in this
tabled question, I bring with their agreement here for reading:

"The Communist Party of Germany, one of the best departments of international
proletarian army is, at the same time is facing the best organized social democracy,
yet exceptionally strong roots in the country has to give a favorable ground for right
Deviations in the communist movement is created itself. Therefore, the current
Tasks of the party: the consistent struggle against the right deviation (slogan of
Production control in the present moment, opposition to the decisions of the 4th Congress
RGI, compromising or position to the left social democracy, etc.); the complete overcoming
the flow that takes these deviations from a conciliatory position in
simultaneous attraction of the best forces of the party that the decisions on the ground of
Comintern and the Essen Party Congress of the Communist Party stand for responsible work, at
resolute course towards the consolidation of the party, in summary of all the forces
existing management and the strengthening of its collective nature - with unconditional subordination
the minority to the majority."
[ "Protocol sixth World Congress of the Communist International Moscow, 17th

The majority of the German delegation is in agreement with this request. On this line
the party leadership of the KPD continue Essen course of the consolidation of the party
and deepen. The Party must more than ever do everything possible to bring new forces to
develop and more proletarian elements for party work to be used. We hide
not mean that the party of the organizational work and in carrying out
political line a number of shortcomings and weaknesses. There are not so much direct
Error but rather omissions committed. The self-criticism of the leadership and the
Total party is not yet sufficiently developed. But we will not allow it, that
the right group in the party any weakness in the party work to factional purposes
exploits to attack the line and the party's leadership.
We consider the theories that have been presented by the delegation of the CPSU (B), as a
new basis for the tasks we have to do in the near future in Germany.
I hope that the delegates of the VI. World Congress support our position and
help us in further progress in the development of the German party to enable.
In this situation, the growing threat of war, it is necessary that all the sections and
the German section of the anti-militarist tradition of proletarian youth and the
Communist Youth League better for the specific task circle of struggle
exploit against the imperialist war. Through their energy through their enthusiasm,
their, sacrifice, their overall initiative is the youth of the main revolutionary
Factors by which the Communist Party its revolutionary work against the
imperialist war and the imperialist war - the conversion of the war in the
Civil war - must perform.
A second question: The whole social redeployment in the production process are
the women more and more drawn into the daily work. In the fight against
growing imperialist threat of war, we must consider the production and organization
do not let the women in the major countries except eight.
One last word on all sections, including the German party. I think no one
doubts at this Congress because we are approaching the most serious events.
No one can now know whether imperialism still leaves us much time in peacetime
meet at the VII. Congress of the Communist International. The
capitalist stabilization is rotten. A new period of revolutionary upswing
matures. In this situation, we need more than ever the internationalism that
revolutionary solidarity of the working people throughout the world in alliance with the
oppressed colonial peoples. We had several years the struggle against Trotskyism
to lead. In this great struggle is Leninism throughout the Communist
International un-disputed winner remained. Even more than before is because of this hard
Struggle emerged the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of unconditional loyalty
the Communist Inter-national and the solid confidence in its leading party, the
CPSU (B). This revolutionary spirit must in all our thoughts and actions continue in
live on us. With revolutionary energy and in firm, unavailing faith in the
revolutionary force of the proletariat and all working people under the leadership of
Communist International, the only real International throughout the world,
We certainly the victory.

"Protocol sixth World Congress
the Communist International,
Moscow, July 17 - September 1, 1928 "
More than two months since the end of the VI. Congress passed; all Events of international and German politics confirm the full extent the Accuracy of political analysis and the general perspective of the VI. Congress to were communist parties around the world. Due to this correct assessment of World situation and the clear perspective of class struggle worked the Congress in all Basic questions of the labor movement the key to giving out the individual before the The sections of the Comintern are. Our German party must the decisions of the World Congress, in particular the program the Comintern and the Resolution on the international situation and the tasks of the through working carefully Communist International. The decisions of the VI. Congress must reach in their final details common property of every communist, every be active party member. From these decisions, the general line of our results
Policy throughout the next period. These decisions we lead the fight against the right liquidationism and against fluctuating Versöhnlergruppe that unlike the policy of the VI. World Congress stand.

The main characteristic of the present situation is the strengthening of all internal and external contradictions of the world capitalist system. Increases on the economic field the conflict between the growth of productive forces and the narrowing of the markets incessantly. This all international opposites pointed to. The opposites between the major imperialist powers lead to war. The contrast of the entire imperialist world to the socialist Soviet Union inevitably creates the risk of armed intervention.

It would be wrong, only the outer, not the inner contradictions of capitalism see. Both groups of contradictions are inseparable; they influence each other and are mutually reinforcing. The same conflict between productive forces and markets, which drives the war and the intervention generated the intensification of the class struggle within the major capitalist countries. The strike wave that rises across Europe for the past weeks, the flood of economic struggles that take hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany, testify for the accuracy of this thesis of VI. World Congress.

For our German party, this results in two tasks, each concrete step our policies, any industrial action of the party and its individual organizations must be subordinated to mobilize the masses against the threat of war, going all out for the defense of the Soviet Union and conquest of leadership the proletarian masses in the current economic struggles, the only harbingers greater revolutionary actions.

The struggle against imperialist war danger must of us much more energetic, much fundamental, are much more aggressive than previously guided. This struggle is unthinkable without a resolute unmasking of pacifism, of one of the main weapons Preparations for war in the hands of the imperialists. But this fight is also unthinkable without the ruthless exposure of the Social Democracy, which in Germany an active, is a driving force for the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

It is no longer enough to combat the international threat of war. We need to pass, the main fire against the threat of war in their own country, against the defense to judge and war policy "our" own government. This government is currently

the social democratic coalition cabinet Hermann Müller-Severing-Hilferding that the is unchanged policy biirgerblock. The armored cruiser campaign, the party despite all the shortcomings and weaknesses in the implementation of this campaign a first step done forward: the fight against the threat of war was a struggle against their own Government, conducted a struggle against the war policy of the Social Democracy. Thus acted our party within the meaning of the guidelines VI. World Congress. But we must, on this, . Quickly and resolutely go early addition. We have in our own ranks each Movement of opportunism in the war question u This includes the destruction of all pacifist illusions, all attempts to fight the Social Democracy and particularly to mitigate against their "left" leaders and to spread the idea that come part of the reformists, it was also their "zinc acetate" wings, as our ally against German imperialism even temporarily in question.
The VI. World Congress calls for "an increase of internationalism, the fighting spirit of Working class". It is aimed to simultaneously to all sections, including the KPD the extremely serious admonition and warning:

"Experience has shown that the Communist parties not at the level of these international responsibilities are. Already the 7th Plenum of the ECCI advanced stated that almost all Parties of AI is not enough energy in the struggle for the support of the English strikes and have developed the Chinese revolution '... In a number of cases - particularly in the fight against intervention in China - have the sections of the Communist International not sufficiently capable shown to mobilize the masses. The Congress draws attention of all Communist parties on the need to eliminate these shortcomings most thoroughly, these Questions systematically work through (depth lighting in the press, propaganda and agitational literature, etc.) and far more energetic of the self-education and upbringing broad proletarian masses troubling to struggle and internationalism."

In this respect, is also done in the KPD too little. It is our urgent duty, to reinforce the spirit of internationalism, to eliminate the existing shortcomings and "The self-education and the education of the broad proletarian masses" to significantly strengthen.

The war issue is closely related to the role of social democracy. The reformist tips are in Germany especially tight with the organs of bourgeois state power and the Trust Capital grown. The arbitration beings against the hundreds of thousands out unlock protected Ironworkers in the Ruhr now in sharp Fight standing, is one of the means by which the social democrats all Workers' organizations and the entire working class in the service of organized Looking entrepreneurship and imperialist state power hineinzupressen. The fight against the threat of war, the fight against entrepreneurship, the fight against reformist labor bureaucracy are one and the same revolutionary only three sides Overall policy. If you eliminate any of these items, our overall policy impossible. If one reduces the struggle against the Social Democrats, weakens you once our struggle against the Trust capital and against the imperialist war. is precisely herein the risk of right and conciliatory deviations in our Party. The representatives of these deviations are contrary to the position adopted by the VI. World Congress:

"The communist parties must educate the working masses tirelessly over the direct link, between the propagation of, economic peace ', the Arbitration nature and the repression of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian Movement and the preparation of the imperialist war may stand. " [Ibid, p.29 The Red. ]

While the Social Democrats already supplanted in most countries of the Government and is replaced by the bourgeois bloc, it is in Germany to the May elections this year again, at the head of the Coalition The SPD operates Coalition politics for more than nine years. But it would be a great mistake to assume that
The current coalition government of Hermann Müller just a simple repetition of the former coalition cabinets had. The political resolution of the VI. Congress underlines explicitly that the present Coalition governments a much more reactionary character than any previous:

"In particular this applies to the questions of foreign policy at all, as especially the war policy. The Social Democratic leadership is here to play a much verräterischere role in all previous I tappen their development. " [Ibid, p 23. The Red.]

The Congress analyzed in detail the changing role of social democracy, their new Position in the bourgeois state, the increased importance of their counterrevolutionary Coalition politics at this stage. These facts form the objective basis for rugged right swing in the whole policy of the Social Democracy. The reformists are

"By the shameful defense of capitalism to its open support to his active structure of the phrases about the class struggle to the sermon, economic peace, by Defense of the fatherland in preparation for the war against the Soviet Union ... passed " [Ibid, p 21. The Red.]

Social democracy, as a bearer of the civil war policy, considered the Communism as their main enemy. The Social Democratic leaders call in increasingly to fascist methods of struggle against the revolutionary workers, access to violent means of repression of strikes and go on the side of Police against the proletariat before. This became particularly marked during the last Hamburg harbor workers' strike and in some places during the current Ruhr struggle, where the raiding Reichsbanner by Social Democrats as a direct sent forward entrepreneurs Guard and state auxiliary police against the struggling workers will.

The reformist trade union bureaucracy defended the capitalist unconditionally Settlement system, it is not satisfied with the simple betrayal of all strikes and all Wages and economic demands of the workers, but also makes the active Niederknüppelung and strangulation of all strikes and economic struggles in the interests of Trust capital for the main object of its policy.

III

These new phenomena of political development moved the World Congress largely tactical implications for all parties of the Comintern. What is the Nature of this "tactical twist"? The fight against social democracy has exacerbated will! preserves the united front tactic against the Social Democratic working masses still their content and importance. But must the forms of their application to be changed:

"The intensification of the struggle against social democracy shifts the focus decided the united front from below. " [Ibid, p 30. The Red.]
This is particularly in our union work expressed. The central problem
the conquest of the leading influence on the majority of the working class by the
Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition can only "in
bitter struggle against the Social Democracy and the politically corrupt
Union bureaucracy "be solved.
During the great economic battles that are fought now, and still mightier
Class struggles, the approaching undoubtedly, it is our main task, the energy and
to develop the initiative of the masses and in favorable situations to fight against the
to lead will of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The decisions of the VI.
Congress committed to the fight against Kapitulantentaktik Right
Fraction. The Congress decisions accurately identify the nature of this right
Surrender tactics against the trade union bureaucracy:

"Unity at any price ', waiving the defense of foreclosed comrades waiver
energetic struggle against the compulsory arbitration process, unresolved submission to the
bureaucratic trade union apparatus, mitigate the criticism of the reformist lines, etc."  
[Ibid, p 31. The Red. ]

In the particular chapter of political Congressional Resolution which deals with the tasks
German party concerned, which is "consistent struggle" against the right
Deviations following types of calls:

"Slogan of production in the present moment, opposition to the decisions of the fourth
Congress of RGI, compromising or position to the left social democracy, etc. "  
[Ibid, p 37. The Red. ]

The Congress clearly states, in which the legal risk in the Comintern and the KPD
consists. He committed our party, "in every way to fight the tactics of
Capitulations to lead ", and sets it as the current task of the party the consistent struggle
against the right deviation.
Although the group Ewert-Gerhart moves of individual formulations of the right
Liquidators from, but it does not carry any consistent struggle against the opportunist
Direction, but falls to the party in the back, as soon as these serious opportunism
suggests. Therein lies conciliationism this group. They tried the revolutionary line
the Comintern, the tactics of the VI. World Congress with the surrender of the right policy
Liquidationism to "reconcile". It is for the Comintern with words and helps the
Opportunism in fact. The VI. World Congress therefore calls

"The complete overcoming of the flow that this (the right
Red. ) Deviations from a conciliatory position occupies "  
[Ibid, p 37. The Red. ]

He says outright that the struggle against the legal risk

"Presupposes a systematic fight against the conciliatory position"  
[Ibid, p 42/43. The Red. ]

This struggle leads our party through with determination, unconcerned about the
Interference and defamation attempts of some small fraction groups. You are here in
Meaning of VI. World Congress.
The VI. World Congress said due to the overall development of the class struggle in the
recent years requires that we a period greatest mass struggles and revolutionary
Clashes are approaching. This orientation is determined by the most recent events in
Europe and Germany fully confirmed. A wave of strikes as the last five years
no longer was seen rising in a number of countries. A
Quarter million ironworkers fighting in the Ruhr against the brutal lockout policy
Entrepreneurs. Half a million textile workers standing in front of the lockout. At the
Seareach strike the shipyard workers. In the cement industry are tens of thousands of
Workers terminated. Only a blind man can not see that these great conflicts more
signal than the mere offensive entrepreneurship.
Entrepreneurship goes to all-out attack. But the workers on the responses
this challenge not as in previous years with the simple defense, but
it opens up the counteroffensive against the class enemy, it is already to attack the
Positions of Trust capital over and slaps her first breakthrough battles. These
Fighting must inevitably shake the foundations of capitalist stabilization
and the Wall of reformist sabotage policy beyond. This great change in
proletarian class struggle will take place more rapidly and more thoroughly, depending
firm and stronger the Communist Party in the upcoming showdowns
proves. The current economic struggles bear pronounced political character.
It is not just about wage and hour claims, but the struggle is
against bourgeois state power. clean in this serious and promising situation
we our party from all rotten and harmful remnants of the Social Democratic
Opportunism that are still in our ranks. We fight on the platform of the VI.
World Congress of the Comintern. This platform means:

Class against class!
Offensive against offensive!
Against the dictatorship of the Trust capital - the dictatorship of the proletariat!
Against the Triple Alliance of entrepreneurs, government and reformists - the revolutionary struggle
for socialism!

"The Red flag"
From November 11, 1928