To the Anti-Militarists of all Countries!

We, the active Russian anti-militarists of the Imperialist war of 1914-17, took an active part during the great Russian Revolution of 1917-23 in the creation of a peaceful communist structure in Russia and have worked unceasingly to this day in its behalf. We believe that it is conceivable and possible to work together with the Communist Party of Russia, since it serves the interests of the proletarian dictatorship. We are supporting the proletarian dictatorship, because the ruling classes of the world have oppressed the workers and peasants for thousands of years, and declared that "common blood" must always serve and "noble blood" must always dominate.

We were highly indignant over this inequality of the classes; we protested unceasingly during the height of the war-hysteria in 1914, and refused to take part in the murderous fratricidal war, instigated by the war-mongering diplomats and sanctioned by the kaisers and kings. As a result, we were sentenced to long terms of inversomment by the Czarist government. In March, 1917, we were released from prison by the will of the people. We had hardly become free when the Kerensky.

Government tried anew to enroll us in the army. Not until the great October Revolution, which overthrew the Kerensky Government, took place, were we entirely freed from military duty. The decree of Jan. 1, 1919 was issued, according to which all persons who, for religious or ethical reasons, were honest anti-militarists, were to be exempt from military service. But at the present time, the conviction is steadily growing among us that, together with the workers and peasants, we must serve the Proletarian Revolution in the Red Army, and several of us are already in its ranks.

We are convinced that the hour is near in which the people . of Europe, Asia and America will also rise against their bourgeois leaders and take the administration of affairs into their own hands.

The recent developments in Germany show clearly that it is necessary to concentrate all the forces and bring together all the representatives of civilized humanity, and that only in this way can the toiling masses of all countries, and especially of Ger-

many, issue victoriously from the impending ordeal.

The episode in Bulgaria clearly proves that the workingclass, if it continues to remain servile and submissive, exposes itself to the danger of extreme suffering under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and that the defeat of the working-class in all countries must inevitably lead to a succession of imperialist wars.

For this reason, we are opposing the Fascisti, the Mensheviki and the Social Revolutionaries, as well as the bourgeois pacifists, who are trying with all their might and with all the means at their disposal to obstruct the triumphal march of the Proletarian Revolution all over the world.

It is gratifying to observe that the honest and best elements of humanity have gone resolutely to battle against these powers of darkness. This is shown by the enormous number of anti-militarists who are languishing in prison in such highly civilized countries as America, India, France, Italy and Bulgaria. On this account, we are appealing to the anti-militarists of all countries, and the honest religious sectarians of the whole world, to assist the fighters for universal peace, the fighters for the happiness of the whole of mankind, through the International Red Relief (MOPR.).

Signed: A. S. Sasonev. I. G. Alfimov. M. S. Yevlanov. M. A. Vikhvantyuk.

Moscow, October 13, 1923.

Support the Bulgarian Revolutionaries!

To the Workers of all Countries!

The International Committee of Action of the Communist ernational and of the Red Trade Union International addresses to you with the energetic and earnest aprial to hasten to of the Bulgarian revolutionaries and their families, of the Counter-Revolution.

he military Communis s- Workers and assauts-have be Stambulishave been arrested, while 5,000 have had

to flee the country: 2,000 to Jugoslavia and 3,000 to Roumania, Turkey, Greece and other countries of the Balkans. These are

the results of the victory of the Whites.

The refugees of the "Bulgarian Commune" stand in need of immediate help. The "International Organization for the Support of the Revolutionaries" has not sufficient means at its disposal to enable it to meet the first requirements of these revolutionaries. International revolutionary solidarity must immediately come into action. All organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. and to the Comintern must, without losing a minute, afford all possible support to the refugees. Everywhere in the factories, mines, workshops etc.-collections must be organized. Five thousand prisoners are threatend with death from torture by the Whites. The only hope of the refugees is the aid of the International Proletariat. More than 10,000 have been robbed of all their belongings and are living in the most desperate misery in a land of White Terror. Give promptly

To the Support of the Bulgarian Revolutionaries! Support the Committee of Action of the Comintern and

Protest against the Death Sentence on Nikolau and Mateu!

To the Proletariat of All Countries!

sikolau and Mateu, two innocent men, have been condition ned to death for alleged participation in the murder of the Prime Minister Dato, the bloody hangman of the Spanish workers. This sentence has been passed by a court of justice which is a mere tool in the hands of the military dictators of Spain. The verdict was pronounced without any proofs whatever being adduced. It is possible that before this appears these two innocent proletarians may already have been executed. But if there is still time, then do everything that lies in your power to prevent this horrible crime!

Raise a mighty protest against this cynical verdict: organize meetings and demonstrations before the buildings of the Spanish Embassies.

Even should the crime already have been committed, let the cries of protest of the world's proletariat be heard.

The workers of the whole world must show their powers, and bring strong pressure to bear on the Spanish Government, so that fresh crimes against the Spanish proletariat may be

Down with the Spanish dictators! Long live international proletarian solidarity!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The First International Peasants' Conference in Moscow to the Poor Peasants of the Colonies

The First International Peasants' Conference, held a short time ago in Moscow, addressed the following appeal to the peasants of the colonial countries:

"Peasants of the Colonies, you slaves who, in your millions in the fields and forests, bear the double yoke laid upon you by foreign Capitalism and by the rulers of your own countries! The International Agricultural Conference, meeting for the first time in Moscow for the purpose of organizing the struggle of the agricultural workers, makes this appeal to your class consciousness. You are suffering even more than the rural population of the mother countries from poverty and long working hours. Often you are compelled to perform forced labor, and are weighed down by intolerable burdens. You are overburdened with taxation. Exploiting capitalism keeps you in ignorance, and decimates your race with alcohol and opium. The disgraceful native policy of capitalist Imperialism deprives you of every personal liberty, of every political and social right. You are worse off than animals. But Capitalism is not satisfied with thus plunging you into misery. It tears you from your huts and fields, that you may serve as cannon fodder in murderous wars against other natives of colonial countries, or against the workers and peasants of the mother countries. Pariahs of the colonies, unite! Organize yourselves! Join your forces to ours! Let us fight together for our emancipation! Long live the emancipation of the natives of the colonies! Long live the International of the workers! Long live the International Peasants' Council!"

I inted by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G m. b. H., Berlin SW 48.

Unpublishadence Scripts - Please T

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GERMANY

The Situation in Germany

By Emil Höllein

Berlin, November 14, 1923.

The Nationalist Socialist demonstrations of the last few days have not been confined to Munich and the Bavarian towns. They have also taken place here and there in north Germany. These demonstration, however, do not form the starting point for a fresh struggle for power on the part of National Socialism. They appear much rather to be the last spasms of a dying movement. At any rate, it can already be said today that the national socialist movement is played out as a ruling power which could determine the future of Germany. Hitler would never make a German Mussolini, and the National Socialist "Labor" Party will never be a Fascist

party capable of government. The cause for this lies of course not merely with the persons, but obviously in the first place in the social and economic limitations of the national socialist movement in Germany itself. The Fascist tendency represented by Hitler and Ludendorff wished to be nothing else than Italian Fascism. As in the case of the latter, the petty bourgeoisie was to form the kernel, about which there would group themselves. both on the left and right, the disappointed sections of the population in order to lend it the appearance of being a broad united people's movement which would clain to stand above the classes. But in Germany the petty bourgeoisie, in relation to the capitalist, and especially to the proletarian class, is numerically far too small to be able to act as a central attractive power for any length of time. The Hitler movement could have grown to be a decisive force if it had succeeded in attracting to it large masses of the proletariat. But the social program of German national socialism was far too colorless and inadequate for this purpose. It was only against one form of capital that Hitler took the field, namely, usury capital. And even in this he was compelled, having an eve to those who were financing him, to exercise the greatest moderation and to limit himself solely to opposing Jewish usury capital. Hitler's second slogan had reference to the fight against national suppression. But here also he had no positive program for liberating the nation from the grip ca foreign imperialism. Here he limited himself much more to the purely negative slogan: "Settlement with the November criminals who are to blame for the national misfortune."

The destruction of the Labor Movement, in consequence of the counter-revolutionary policy of Social Democracy and of the trade union bureaucracy, would be of the highest benefit to a broad minded petty bourgeois Fascism. But Germany is not Italy. In Germany there is still a compact

mass of workers who have for decades been organized in the Social Democracy, and in spite of all disappointments, hold fast to their organization. In addition to this, the Communist Party has succeeded in the highest degree in gathering under its banner ever-increasing masses of the sound elements among the disappointed workers. And not only the workers, but even a large section of the petty bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals and of the professional middle classes. And this precisely because the Communist Party has not conducted a policy of a narrow-minded labor party actuated by mere craft interests, but has advocated a far-reaching social and national program. It has done this in the full consciousness that it is today the representative of all the healthy elements in the German nation and of its vital endeavours. In this hour of the defeat of Hitler, it first becomes apparent what an enormous success the Communists have achieved in the national question

The so-called national socialist labor party became more and more a resort for career-hunting students, for disappointed ex-officers, out-of-work commercial clerks, political adventurers and swell mobsmen. Of real working class elements within it ranks there was practically none. This petty bourgeois tendency of German Fascism therefore, looked to industry and agriculture for reliance and support. And its efforts in this direction were not without success. Generous funds were supplied to it both by agriculture and industry. The "national minded" employers even granted leave of absence to their staffs in order that they might be able to fill the ranks of the national socialist forces.

The influence of Hitler and Ludendorff was in the next place, fairly strong in agraian and heavy industry circles. But their star began to pale the moment the state of siege was proclaimed throughout the Reich, whereby the executive power was transferred to the Reichswehr, as a result of which, a far-reaching change took place, not only in the relations of state power but also in politics. The Great Coalition had already set up a purely Fascist program which it realized by means of decrees. No Fascist government could have done the lob better or with less disturbance. After the expulsion of the Social Democrats from the Reich Cabinet, even every appearance of the working class having any sort of voice in the government disappeared. The capitalists and the agrarians are by no means inseparably bound to Hitler and Ludendorff. As soon as someone else is found who can do their business better and on cheaper terms, why should they not avail themselves of his services? Before all, why should they engage in an open struggle? It is not to be wondered at therefore, that Admiral von Tirpitz already, on November 1., addressed a letter to Hitler in which occur these words:

I conjure you to do everything in your power to avert a violent action of the fighting leagues, for the process of sanitation is not to be anticipated by violence. Prussia too is in a fair way to throw off the yoke of

Marxism. The Weimer Constitution is in a fair... be altered in a federalist direction. Should we let it cometo a collision with the Reichswehr in the North, which stands firmly behind General von Seeckt, then the result will be disastrous and all will be lost. We may not anticipate the natural development.

Notwithstandin G. Hitler and Ludendorff have "anti-clpated" and thereby not at all disturbed the "process of sanitation", but have, on the contrary, assured the victory of the great capitalist tendency in Fascism, which is personi-

fied by Stresemann and Seeckt. Through the collapse of the Munch putch, petty bourgeois Fascism is, for the future, settled as a ruling element But an ideology. On the contrary, it is still alive, and will play that does not mean that it is also compeltely played out as an important role as a disintegrating element within in Fascism It is, so to speak, the first subsersive element in the womb of victorious large bourgeois Fascism. It is no accident, that the first paper to be prohibited by General Seeckt was a Fascist paper, the Deutsche Tageblatt, and that it was prohibited for sowing seeds of discord in the Reichswehr, The Reichswehr is precisely the ground upon which petty bourgeois Fascism will conduct its principal agitation work. But it is, at the same time, the most sensitive spot of large bourgeois Fascism,

Other disentegrating phenomena are also manifesting themselves in great bourgeois Fascim. Thus, for example the return of the Crown Prince Wilhelm to Prussia signifi the breaking out of a struggle for the future imperial crown between the rival dynasties, to wit, the Hohenzollerns and, the Wittelsbachs Moreoover, strong sectarian antagonisms. are already manifesting themselves between the Catholic South and the Protestant North. Above all, the national socialists are extremely hostile to the Ultramontanists.

In addition, there are the internal political and the social difficulties. Herr von Kahr, who is also a representative of great bourgeois Fascism, has experienced in his own person how difficult it is to satisfy the high-flown expectations of the middle classes, and also of the bourgeoisie. Nor does the possession of even the most dictatorial powers facilitate matters. Kahr's activities signify the most bitter disappointment for all those who seriously looked to him for a better future. About a week ago. Herr von Seeckt, the dictator of-North Germany, held out hopes to the population of amelioration with regard to its food supply. One has, however, absolutely no need to be a prophet, in order to be able to predict with certainty that in this he will hardly have any better luck than his Bavarian collaborator and antagonist, Herr von Kahr.

Even if very narrow limits are set for the positive performances of Herr von Seeckt in the social sphere, much greater possibilities open up before him in the domain of negative results, to wit, in the domain of oppression of the labor movement. The Vorwarts is already able to publish a whole list of newly prohibited Social Democratic papers. And that is merely a beginning.

And, finally, the situation in the domain of foreign affairs! May be the sight of the dazzling array of troops which surrounds Herr von Seeckt, and with which rejoices the hearts of all capitalistes in Germany, will give rise to the friendliest feelings for this country in M. Poincaré? Does the regime of Seeckt imply an improvement in the severely strained situation of Germany? We can understand that Herr von Seeckt, as a good general, as the victor in the battles of Gorlicze and the Red Tower Pass, should now sun himself in the splendour of his great triumph on the political battlefield of the Ebert Republic, and that his heart is filled with loy. But when he thinks of the external situation of the Reich, many a drop of wormwood will surely fall into his cup of We, however, whose presentiments of victory are not thus marred, see in these external difficulties of the Kahr-Stresemann-Seeckt regime, deadly germs extremely dangerous to the new Great Fascist domination.

The Problems of the German Revolution

No Illusions By G. Zinovieff.

The German Revolution is entering on its acutest stage. The hopes of a peaceful solution of the crisis vanished with the strike movement in August last. But one illusion has always remained among the German workers: the hope that at least

the Left of the German Social Democratic Party would be on the same side of the barricades as the fighting proletariat: against the bourgeoisie. The import of the stage passed through few weeks is that this illusion has now been furing the last swept away like chaff before the wind.

The latest events have been such as to open the eyes of

The White Guardist Fascist dictator Kahr, occupies Bavaria. What reply is made by official German Social Democracy to this? With its own hands it delivers over government and dictatorship to the White generals throughout the rest of

The tactics employed against Saxony are quite different. Here the workers succeeded, despite the greatest resistance on the part of the leaders, in forming a rather feeble, "workers'" government. How did official Social Democracy respond to this? The Social Democrat Ebert granted all the required authority to the bourgeois Chancellor Stresemann and the White General Müller. General Seeckt, who sits in the coalition government in company with the Social Democrats, assembled 60,000 men of the White Guard militia troops and drafted them to Saxony. The Berlin chairman of the Railwaymen's Union, "explained" to the railwaymen that the troops were not marching against Saxony, but against Bavaria, and took all the required steps for removing even the slightest obstacle out of the way of the transport of counter-revolutionary troops

And after the troops were already in Saxony, after counter-revolution had already got ts grip on the throat of Saxon proletariat, then the Social Democrats Dittmann and Hilferding made a journey to Saxony to open "negotiations" with Zeigner, who is also a Social Democrat.

At the Factory Councils' Conference held on October 21. in Chemnitz the Communists, seeing the trap that was laid, proposed that a general strike be immediately proclaimed, but this proposition was sabotaged by the "left" Social Democrats with Zeigner himself at the head, and the way was finally smoothed for General Seeckt.

And after the whole matter had been finally settled, nd the Saxon Workers' Government disbanded, the Social Democrat Zeigner's place as head of the government was, in the "new "Saxon Government, filled by another member of the Social Democratic Party, Fellisch, and the old German Social Democratic bureaucrat Lipinsky was added as well,

When the indignant workers sent delegations to the General German Trade Union Federation, they were received with the utmost politeness by the head of this honorable institution, Leipart, another Social Democrat, and were given an elaborate "explanation" of the reasons why the trades unions cannot interfere in politics. (But when they support the Fascisti, and Stresemann as well, is this no interference in politics?)
When the Berlin organization of the German SP, deman-

ded that the central organ of the party, the Vorwarts be changed from a yellow newspaper into a red one, the Right and "Left leaders of the German SP. came together and passed a wise resolution to the effect that the morning edition of the Vorwarts be edited as before by the Right, but the evening edition by the Left. In other words: in the morning the central party of organ will openly defend the bourgeoisie and the White generals, in the evening it will do the same with a certain

amount of circumlocution. In Hamburg the workers have fought like lions. A considerable number of the German SP, workers participated in the struggle against the bourgeoisie with a heroism equal to that of our Communist workers. The leaders of the German SP. lent their aid to the counter-revolution for the bloody suppression of the movement in Hamburg, and the Social Democratic president Ebert was demonstrative in his praise of the Hamburg police for taming the workers. This same 'gesture" was then immediately repeated by the Social Democratic members of the Hamburg Senate. Is it possible to throw a clearer light on the situation?

Ebert, Noske, Wels, Severing, Zeigner, Paul Levi, Crispien, Rosenfeld, Fellisch, Leipart, Lipinsky-what more can one want! A magnificent gallery of magnificent types!
A splendid division of labor!

The international proletariat has never before witnessed

such a shameful betrayal. One of the most important problems, about which there is still a good, deal of vagueness, is the problem of the relations towards Social Democracy, especially to the so-called "Left" Social Democracy. Although we have learnt much from the unceasing treachery practised by the Social Democrats (and nothing could be more instructive in this respect than the recent example of Bulgaria and the present one of Germany), still a kind of mental inertia causes us to continue to regard the Social

aocratic party as a labor party, and we still greatly underestimate its counter revolutionary character. But the present lessons being taught in Germany should really suffice to dispel all delusions in this respect still cherished by the German Communists and by us all.

The main forces of the German workers have not yet participated in the struggle; the many millions of the powerful troops of the German proletariat have not yet been led into nattle. The action taken by the workers in various towns, often enough without the agreement of the German CP., are striking proofs of the charged atmosphere. The urgent desre of the workers to obtain possession of weapons is now beginning to assume a mass character. The decisive struggles are Perostponed for a season. But they are approaching none the less inevitably. The more illusions the average worker loses during the present period, the better for the revolution. Our chief political task at the present time consists in finally liquidating the influence possessed by the German Social Democratic Party, Right and "Left" alike, and thereby clearing the path for the victory of the workers.

The German SP. has smoothed the way for the Fascisti in the latter's efforts towards a "peaceful" seizure of power. All that the Fascisti need do now is with the help of the German Socialist Party, to strike down and kill hundreds of workers in the great proletarian centres. But Germany is not Italy. German Fascism, even when supported by German Social Democracy, is incapable of solving the elementary and unavoidable tasks confronting Germany. The international situation of Germany has not been improved as a result of the "patribourgeoisie and Social Democracy having played "independent" Rhineland republic into the hands of M. Poincaré. The international knot is being drawn tighter and tighter. The economic situation of Germany has not improved, but has become worse, and will continue to become worse from day to day. The basic factors of revolution continue to work their effects. The German proletariat will become stronger when it has stripped off its last illusions. The mass of the German proletariat, the millions of German workers, will presently comprehend that which up to now only the vanguard has comprehended: that the decisive struggle can only be carried on desnite the counter-revolutionary leaders of the German SP., and against these leaders; that the Right leaders of the German SP are the most dangerous agents of bourgeois counter-revolution, and the "Left" leaders of the German SP. a mere appendage of the Right.

It is difficult to predict how long the masses will require to thoroughly take to heart the political experiences of the past weeks, but the crisis has become so acute that developments are

proceeding with amazing rapidity.

And the slogan: "Workers' Government" (or Workers' and Peasants' Government)? What light has the Saxon experiment thrown on this slogan?

"With all its advantages, the watchword of the workers' government has its perils, just as that of the United Front. In order to avoid such perils the communist parties must bear in mind that every bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, but that not every workers' government is a really proletarian, i. e. a revolutionary instrument of the proletarian power.

These words are contained in the resolution passed by the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International on the Workers' Government. The Saxon experiment has fully confirmed these words. In this same resolution of the Fourth World Congress we read further:

"The Communist International must anticipate the following possibilities:

1. A Liberal Workers' Government, such as existed Australia, and likely to be formed in Great Britian in the near future.

2. A Social Democratic "Workers' Government"

3. A Workers' and Peasants' government - such possibilities exist in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia etc. 4. A Workers' Government in which Communists participate.

5. A real proletarian Workers' Government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form." Saxony has shown us the fourth type of the "workers' covernment". but only on a provincial scale, and under extra-ordinarily complicated circumstances.

"The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations, in intro-ducing control of production, in putting the chief burden

of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in break; the All these temporary tasks laid down by this same resolution of the Fourth World Congress were impossible of execution by the Saxon "workers'" government. Social Democracy did its utmost to hinder their execution. And therefore the

workers' government could not maintain itself.

All the same, the German Communists have no reason to regret the Saxon experiment. In view of the situation which had arisen, the German Communists could not and should not have refused to take part in the Saxon government. They had to prove to all sincere German SP. workers-and this they have done—that they are ready, even when in a minority, to join forces with the Social Democrats if only the Social Democrats agree to fulfil their elementary duties towards the working class. The bankruptcy of the Saxon "workers'" government is above all the bankruptcy of the "left" Social Democrats.

The quicker the better!

The slogan of the workers' and peasants' government retains its value. The German SP. remains as it was: undisguised counter-revolutionary hangmen (the Right), and a power-less appendage (the Left), similar to the "Novaja Shisn"

people in Russia in the year 1917.

"The complete dictatorship of the proletariat is the sole real workers' government (type 5), consisting of Communists" This is the closing passage of the resolution passed by the IV. World Congress of the CI, on the question of the workers' government. These words will now be repeated by many millions of the German working class. The German proletarat will triumph in spite of everything. The moment of the decisivebattle is not far distant.

The Armed Struggles in Hamburg

The Observations of an American Lady Journalist. By E, H,

On October 23, an armed insurrection broke out in Hamburg. A relatively small number of insurgent workers occupieed the police stations in the outer districts during the night, and disagned the constabulary. This action was night, and disarmed the constabulary. This action was followed by several days of street fighting, the government sending not only police to quell the rising, but also soldiers and marines. The insurgents were finally obliged to give way beforce these greater numbers, in particular because of the fact that they remained isolated from the masses of the working population. A savage hunt for Communists ensued. The police arrested anybody at all suspected of being a Communist, wherever he happened to cross their path. The Social Democratic Minister for Justice, Dr. Radbruch, at once set up a special tribunal, which pronounced a provocative death sentence on the very first day.

The events in Hamburg serve the bourgeoisie, and the Social Democracy following in its wake, as a pretext for an unexampled campaign of agitation against the Communists. And if the truth is to be told it must be admitted that here, as on every occasion when there is a pogrom agitation against the Communists, the most zealous and energetic agitators are the Social Democrats and their central organ, the Vorwarts. There is no lie too despicable, no means too infamous, for these notorious betrayers of the working class, so long as they hope to achieve their object of confusing the workers, splitting their forces, and inducing them to cowardly and slavish submission to the power of capital and its governmental agents. But the methods which still obtained a certain degree of success in Central Germany in 1921, are a lamentable failure among the masses today. The broad masses of the working and middle classes are not filled with hate against the Hamburg Communists. but with open sympathy, profound regret at the failure of the struggle, and unbounded indignation against the Social Democratic aspiring politicians, whose open sabotage, agitation against the Communists, and unconcealed desertion to the ranks of capital, have broken the united front of the workers and thus postponed the victory of the workers.

And this is by no means a too highly colored picture or exaggeration, but the objective truth. We are in a position to support our assertions by some extracts from a report written by the well known American lady journalist Anna Louise Strong for the American newspaper "The New Republic", in which she describes her impressions as an eye-witness of the occurrences in Hamburg. We give below some of the most important passages of the report.

The question as to why the Hamburg Trade Union Buildings were surrounded by so strong a force of police, and whether an attack was feared, was replied to by the wife of the caretaker there as follows:

Marxism The guarding us" - "Against an insurrection on the part of the workers?" - "Yes, for you never know what such a mob may do.... Some of the Social Democratic and trade union Senators believe that we need a guard.

A number of party and trade union employés sat cheerfully their beer in the guest room, and on being questioned the American correspondent, replied with obvious satis-

"Everything is cleaned up again. The Communist criminals are either shot or taken prisoner, except the leaders. These appear to have escaped again . . . the cowards! But the Communists are always like that. This time, however, they are thoroughly beaten. There will be no more nonsense now.

"In reply to my question as to what prospects the people had of better times and better food supplies, I was told that great hopes were placed on the rentenmark, which would bring stable curency, and on America, which would supply Germany with wheat on two years' credit "to prevent Bolshevism" Besides this, the Versailles Treaty must be set aside . . . These are precisely the same hopes which have been pursued in vain

A dock worker with whom the correspondent spoke the next day at breakfast expressed himself as follows:

"All over? — no damned fear. Not until we have got something to eat." — "Then the workers have not lost their courage?" — "We must not lose our courage. If we do, we shall be beaten down and crushed to below the level of African negro slaves . . . If only the wretched bureaucrats had not attacked us from behind . . . The whole thing was started too soon, and too few took part in it . . . When it begins again, we shall have learnt a great deal in the meantime.

The correspondent heard the following conversation in front of the Hamburg Echo:

"Will they dare to carry out the death sentence? . . . Four hundred have been arrested, they cannot shoot them all . . . that would rouse the people more than ever . . . The special tribunal gives severe sentences; one year's imprisonment for

picking up a piece of bread!" reporter of the Echo gave the following information: "The first cases brought before the emergency tribunal related to the looting of food. A youth of 19 years, out of work and starving, was arrested during a hunger revolt because he had half a loaf of broad under his arm, which he said he had picked up in the street. He was given a year's imprisonment. A barber, who had sent his landlady's daughter to buy bread for him in the morning, but had not been able to obtain any on account of the bakers' shops being either sold out to dinner. for fear of pillage, passed across a square on his way to dinner. and picked up a loaf of bread lying on the pavement, where it had been thrown by plunderers. He too received a year's imprisonment. The special tribunal declared his case to be much worse than the other, for though he had acted without premeditation, still he had not been driven to the act by actual want, as he had work . . . He was able to prove that ite had only earned 10 milliard the week before . . . 10 milliards — 15 to 20 cents for a week's work! — These verdicts have aroused strong disapproval in Socialist circles. The special tribunal is decidedly going too far. But I do not believe that the death sentence will be carrieg cut. The Social Democrats in the Government will see that they prevent this."

The Social Democratic Police Senator Hense was not of the opinion that "everything was over". He said:

"There will be further revolts. Of what use is it for the police to suppress putsches so long as there is nothing to eat. It is possible to surround people who erect barricades, but it is not so easily possible to shoot down women and children."

In reply to the observation that a putsch on the part of the Right is being widely discussed in Germany at the present

time, Hense continued:

"No, the Nationalists do not need a putsch any more. They will get the power into their hands without that . . . The Communist putsch was really well prepared. Perhaps not down to the last detail. In my opinion their plan of first taking the suburbs was a mistake from a military standpoint. But the details were well worked out, probably by former officiers. They took 13 police stations outside of the city, and overpowered the ce. They made no attemps in the old city, where we have the better armed green police. The affair began at four o'clock on Tuesday morning, and was ended by evening, although there was still sporadic shooting from the roofs during hie whole of Wednesday night . . . Flmbütte where the 42nd police station is situated, was a really bad case. We sent an armoured motor-car, which the Communists put out of action. After this we sent two armoured cars and four hundred green police, who retook the police station About 6-700 were arrested. I do not know when or how. The

inquiry will clear that up. As far as I know, two thirds of the were taken with weapons in their hands . . . They had no foreign weapons, in spite of all assertions to the contrary. The weapons German, from the war; some were new, and had obviously been taken or hidden since the armistice".

In reply to the question whether all those arrested with weapons in their hands were liable to the death sentence, Hense

"Probably. But that does not mean, that they will actually be executed. That is the affair of the German President, Perhaps many will be pardoned. But those who killed police-and there were some brutal murders-will probably be executed.'

Here Hense made an important statement: "On other occasions, when the Communists were planning anything illegal, there have always been citizens loyal to the law who have informed us of this. The German believes in the Government, and denounces those who combat it. But this time I knew nothing until the night before, and then only in a very vaoue way. I believe that the people are becoming indifferent to the Government. They are starving. They think that whatever may come, things cannot be worse than before.

We have found papers allotting the police stations to various persons. These papers appear to originate with the Communist Youth. We have found nothing with the Communist Party group, or at its Secretariat. These people are too cunning. But we have arrested the leading Communists, including members of the Citiziens' Council, for we have a feeling that they are responsible for the affair. For instance, a few days ago they said to my Chief of Police, and to the head of the Welfare Department: "When we take over power, which will soon be the case, you may retain your positions . . " This plainly shows their intentions.

In the building where the courts sit the American correspondent encountered a large number of women, whose husbands had been arrested. One of these spoke follows:

What have they got against my husband? He took no part in the fight, he has no weapons. And yet he was arrested in our house. He joined the Communist Party a month ago. But that is not a crime. For the Socialist trade unions are of no use. They do absolutely nothing for the workers. All they want is to remain in the Government and to secure soft official jobs for themselves. My husband was disgusted with them and went over to the Communists."

Another woman said: I come from Sande, near Bergedorf. There was no shooting at all in our part of the town. But the Security Police searched all the houses and dragged the men out of their beds. They were frightfully ill-treated on the way to the police station, so that even bourgeois gentlemen were indignant. The whole neighbourhood is enraged, everybody hates the Government." As every number of the Social Democratic Hamburg Echo

is full of denunciations of the "cowardly Communist leaders" who prepare putsches and then get away safely, the correspondent asked these women their opinion about this. But none of them had anything against the Communists; all their indignation was directed against the Government.

In our district there were people took part in the shooting. But they all got away safely. When their ammunition was used up, and no help came, they withdrew. But if the police were too slow to catch the fighting workers, that is no reason for them to break into houses and arrest other people without aim or object . . . The workers are not discouraged, but they are unfortunately without weapons. Too few participated this time. There was no united front between the Social Democrats and the Communists. The Communists may have been somewhat too hasty this time, perhaps they have even made a mistake. But still the Social Democrats should have joined. Instead of doing this they attacked the workers from behind. and denounced them daily in their newspaper. We have all stopped taking the Echo. 3000 subscribers have stopped taking it in our district, because it writes against the workers.'

Another woman told the correspondent the following: "The women in Hamburg are suffering terribly. But tell hem: it is your own fault that your husbands are so cowardly. Why were they not at the barricades with the others? I know why. If there is a piece of bread in the house, who gets it? The wife? No. never Not even the children. The husband gets it, because he is the head of the family and has to work. The husband We German women are mad, But I say that we must stand up for our rights, just as the English and American women do. We must take away the bread for ourselves and our children. And when the man is as hungry as we are, then he will go to Our men were two days and two nights out in the open without having anything to eat or drink. But the Security Police were well provided. The workers were out there, but nobody cared for them. Our husbands would still

No. There if their ammunition had not been exhausted . . . those miserable labor leaders. A short time ago the dock-workers went to the Trade Union House to hear an address on stable value wages. But the meeting was prohibited, it was said, on account of the state of siege. In reality the leaders were afraid. The masses had to remain outside, and there was a great war of words. The Social Democrats railed at the Communists for beginning the fight. And the others railed at the Social Democrats for leaving the fighters in the lurch. And then the police suddenly came out of the Trade Union House with their guns. The professional politicians could have prevented them from doing this very well, for they are in the Government. But they did not; they calmly allowed us to be driven away from our own Trade Union House . . . Yes indeed, it is true that many workers are leaving the Social Democratic Party. I have left it too, and I left my trade union yesterday. I told the gentlemen that I had enough of it. I do not belong to any party now. I am a party for myself. But in spite of that I should like to see a Soviet Germany. I am in favor of anybody, be he Communist or Nationalist, who will only send these

The impartial notes taken by an American Journalist are welcome change from the lies and slanders so diligently spread abroad by the Social Democrats and their press with reference to the events in Hamburg. But this time their agitation against the Communists will not help them much. The starving masses have begun to move. They fully recognize that their sole salvation lies in fighting with every means at their disposal. And sooner or later they will enter the fight. In spite of everything!

wretched bureaucrats to the devil."

President Ebert's Special Courts of Justice

President Ebert's Special Courts of Justice.—Formal Detention for the Fascist "Hooked Cross" Ringleaders.—Death Sentence and Gaol for the Communist Fighter!

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

The justice administered by the special courts of law in Germany is the result of an open breach of the constitution. These courts were set up after the March fights of 1921. by means of an emergency enactment passed by the President of the German Republic. Ebert; they were organized by the then Minister of Justice, Dr. Heinze, now civil dictator in Saxony; and were sanctioned by a majority resolution supported by all parties in Parliament with the exception of the Communists. The bloody verdicts pronounced by the central German special courts of justice are sufficiently well know, they need no fresh emphasis. Even today many of their victims are still languishing in the Republican gaols.

Special justice has come into its own again during the last few eventful weeks. The Fascist putsch in Küstrin on October 1 gave the Social Democratic Minister of Justice in the Stresemann-Sollmann cabinet, Dr. Radbruch, occasion for calling together a special court of justice at Cottbus for "sentencing" the Fascist followers of the "hooked cross" who had carried out the putsch. And the famine revolt on October 23 in Hamburg, gave the same Minister of Justice the welcome opportunity for the practical exercise of his strong sense of "compensative justice" by means of a second special tribunal at Hamburg.

These two special courts of justice, called upon to pronounce verdicts with regard to two occurrences of like juridicia! significance, not only offer an excellent parallel for comparison. but at the same time a magnificent illustration of the political prejudices and class character of justice in new Republican Democratic Germany.

In Küstrin the monarchist ascisti, under the leadership of the retired Major Ernst Buch ucker, who took a leading part in the Kapp putsch, undertook a well prepared armed coup against the fortress of Küstrin. They were finally disarmed and about 350 of them taken prisoner. Dr. Gessler, Minister of the Central Militia. suppressed all accurate reports as to this armed rebellion, for "military reasons". A special court of justice was appointed to try the rebels. This first carried out an exhaustive inquiry, so exhaustive that within a short time 29 or 30 of the 350 prisoners were released, and enabled to return to swell the reserves of the great Fascist fighting associations. The preparations for the proceedings against the twelve chief cultrits accused of high treason required fully three weeks. At last, on October 22, proceedings were commenced against some of the rebels before the special tribunal at Cottbus. But of course the nublic was excluded. The world must be allowed to learn as little as possible of the extensive monarchist conspiracy against the Ebert Republic. And the Fascist putschists found mild

netic judges. Major Buchruc....

International Press Coress Co

four shifty of consummated high treason, and of being lead of the putsch, but all the same he was merely sentenced of the to 10 years of that agreeable life led by such prisoners under honorable detention in a fortress. His accomplice and adjutant, Major Herzer, received only two and a half years imprisonment, eight other putschists, for the most part one-time lieutenants, got off with imprisonment from 3 to 8 months, whilst four "harmless" conspirators were completely acquitted.

In Hamburg it was quite another matter. Here famine revolts broke out on October 23, workers disarmed the police. This was followed by days of street fighting. The small band of workers was finally compelled to give way before the overwhelming supremacy of the combined weapons of police, militia, and marines called out against it. Communists were arrested en masse, without discrimination. But only a few of the actual fighters fell into the hands of the police. These few have now to bear the full brunt of the savage vengeance of the bourgeoisie and its Social Democratic accomplices. Herr Radbruch was at once to hand with his special court of justice. And this "worked" rapidly, remarkably rapidly. By the 27th of October it was already able to meet and commence proceedings. Rapid and thorough class work was done. Five accused were sentenced to prison for "breach of the public peace and pillage", one recelving a year's hard labor. Even a carpenter's apprentice, a lad of 16, was sentenced to two months imprisonment for "resisting the orders of the police, and inciting the population to insurrection"

But these were mere bagatelles. The crowning infamy of this first day's trial was a verdict calculated to arouse universal indignation. A 22 year old communist, a fitter, was condemned to death for "high treason and insurrection" and on account of "attempted manslaughter and other offences"-he had fired at a policeman in the course of the fighting-to six year's penal servitude. And this verdict was pronounced in spite of the fact that the brutal police had struck out one of the eyes of their defenceless victim, after he had been taken prisoner,

Ten years detention for the recognized leader of a widely planned armed monarchist putsch, ridiculously short terms of imprisonment for the "highly educated" minor leaders of an armed rebellion, and complete acquittal for poor "misled" followers of the Fascist high treason enterprise! Thus run the verdicts issued by Dr. Radbruch's special tribunal in Cottbus, when trying the putschists of Küstrin!

Death sentence and 6 years penal servitude for high treason and rebellion—this is the verdict pronounced almost simultaneously by this same special tribunal of Dr. Radbruch's, against a young proletarian who was no leader, but a plain red soldier, who had done nothing more than take part in the disarmament of the police.

The class justice so clearly illuminated by a mere comparison of these two verdicts of the same emergency tribunal cries to heaven and furnishes yet another damning proof that, in the bourgeois class state, Justice is never anything more than the merest sham, serving the purposes of class rule.

POLITICS

The Spanish Dictatorship in a Blind Alley

By J. (Barcelona).

When the dictator Primo di Rivera usurped power, he cherished the belief that he would find it as easy to govern a country as to command a few units of the Spanish Army.

After the dictatorship had been in existence for ten days, we predicted that it would inevitably end in failure. And after four weeks of military governmental activity the situation appears more unfavorable than ever for the Directory. Prima di Rivera has turned the capitalists and agrarians out of the Government. Upon whom can he now rely? After some hesitation, and after becoming aware that the bourgeois parties had withdrawn to prepared positions, the dictator sought to secure the support of public opinion. In other words, the dictatorship has become a government of the middle class.

The clamour made about the plans for the "moralization of politics" awakened many hopes in the middle class. But chasm between the government and the capitalists deepend day by day. The decree proclaiming the ineligibility for high official positions of those at the head of commercial and financial companies did much to create this chasm. Does Primo di Rivera really imagine that it is possible to make a clean cut between politics and economics? And whilst the dissatisfaction in capita-

in favor of the military dictatorship. When a hourse recently renewed, not even 20% of the sum required was abscribed. Upon this the government issued a proclamation to the capitalists, expressing its surprise that these did not supply the necessary assistance.

This situation has had the effect of spreading abroad a rumour to the effect that General Cabanellas, an opponent of Primo di Rivera, is about to place himself at the head of another military camarilla. At the same time the "old politicians", those who have been pursuing "wait and see" tactics up to now, are beginning once more to hold their meetings, and make their plans and preparations.

Count Romanones recently declared that as early as January of next year he would very likely be back again at the head of the Government. The conditions are so little favorable to Primo di Rivera, that the "liberal" Count is perhaps not so very far wrong in his assumption. In any case it is highly doubtful whether Primo di Rivera will really succeed in bringing "salvation" to Spain in the manner he has imagined.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Attitude of the C.P. of Germany to the Present Situation in Germany

A Conference of the responsible Party workers of the German C.P. was held on Saturday November 3., for the purpose of deciding the attitude to be adopted towards the present situation in Germany, and the political tasks confronting the Party. We append for the information of our readers the text of the theses adopted in the form of a resolution by the Conference.

The Victory of Fascism over the November Republic and the Tasks of the Communist Party of Germany.

The End of the November Republic.

The November Republic has been delivered into the hands of Fascism over the whole area of unoccupied Germany. Power has fallen into the hands of the military forces, and these have deliberately set themselves the task of destroying the rights and liberties won by the working class, the Eight Hours Day and the Factory Councils, that they may be enabled to set up the unlimited rule of the bourgeoisie upon the shoulders of the defenceless proletariat. The Government, in abandoning the November Republic to the power of the military caste, and in striking at the root of the liberties won in the November Revolution, as it has done in passing the Emergency Powers Bill, has obliterated its own historical characteristic trait: the essential character of the November Republic consisted in the attempt to deceive the working class, by means of a coalition with the Social Democrats, into believing that capitalism could be restored in Germany, democracy retained at the same time, and the social interests of the workers also accorded the most careful consideration. But now the bourgeo'sie steps forward quite openly under the Fascist banner. There is no further pretence of democracy, but unvoncealed White dictatorship; no further mention of concessions to the working class or of the treacherous "collaboration" policy, but open enslavement of the working class: this is the governmental program . . .

The victory of Fascism over bourgeois democracy came about in a form different to that anticipated by the working class, so that the workers were not clearly conscious of this victory at first. Whilst the working class has been regarding Bavaria as the centre of Fascism, the actual Fascist centre has been ng itself in Berlin in the form of a dictatorship exercised by General Seeckt, who is backed up not only by the militia, but also by decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie. Whilst the working class, under the provocation of Ludendorff's and Hitler's threats, directed their attention to the nomination of Kahr as dictator of Bavaria, to Munich, where amidst the blowing of trumpets and hoisting of flags the White dictatorship was to be proclaimed, the Social Democratic Ebert and the Social Democratic Ebert and the Social Control of the Social Control of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Social Democratic Ebert and Specific as dictatorship was a dictator of the Specifi proclaimed, the Social Democratic Ebert and the Cabinet of the Grand Coalition were nominating General Seeckt as dictator, alleging this to be in opposition to the White dictatorship in Bavaria. General Seeckt did not proclaim any Hohenzollern monarchy, or any war against the hereditary French enemy. His first deed was the prohibition of all the Communist press and organizations; his second the occupation of the central position of the German proletariat, the proletarian Saxony lying between the Fascist North and South; his third the deposition of the dearest cratically elected Saxon Workers' Government. The soldiers of General Seeckt are practising in Saxony the art of scattering parliamentary institutions and governments. It is a general rehearsal by which General Seeckt gives the Stresemann Sollmann Central Government to understand that, now that he has received power at their hands, and now that he has sent the Zeigner Government to the devil on their orders, he can do the same at any moment with the Reichstag and with the parliamentary Central Government, unless they submit completely to him and hisheavy in-dustrialist contractors. The four hundred Reichstag Deputies in the beer restaurant of the Reichstag, the Chancellor with his eloquent speeches, the Social Democratic President of the country, who issues commands to military authorities who do not care straw for him, all these are mere flourishes which General Seeckt still permits, but which cannot veil the actual fact that power has been seized by the Fascisti; General Seeckt merely prefers to keep up the appearance of parliamentary democracy, for he can thus better conceal facts which would arouse selfdefensive action on the part of the masses of the pople.

Social Democracy as the Accomplice of Fascism.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Party are entirely responsible for the fact that Fascism has been able to gain its victory over democracy, and that it has gained this victory without any effort at self-defence on the part of the proletariat. They have made one concession after another, abandoned one proletarian position after another to the Fascisti. Despite all warnings issued by their party comrades, they have allowed General Seeckt to advance his preparations for his 'dry" coup d'etat. As members of the Coalition Government they have placed the power in his hands, and have even said "Amen" to the social aims of the Seeckt dictatorship, for they voted in favor of the Emergency Powers Bill, which permits all the burdens of the disintegrated bourgeois state to be thrown upon the proletariat. They have given their consent to the Central Government's executive against proletarian Saxony, they have prevented the general strike against the sending of troops to Saxony, and when all strategic positions were occupied by the Reichswehr, then the Social De mocratic members of the Central Government agreed to the position of their own party members in Saxony. The Social Denocrat Ebert signed with his own hand the order authorizing Heinze, as a commissary of the German Reich-that same Minister of a travestied justice who promoted the flight of the Fascist chieftain Ehrhardt-to drive the President's party comrades from their positions.

This completes the circle of the accursed policy pursued by the Social Democratic leaders. They have taken over the 'government" again, receiving it from the bloody hands of General Müller, who permits them to govern by executing his orders and licking his military boots. At the beginning of the November Revolution they split the proletariat in the name of bourgeois lemocracy. They organized White Guards for the defence of bourgeois democracy. And now they have delivered over this bourgeois democracy to the military. In the name of social reform they have denied the social revolution, and now they are placing the bare lives of the working people at the perfectly arbitrary disposal of the iron and coal magnates. Hereby the leaders of Social Democracy have finally broken with the proletariat.

There is now nothing left to the latter but to fight these Social Democratic leaders to the death. One section of the Social Democratic workers seems to understand this, for they are demanding that Ebert be expelled from the Party. But Ebert does not stand alone. He is the representative of the Social Democratic leaders who have been betraving the German prole-tariat since August 4, 1914. Wels and Müller, Sollmann and Schmidt-all these are akin to Ebert, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. It is not a question of a break with Ebert, it is not a question of sending a scapegoat into the desert, it is a question of a break with a ten years' policy of betrayal and its representatives. In order to prevent the growing opposition of the working class from developing into a proletarian struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Social Democratic leaders have first lifted Fascism into the saddle, and then deserted the Fascist Government to assume the appearance of opposition, as in the Cuno days. By this they hope to hold even the so-called Left Social Democrats to the chariot wheels of the bourgeoisie. But this is an artifice which can only deceive those who are anxious to be deceived. So long as the so-called Left Social Democrats do not break openly and clearly politically and organizationally, with the Right leaders of Social Democracy, they are their accomplices. Neither curses nor "opposition" are of any avail here, but only the knife cutting the ties binding them to the policy of betrayal. No. 79 Every organization which fails to break with the Right leaders does not even deserve that small measure of confidence required if we are to come to an understanding with it on the course to be taken by our common struggle. Those who cannot break with Wels, Müller and Ebert, the conscious tools of Facism, are themselves tools of Fascism, and either stupidity or cowardice is at the bootom of it.

The Working Class and the Collapse of the November Republic.

The workers allowed themselves to be taken by suprise by the victory of Fascism, but not solely as a result of the division of roles into the blatant advertising methods of Ludendorff, Kahr and Hitler, and the quiet and skilful operations of that section of Fascism under Seeckt. And they were not merely taken by surprise because the Social Democrats enveloped the Fascist advance in a dense fog. Nor by the fact that the Social Democrats have been seccessful, even up to the present day, in keeping a great section of the proletariat in a state of irresolution, and in holding the masses back from the struggle. The whole history of the November Revolution has conspired to the end that the working class should look on inactive whilst the November Republic struggled in its deaththroes. The November Republic delivered the whole German people into the hands of the usurious dealers in foodstuffs, of the iron and coal magnates. It has filled the pockets of the speculators with lucre, and converted the proletariat into a crowd of beggars. The November Republic, which has caused the glory of the Hohenzollerns to be taught in the schools, which has converted the courts of justice into instruments of White machinations, which has abandoned the army to the generals of Wilhelm II and to the Fascist chieftains, was unable to rally the working class to its defence when the hour of danger arrived. The proletariat could not fight for the corpse of the November prostitute. The hate felt for the November Republe by a great part of the proletariat, the pro-found disappointment which it has generated among those who have hitherto been its adherents, have smoothed the path of the Fascisti.

State power in the hands of the Fascist bands signifies the danger of the enslavement, throttling, and gagging of the proletariat, and thus the seizure of power by Fascism signifies the beginning of the decisive struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for life and death, the question of "to be or not to be". Armed insurrection is on the agenda as the inevitable task confronting the proletariat. And therefore the Communist Party of Germany, at this moment of the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship, at this moment when thousands of Communists are being cast into prison, and the Communist press and organizations are being suppressed-at this moment the German C.P. declares war to the knife against this Fascist dictatorship, and does so with iron determination and calm confidence. This combat against the Fascist dictatorship begins with the resistance. of the working class to the introduction of the Ten Hours Day, to unemployment, to anything less than pre-war wages, to the state of siege, to the gagging of the workers' press, and it will develope until it becomes an attack made by the proletariat on

the strongholds of Fascist despotism.

The C.P. of Germany, fully confident of speedy victory, declares that the working class will strike the weapons from the hand of the Fascist government; it declares that the working class will tear the power from the hands of the Fascist dictatorship; it declares that it will oppose the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the Fascist bour-geoisie; and that it will not rest until the proletarian dictatorship has been realized.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat versus the Dictatorship of the Fascist Bourgeoisie.

In November, 1918, the German working class was inpossession of state power. But it abandoned this power to the bourgeoisie, because it shrank in its great majority from all the sufferings inevitable to the maintenance of power. Fearing battle, it placed all confidence in the Social Democratic leaders, who promised to procure not only bread and state influence for the masses by a gradual process of peaceful democracy, but even promised the transition from private capitalism to democratic state possession. All hopes set upon democracy are now long since dead and buried. No German worker can afford to disregard the lessons taught by the five years of the November Republic. In bloody letters there is written before his eyes: you must choose between two alternatives. Either the bourgeoise seizes power, which means that it sets up its dictatorship as well, pillages and robs the middle and working classes, and seeks to establish its rule over the bodies of the working class and the proletarianized middle class; or the proletarian itself seizes power, and then utilizes the power thus wrested from the bourgeoisie

for the purpose of organizing production in the interests of the

Every facilitation of the transition to the dictatorship, such as a powerful proletariat could find on the basis of democracy, nas disappeared with the Fascist seizure of power, and the sub ordination of the whole state apparatus to Fascism. The transition from bourgeois dictatorship to proletarian dictatorship is a question of armed struggles. The Fascist dictatorship has been established by the employment of methods not understood by the Social Democrats: by means of quiet undermining work the Fascisti have seized the powers of the democratic state, and transformed the democratic state into a Fascist one. This apparatus of Fascist power must be shattered by revolutionary proletarian struggle before the portal to proletarian dictatorship can be opened. The preparation for this struggle is the task of the revolutionary workers in the immediate future.

Up to the present the Fascist bourgeoisie has won a victory over the November Revolution only, but not over the working class. The ranks of the working class remain unbroken, great masses of the workers are already filled with the determined will to fight, and others are being driven into the struggle by despair. It has been solely the treachery of the Social Democrats, and the confusion which they have created, which has prevented the formation of that proletarian united front which guarantees victory over Fascism. Hence the bourgeoisie seeks to utilize the present phase of confusion in the working class as the best moment to press forward to the decisive battle. Just as the establishment of the democrate rule of the bourgeoisie in January and March, 1919, was only possible after 15,000 workers had fallen in the civil war, fighting for the first positions, in the same manner the Fascist bourgeoisie now needs two hundred thousand proletarian corpses, in order that it may gain a free hand for carrying out its social program. And therefore Stinnes demands the abolition of the Eight Hours Day, although unemployment shows that this abolition can be of no practical use to heavy industry. Therefore Stresemann resolved to depose the entire Saxon Government, although he knew very well that the Social Democrats were prepared to break the coalition with the Communists and to enter into a coalition with the bourgeoisie. In both cases the Fascist bourgeoisie aimed at provoking the proletariat into an insurrection at a moment when it was weakened and confused by the treachery of Social Democracy, at a moment when it had not yet gathered all its forces into a phalanx possessed of an iron determination to fight, at a moment when its preparations were still in an initial stage. If the vital revolutionary forces of the proletariat are now preserved from decisive defeat, if all revolutionary elements work with iron determination for the preparation and mustering of fighting forces, if they gather strength by preliminary struggles, then the enemy will be scattered tomorrow, the proletariat will go forth to battle united, will gain the victory, and establish the proletarian dictatorship.

The Fascist Dictatorship: the Last and Weakest Bourgeois Government of Germany.

The German bourgeoisie is at the end of its tether. The mortal wound from which it is perishing results from. the fact that even when it capitulates before the external enemy, it is still unable to feed the German people. If the raw materials and food required to satisfy the requirements of the twenty millions of German industrial population are to be procured, the German bourgeoisie has to multiply its export of goods fivefold.

The rising wall of protective duties erected by the capitalist states precludes the possibility of export to the West. And export to the the East is only possible if Russian and German political economy can come to an agreement for reciprocal long-term credits, that is, if these two countries so interweave their economies that they stand or fall together. This way is barred to the German bourgeoisie. for it cannot bind itself to stand or fall with the first proletarian state of the world, neither can Russia bind her fate to bourgeois Germany. But the bourgeoisie cannot even keep up its present rate of export, for Stinnes and Krupp, the Coal and Iron Syndicate, have screwed up the prices of all fundamental elements of industry to such a height that German industry is no longer capable of competing in the markets of the world. This signifies rapid increase of unemployment. and it signifies the impossibility of placing German finances on a sound basis. Foreign loans can afford but temporary relief. On the basis of capitalist economics Germany cannot even secure starvation wages to the workers and officials. Despite all quackery with the rentenmark, the ruin of German economics continues with the force of a falling avalanche. The present state of the mark excludes the possibility of further expropriating the middle class. The watering of

oney as a means for the salvation of the bourgeoisie has been pushed to its utmost limits. The middle class, whose sympathy has lent Fascism its victorious power, will, under the rule of Fascism, be driven in despair to the side of the working class.

The Fascist government of mass starvation will be simultaneously the government of the decay of the German Reich. Bavaria has already practically cut itself free from the Reich. It has succeeded in inducing the 7th, Division of the Reichswehr to act as its mercenaries. Bavaria merely carries out the program dictated to the Baron von Soden in Paris. The occupation of East Prussia by the Poles is the second condition of peace with France, agreed to by the Wittelsbachers. By this they hope to outweigh the preponderance of the Hohenzollerns, the preponderance of Protestantism, and thus to pave the way to the German imperial crown by the grace of France. In the Rhineland the rising of the Separatist petty bourgeoisie has been suppressed. But the industrialists are negotiating with France, with the agreement of the Central Government, concerning the tacit separation of the Rhineland from Germany. The Fascist government coming into power in the name of the defence of the German Reich will either venture to take up the struggle against the Separatist forces - and then it will go under in the civil war between the various sections of the bourgeoisie, or, what is more probable, it will legalize the schismatic forces, legalize even the decay of Germany. And then it will be personified impotence, then it will signify the crumbling away of the German Reich and the German people to France and to international capital. But at the same time it will be unmasked as a government caring solely for the selfpreservation of a small clique of German industrial magnates, who, though powerless to defend and feed the country, exercise despotic rule solely for the sake of continuing to exist. By this it will forfeit the sympathies of the vital and honest elements of the nationalist masses, whose support is at the present time the main source of its military power. Germany will take refuge in the camp of labor, deprived though this be of all rights and exploited beyond its powers, in the camp of the proletarians, who will stretch out their hands to one another all over the country and combine their forces in the struggle against want, misery and enslavement. The struggle for social emancipation in Germany is inseparably bound up with the struggle for national emancipation. The Party of the proletarian dictatorship will be the Party of national salvation, and the Communist Party of Germany, in proclaiming the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, takes over at the same time the duty of fighting for the union of the Rhineland cut off by the French, of the Ruhr area, of Bavaria now separated from the Reich, of East Prussia menaced by Poland.

Central and Northern Germany enslaved by Seeckt, into a new German realm of labor, into a free Soviet Germany.

Incompetent to meet even the barest necessities of life of the people, incapable of finding any path to salvation for the German nation, the Fascist government will represent nothing but a tangled knot of mutually conflicting cliques. The antagonism existing between Bavarian big peasant Separatism and the Fascism of the Junkers and the big capitalists, between heavy industry, urging for an understanding with France, and the Prussian Junkers with whom France will not negotiate; the antagonism between the Wittelsbachers and the Hohenzollerns, all these antagonisms will become the source of uninterrupted crises in the camp of Fascism, and will effectually prevent the firn establishment of its power, if only the working class will gather together to form a determined united front against Fascist rule.

The Preparation of the Struggle for the Proletarian Dictatorship

In the consciousness that the inevitable struggle is bound to be an event of the immediate future, the Communist Party of Germany is making its preparations with the utmost energy. and it makes the solemn promise to unite as one man in the daily arming for the coming struggle, to put the life of every member of the Party at the call of the Cause, and in daily struggles to prepare the forces required to sweep away the Fascist dictatorship, and to establish that of the proletariat.

The CP of Germany will establish the United Front of the Proletariat.

It has even attempted to establish it by means of negotiations with the Social Democrate leaders. It made the sacrifice of entering the Saxon government, in order that the mustering of the proletariat might be facilitated by the coalition with Social Democratie, and the union of the Fascisti of the South and North prevented. The treachery of the Social Democratic leaders deprived the proletariat of the immediate fruits of these tactics. But this sacrifice has not been made in vain. The working class now sees that we were genuinely anxious for unity and for earnest struggle, and that the leaders of Social Democracy abandoned the working class to the enemy. The united front of the proletariat now demands that the corpse of Social Democratic leadership be thrown out of the labor movement before it causes a pestilence. The united front of the proletariat is going to be established from below. The CP of Germany must appeal everywhere to the Social Democratic workers, to the lower strata of Social Democratie functionaries, with a call to:

Break with the Betrayers of the Proletariat, Unite and gather round the Flag of the German CP!

For months the German CP has recognized it to be its duty to defend the interests of the proletarianized and pauperized petty bourgeoisie, the interests of the small tradesmen: artisans, officials, and intellectuals, against big capital. It has already done a great deal to break down the wall of misunderstanding and hate which capital has crected between the proletariat and these classes, on the principle of divide

Now, when the Fascisti, after first posing as champlons of the petty bourgeoisie, have delivered over the middle class into the hands of big capital, now is the moment for the German CP to devote tenfold energy to the task of winning over these auffering classes for an alliance with the working class, as the sole hope of salvation. It must prove to the intellectuals that it is the saviour of German culture and it must gather not only the agricultural laborers the proletarian elements of the village, around it, but also the small holders. The dictatorship of the proletariat will be the Workers' government which leads the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, and the peasantry into battle against want, misery, and decay.

The fight carried on by the German CP against the Versailles Peace, and against the surrender of the Ruhr area, proves it to be the sole national party in Germany. In view of the dismemberment of Germany, in view of Germany's national impotence under the nationalist regime of the Fascisti and her surrender to the Entente, it is the duty of the German CP to go to the nationalist masses, to tell them that it is not the hooked cross of the Fascisti, but the Soviet star, which is the symbol of the national emancipation of Germany. It must approach the militia and the navy, the security police, and the armed nationalist organizations, and ask these if they are willing to continue to act as armed guards to the destruction of the realm and to national disgrace, or if they are willing to fight along with us for a new and free kingdom

The CP of Germany calls upon the working class totake up the fight at once against the Fascist government and the fresh offensive of capital. It calls upon the whole proletariat to support the workers who are now locked out by the capitalists, and who are struggling against reduced wages, longer working hours, and suppression of the factory councils. We have to organize the fight for the pre-war real wage. We must not only further develop the defence units, but the defence units themselves must protect the working class daily from the acts of violence committed by the Fascist instruments of oppression. Every blow dealt by Fascist "iustice" be met by a counter-blow. Seeckt. Stinnes, and their like, must be made to realize every day that they are not in Italy or Bulgaria. The will break their heads against the working class. The working class will deal blow for blow, will arm from day to day for the decisive battle, will gather around it the suffering masses of the people, and will vanquish the Fascist dictatorship in open armed battle and establish the proletarian dictatorship. This struggle may begin within the next few weeks. There is not a day to be lost.

with the utmost possibile rapidity and then to leave the country again, and that they are confronted by a young, brutal, and inflexible capitalsm, accustomed to overrule all resistance.

The police have already on several occasions confiscated the printing equipment, the records, the bookselling establishment, and the funds of the CP of Brazil. Many comrades have been incarcerated for weeks, and even months, in the prisons, without any reason being given for their arrest, and without any hope of release. We need only name a few of these: Peres, a brush-maker, Joaquin Silva, carpenter, the proles ian writer Brandac, already imprisoned for the second time; icllas, the delegate to the 4. World Congress at Moscow; ther José Marcillo, Thereza Escobar, Everado Dias, and Astrojeldo Pereira, who entered energetic protest against the war in 1914, from a class war standpoint, and again in 1917 against the participation of Brazil in the world crime. In March 1918 Pereira published a pamphlet with reference to the Brest-Litivsk peace treaty, in which he predicted the overthrow of German militarism beneath the blows of the Bolsheviki.

A trade union which raised a protest against this pers secution was suppressed by the authorities. Police officials in high positions declare openly that the mere avowal of Communism suffices to justify the sharpest persecution.

A new enactment has been issued gagging the trade union organizations. The members of trade unions are now only permitted to meet together under the supervision of a police official, and any discussion of questions lying beyond their narrowest professional interests is strictly prohibited.

This reign of rampant reaction is supported by the and the Catholic press. The present president of the razil, Bernardes, stands for the inquisitorial Catholis the state of Minas Geraes, and the bourgeois reaction e state of Sao Paulo.

Our imprisoned comrades are in danger of deportation o the convict station of Acre, situated immediately on the equator.

The Brazilian Communists call upon the comrades in all countries to spread abroad the knowledge of these facts, and to send telegrams of sharpest protest to State President Bers nardes in Rio de Janeiro, and to the Brazilian embassies of their own countries, against the incarceration and transportation of our comrades.

At least the world has now the opportunity of seeing what Brazilian democracy is in reality.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Trotzky's Command to the Red Army on the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics celebrates its oth anniversary amidst the gathering clouds of great and terrible events in Europe. In view of the endeavors being made by the imperialist robbers of the world to tear the body of the German nation to pieces, and in view of the heroic efforts being made by the German working class to defend the independence of the country and to clear the way to a socialist state of society, we are more resolved than ever to secure the independence of the Soviet Union and its future. The workers of all countries possess our warmest sympathics. Our powers are devoted to the preservation of peace. But the military watchfulness of the Soviet overnment will not relax until the piratical intentions of nperialism are frustrated.

On November 7., the 6th anniversary of the greatest revolution, the troops solemnly march past before the assembled workers. Our parade, this time as always, will represent neither hot-headed over-zealousness nor any escription of belligerent provocation. But more than ever before it will express our complete readiness to interpose our own bodies between our peace and work, and those who venture to attempt any attack upon them.

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of War of the SSSR, and People's Commissary for the Army and Navy.

L. Trotzky.

RELIEF FROM RUSSIA

Russian Peasants' Assistance to the German Proletariat

By Ehrenfried Wagner.

While the German proletariat is fighting its vanguard struggles with reaction, while the working class population of Germany is bringing great sacrifices and is suffering terrible privation, while the German workers and peasants are face to face with decisive struggles, in the Hintersland of world revolution the Russian workers and peasants are getting ready for assistance on a large scale. The Russian proletarians follow with the greatest interest the present events in Western Europe. To the last peasant the Russian Soviet people have realized what it would mean for the Russian Soviet Republic if reaction were triumphant in Germany. All workers, peasants and members of the red army are also aware that the German proletariat will do its utmost to prevent the establishment of a white regime in Germany. The Russian proles tariat is waiting impatiently for the outbreak of the German Revolution and for the proclamation of the German Soviet Republic. The Russian red army and the Russian workers and peasants' sons would like to march immediately, arms in hand, to Germany to the assistance of the German comrades who are hard pressed. But the time is not yet ripe for this kind

To show, however, to the German proletariat how strongly they sympathise with it, the Russian workers and peasants have organised another kind of assistance. The revolutionary people of Russia realize that the coming struggles in Germany will exact great sacrifice. One must be prepared for every emergency. Russia knows the horrors of civil war. Therefore, it was enough for the Central Committee of the International Red Aid to appeal to the Russian workers and peasants and they at once mobilised their forces for immes diate aid on a large scale to the German proletariat which will be soon in the midst of a devastaing civil war. The readiness to help is most noticeable among the German peasants who found in Soviet Russia a second fatherland. The German communists on the Volga and in the province of Odessa say: "We cannot take a direct part in the struggle with the bourgeoisic, but we can help the German workers and peasants with bread and money. Thus the Provincial sections of the International Red Aid are receiving daily large and small quantities of foodstuffs, corn, cattle, money and valuables of all kinds. For instance, the peasantry of the Odessa district alone has forwarded up to date to the Red Relief 25,000 Poods Corn. The waggons were unloaded by the transport workers free of charge. The arrival of the corn was an occasion for great demonstrations and mass meetings:
"At the first call from Germany, the corn will be sent off!" The peasants of the Nicolaev District have sown corn on 400 desjatins of land, and the produce is also to be forwarded to the International Red Aid for the German workers. Further gifts of corn have been received from the peasants of the Seltz district (620 poods wheat) and from the peasants of the Yaransk district (500 poods of corn). The province of Viatka has up to now contributed 5031 poods of corn and 216 chervontzi (about 1000 Dollars).

These contributions from the German colonists are particularly significant, as they come from districts which only a little while ago were stricken by famine. But the Russian peasants are anxious to repay the German workers for their assistance during the famine in the Volga district.

The Russian people however are not limiting themselves to consignments of food. Thus the Moscow Central Committee of the International Red Relief, has again received a gift from the Odessa province, viz. a box full of valuable gift from the Odessa province, viz. a box full of valuables; gold watches, rings, silver cigarette cases, earings with precious stones, as well as many foreign gold and silver coins. In Odessa itself, 2080 gold roubles (1.040 dollars) 100 dollars and 8 lire were collected for the political prisoners. The International Red Relief expects to receive a net profit of 10,000 gold roubles (5,000 dollars) from the Odessa silver lottery, which is to be expended for the victims of the prolestarian class struggle. Even the inhabitants of the steppes in far away Kirgeesia have mobilized their forces, and have already delivered 100 head of cattle. They are organizing money as a means for the salva been pushed to its utmost li-

sympathy has lent Fac-Urals have already collected over 5,000 gold roubles and have

promised to keep up collections.

All these figures already show to day that the Russian proletariat is in earnest with its assistance to the German revolutionaries. As we are only at the beginning of our "aid action", we may be sure that the aid will be of a substantial kind. The German proletariat will be made to realise that it does not stand alone in its present hard struggle, and that the Russian people does not rest content with more resolutions and expressions of sympathy, but means with mere resolutions and expressions of sympathy, but means to give effective help. And it must be admitted that the sacrifices which the Russian proletariat is bringing are heroic. For although Russian economy has been looking up recently and the people are beginning to breathe freely again, it cannot be said that they are giving out of their abundance.

Moreover, the Russian proletariat is not only collecting for the hard pressed German proletariat. It is also assisting with the same readiness and self abnegation all proletarians who are lingering in prisons throughout the world. Not a single appeal of the International Red Relief has been left without response. The Russian proletariat is always ready and willing to repay to its brothers throughout the world a thousandfold what it received from them isself.

May the protetarians of all countries, who are not directly engaged in class struggle and are not called upon to risk their lives, take an example from the heroic self abnegation of the Russian workers and peasants!

The Russian Relief Action for the Children of the German workers

The Soviet Russian Relief League for the children of the German workers has issued an appeal to all the workers of the Soviet Union, from which we reprint the following

passages:
The bony hand of famine has seized the German worker and his family by the throat. The uncontrollable and criminal economic measures adopted by the German bourgeoisie and the German opportunists, and the frightful

foundest depths of want and misery.

The proletariat of Germany is literally starving beneath the pressure of taxation and the iron ring of merciless impoverishment, which is increased from day to day by the catastrophic depreciation of the mark. The workman is no impoverishment, which is increased from day to day by the catastrophic depreciation of the mark. The workman is no longer able to buy even a few pounds of black bread. In order to avoid actually starving to death, the working men and women raid the gardens and fields of the landowners during the night, and instead of obtaining bread receive the There are innumerable suicides bullets of the police. occasioned by starvation.

But the sufferings of the adults cannot be compared with the far greater torments endured by the children of the German workers. The German children are condemned to slow death by starvation. Infantile mortality increases daily,

and the inevitable accompanying phenomena of starvation—scurvy and tuberculosis—are undermining as health and lives of the children with inexorable cruelty

Can the workers of the first Workers' and Peasants' Government remain inactive spectators of the misery endured by the German workers, the tortures suffered by the children

of the workers of the Germany?

Working and peasant women! Remember that during the years in which the Soviet Union suffered bitter need-during the time of the Volga famine—the German working women, afforded great help to the workers' children of the Soviet Union, collecting money and other gifts in their nak-country, and providing your starving children with food 'at glothing. Many of your children own their lives to the calclothing. Many of your children owe their lives to the car, and support of the German working women.

Comrades, working men and women, peasants, it is our duty to hasten to the aid of the children of the German workers, and to save them from the tortures of death by

starvation.

In Red Moscow the working women have aiready begun A resolution passed by a to organize this relief action. meeting of working women's delegates decided on the immediate commencement of the acquities of the Relief League for the German workers children. This league is managed by a committee elected by the delegate meetings.

All workers are free to join the league; everyone paying the membership subscription of five gold copeks monthly, and actively supporting the measures of the league, has a right to become a member. It is only if broad masses of worker belonging to the Soviet Union participate that the means of be raised to enable immediate aid to be brought to the stay

German children. Working women and peasants! Follow the example of Working women of Moscow. Found sections of the national league in aid of the German workers' children in your delegates' meetings. Workers! Organize nuclei in your factories and state institutions, from groups of friends of the

Relief League. Peasants! Become members of the League! Workers one and all! Collect gifts in money and in kind, and send these in a properly organized manner to the

comittee of the National League.

The close friendship and unity between theworkers of the Soviet Union and the workers of Germany are the best guarantee for the victory of the German working class in the impending revolutionary struggles!

Long live the international solidarity of the working

To Our Readers

We regret that owing to the action of the Military Dictator, General von Seeckt, in ordering the closing down of the Friedrichstadt Druckerei, we were only able to publish an eight page "Imprecorr," last week. Other arrangements have now been made for printing the "Imprecorr." and we hope in future to be able to maintain our usual sixteen page