

APPEALS

To the Anti-Militarists of all Countries!

Dear Friends:
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 imprisonment 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 Germany, issue victoriously from the impending ordeal.

The episode in Bulgaria clearly proves that the working-class, 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 Fascists, the Mensheviks 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 (MO.P.R.).

Signed: A. S. Sasonev,
I. G. Alfimov,
M. S. Yevlanov,
M. A. Vikhvatyuk,
G. B. Gerasim

Moscow, October 13, 1923.

Support the Bulgarian Revolutionaries!

To the Workers of all Countries!

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

The military Communists—Workers and Peasants—have thrown the Stambouliak have been arrested, while 5,000 have had their property seized upon state.

to flee the country: 2,000 to Yugoslavia 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 threatened 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 and generously!

To the Support of the Bulgarian Revolutionaries!
Support the Committee of Action of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.!

Protest against the Death Sentence on Nikolau and Mateu!

To the Proletariat of All Countries!

Nikolau and Mateu, two innocent men, have been condemned 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 prevented.

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 for 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!"

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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 claim 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 eye 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 of 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 agrarian 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 job 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

M... increases daily, the rest of the count... no... in favor of the military dictatorship. When a... as recently renewed, not even 20% of the sum required wa... scribed. 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.

Ed.

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 bourgeoisie steps forward quite openly under the Fascist banner. There is no further pretence of democracy, but unvoiced 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 establishing 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 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 democratically 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 his heavy industrialist 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 a 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 Fascists; General Seeckt merely prefers to keep up the appearance of parliamentary democracy, for he can thus better conceal facts which would arouse self-defensive action on the part of the masses of the people.

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 Fascists. 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 Democratic members of the Central Government agreed to the deposition of their own party members in Saxony. The Social Democrat 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 democracy. 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 betraying the German proletariat since August 4, 1918. 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.

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 Fascism, are themselves tools of Fascism, and either stupidity or cowardice is at the bottom of it.

The Working Class and the Collapse of the November Republic.

The workers allowed themselves to be taken by surprise 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 successful, 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 death throes. 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 Republic by a great part of the proletariat, the profound disappointment which it has generated among those who have hitherto been its adherents, have smoothed the path of the Fascists.

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 develop 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 bourgeoisie; 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 in possession 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 bourgeoisie 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 proletariat itself seizes power, and then utilizes the power thus wrested from the bourgeoisie

for the purpose of organizing production in the interests of the working people.

Every facilitation of the transition to the dictatorship, such as a powerful proletariat could find on the basis of democracy, has disappeared with the Fascist seizure of power, and the subordination 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 Fascists 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 democratic 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 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

money 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 self-preservation 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 firm 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 Democratic 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 Democracy, and the union of the Fascists 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 Democratic 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 et impera.

Now, when the Fascists, after first posing as champions 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 suffering 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 Fascists 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 Fascists, 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 of labor.

The CP of Germany calls upon the working class to take 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 "justice" must 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. They 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 possible rapidity and then to leave the country again, and that they are confronted by a young, brutal, and inflexible capitalism, 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 proletarian writer Brandac, already imprisoned for the second time; Mellas, the delegate to the 4. World Congress at Moscow; other José Marcillo, Thereza Escobar, Everado Dias, and Astrojildo 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-Litovsk peace treaty, in which he predicted the overthrow of German militarism beneath the blows of the Bolsheviks.

A trade union which raised a protest against this persecution 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 Catholic press. The present president of the state of Minas Geraes, and the bourgeois reaction of the state of Sao Paulo.

Our imprisoned comrades are in danger of deportation to 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 Bernardes 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

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

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics celebrates its 6th 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 sympathies. Our powers are devoted to the preservation of peace. But the military watchfulness of the Soviet government will not relax until the piratical intentions of imperialism 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 description 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. Trotsky.

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 Hinterland 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 proletariat 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 of assistance.

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 immediate aid on a large scale to the German proletariat which will be soon in the midst of a devastating 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 bourgeoisie, 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 chevrontzi (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 valuables: gold watches, rings, silver cigarette cases, earrings 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 proletarian 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 salve
been pushed to its utmost limit
sympathy has lent force.

For the first week for the German workers. The miners in the
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 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 itself.

*May the proletarians 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
pressure exercised by Entente capital, have utterly ruined
German industry, and plunged the working class into the pro-
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
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
bullets of the police. There are innumerable suicides
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 the 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 own
country, and providing your starving children with food and
clothing. Many of your children owe their lives to the care
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 already begun
to organize this relief action. A resolution passed by a
meeting of working women's delegates decided on the im-
mediate commencement of the activities 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 workers
belonging to the Soviet Union participate that the means can
be raised to enable immediate aid to be brought to the star-
ving German children.

Working women and peasants! Follow the example of
the 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
committee of the National League.

The close friendship and unity between the workers 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
class!

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
issue.
Ed.