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The fight for Communism in Germany

Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands

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**The Fight For
Communism
In Germany**



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INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet, *THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM IN GERMANY*, was originally issued by the underground Communist Party of Germany as an important instrument in mobilizing the German working class for struggle against the bloody fascist dictatorship.

The pamphlet gives a vivid picture of the situation in Germany and the conditions of struggle of the German working class, the treachery of the Social-Democratic (Socialist) Party and reactionary trade union leaders, the bloody terror, and how the measures of the Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen dictatorship are intensifying the crisis and adding new burdens on the backs of the workers and all of the toiling population.

The pamphlet not only gives to the American workers a background against which they can follow the unfolding of the class struggle in Germany but it furnishes lessons which must be pondered deeply by every worker and toiling farmer. We too in the United States have our treacherous misleaders of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. exerting every effort against united working-class struggle even to the point of open collaboration with the bosses and the police. We too are faced with increased attacks upon our conditions of life in spite of all the ballyhoo of the Roosevelt government about the "new deal," "industrial recovery," etc. We too, as we develop our strength and gather our forces for ever stronger counter-attacks against the bosses and their Wall Street government in defense of our right to live, will meet with ever increasing terror and treachery of Socialist and A. F. of L. misleaders.

The German working class is not crushed. The revolutionary unity of the German working class in alliance with all of the toiling and exploited population, welded under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany and with the support of the workers of other countries, will in the not distant future, deal mortal blows to the German bosses and their bloody fascist dictatorship. *Long live the heroic struggle of the German workers! Long live Communism!*

The Fight For Communism in Germany

I.

WE ARE AND WE SHALL REMAIN

We are, we shall remain! No bloody terror of a decaying capitalist "system," no chauvinist incitement of the masses by nationalist businessmen and profit-figuring patriots will and can ever prevent the German proletariat and its revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Germany, from unfurling the shining banner of the red struggle for freedom and carrying it forward to the final victory. Long live Communism! Long live the Communist Party of Germany and its imprisoned leader, Ernst Thaelmann!

II.

Hitler and Goering never tire of guaranteeing to their capitalist patrons that Marxism has been exterminated. In fifty years, this Goering prattles, they won't even know what Marxism was. Do these agents of the exploiters mean the distortion and degradation of Marxism which found expression in the coalition policy of the Social-Democratic leaders? They can rest assured that the proletariat itself will put an end forever to this kind of "Marxism," to which Hitler and Goering owe their present rule. No! They mean something else. The only enemy threatening their rule of social slavery and political barbarism is Marxism and Communism, which they want to destroy. This is the indestructible fighting strength of the German proletariat which threatens capitalist rule. This enemy is the five-million-strong army of Communism which rallied around the Communist Party of Germany on the 5th of March with unprecedented determination. This enemy is the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the unshakeable fortress of the world revolution, the glowing example for all oppressed peoples and classes of the world. This Marxism will burst open the doors of Red October, even in Germany, in spite of everything, and liberate the Germany still tortured today by the Versailles powers and the capitalists in its own country; liberate it from

the strangling chains of parasitical capitalism, from the hangman's noose of Versailles and from the bloody plague of fascism. The executioners, carried away by their fancy, may imagine that they have conquered the German proletariat and saved capitalism. The fighting strength of the German working class, still unbroken today, welded into revolutionary unity, will take the offensive under the banner of Communism.

III.

THE FASCIST DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT AS THE INSTRUMENT OF CAPITALISTS AND JUNKERS

As the incorruptible disciples of Marxism-Leninism, we warned the German proletariat long ago of the present course of affairs, unless succeeded in time in throwing the gigantic forces of the proletariat into the arena of extra-parliamentary struggle and in breaking the influence of the Socialist Party and Trade Union Federation leadership, both of which were embarked on a line of treachery to the German working class. The leadership of the Communist International and that of the Communist Party of Germany declared as long ago as last Autumn that with the end of temporary capitalist stabilization, new battles and wars between classes and nations would begin, and that Germany especially, the running sore Europe, was faced with the most extreme intensification of class antagonisms. While the Social-Democratic leaders, in order to keep the proletariat out of the struggle, called the Schleicher Government of social pacification a return to democratic constitutional forms of government, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thaelmann today in jail, declared that the Schleicher Cabinet was the advance agent and transition cabinet for the Hitler dictatorship, whose establishment could only be prevented by the resolute counter-offensive of the political united front of struggle.

The Papen-Hugenberg-Hitler government is the government of bloody civil war against the proletariat for the defense of capitalism. Its state-form means not merely the development of fascist methods of rule for demolishing revolutionary mass resistance,

but also is an expression of the weakness of the German bourgeoisie, its desperate endeavor to control the domestic and foreign political contradictions of the present regime which are growing more intense at an incredible speed. Based upon the Junkers and the captains of monopoly capitalism (Thyssen, Voegler, the mining magnates, etc), the extremely swift transformation and centralization of the apparatus of government is interwoven with the work of the fascist terror organizations (Storm Troops and Stalhelm) as well as with the growth in strength of the military circles in the government. This whole process is designed to hold down the revolution, destroy revolutionary organizations, deprive the proletariat of its leadership and smash all class-struggle resistance against the capitalists within the camp of labor. That is the reason for the Reichstag burning staged by the brown-shirt leaders, a provocation which puts in the shade the worst pogroms of bloody Czarism and of the age of Bismarck. That is the reason for the hunting of workers, working-class leaders and organizations by the police. That is the reason for the unscrupulous suppression of the freedom of the press and of demonstrations. That is the reason for the bestial maltreatment of defenseless prisoners in order to create an atmosphere of hopelessness in working-class districts. That is the reason for proceeding against Socialist functionaries and organizations in order to put the leaders under pressure, in order to make them still more serviceable than before in splitting the united proletarian front. That is the reason for the announced establishment of class collaboration between the government and trade union leaders, so as further to use the aid of Leipart in breaking the mass strike movement among the workers. That is the reason for the Enabling Act which the Center Party, the coalition partner of the Social-Democratic Party for fourteen years, voted for, and which is intended to "legalize" the bloody terror and social reaction "in the name of law and the Constitution."

Fascist terror against the proletariat is the necessary prerequisite and condition for the social-reactionary attack of the

dictatorship. In one of his speeches von Papen invents the fable that the low point of the crisis has already been passed. Hitler promises the salvation of the German workers and peasants within four years. Exactly the contrary is the case. The measures taken by Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen are leading to a rapid intensification of the crisis. The policy of economic isolation is choking foreign trade in favor of the state-subsidized Junkers of Eastern Germany, is increasing unemployment and raising prices. The program for the creation of work is not relieving the labor market but is militarizing German youth in the service of the munitions manufacturers and establishing an army to lower the wages of the workers who are still employed. The tax and budget policy is presenting additional billions to the exploiters (30% drop in the auto tax, new subsidies to the Junkers, state aid to big real estate owners), is increasing the deficit in the state budget, is leading to "the creation of new credit," to the printing of currency without any reserves to cover it, and to inflation. Schacht, appointed as president of the Reichsbank, is the man who in Harzburg called inflation the only way out for German business. Then we have the announcement that nickel marks will be minted, as well as a rise in the stock market as an expression of the capitalists' beginning to invest their wealth in commodities instead of currency. Nazi foreign policy means the acknowledgement of the foreign debts, amounting to several billions, of the three-billion agreement signed by von Papen. It means expensive military re-armament, and the immediate threat of imperialist conflicts and adventures (Germany-Poland, Germany-France) with, additionally, the readiness to sell Germany to the Versailles powers as a mercenary against the Soviet Union.

The "awakening" workers, peasants and the middle classes will have the job of paying this bill. They are threatened by the destruction of social insurance, by compulsory labor instead of adequate relief at full wages, by the cancellation of wage agreements, and by the worst forms of speed-up. The fighting

strength of the proletariat organized in the trade unions is threatened by a new agreement for class collaboration and by the establishment of a "caste community of interests" under the control of the government which decides labor problems on behalf of the capitalists, and which will finally proclaim strikes illegal!

Hugenberg, the agent of the Junkers and of the captains of industry, is Labor Minister in the Hitler dictatorship, both for the Reich and for Prussia. Von Papen, the Chancellor who reduced unemployment insurance and strangled the Berlin traffic strike, is Reich Commissar for Prussia, with Hitler's approval. Schacht, the representative of an inflation currency policy, is Hitler's Commissar for Employment. These are the agents of "national socialism." These are the marshals of "national resurgence." Behind the veil of nationalist-chauvinist-anti-bolshevist phrases there is the grim visage of the blackest social reaction. In the clang of the bells in the Garrison Church in Potsdam could be heard the commands of capitalist big businessmen, the jubilation of the stock exchange brokers and the high army officers. The capitalist businessmen are coining new billions out of the life "the people's community of poor and rich" in the new days of "national resurgence."

IV.

THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF "NATIONAL RESURGENCE"

Torchlight parades, signal fires on the mountains—that is how they announced the victory of the "national revolution," the beginning of the "Third Reich." Millions of toilers who voted for the Nazis believed that the time for their release from misery and mass starvation had come. They imagine that they are standing at the threshold of a new age.

A victory of the nation? Look around you, and you will see that under the swastika the nation of the sleek and well-fed is triumphing over the nation of the hungry! Look around, Nazi worker! You expect that Hitler will put an end to wage-cuts and will curtail the insolence of the employers.

Isn't Hugenberg, the arch-exploiter and multi-millionaire, in

charge of wage agreements and labor law as Economics Minister? Isn't the fighting trade-union united front to be smashed and shattered? Hitler has not revoked a single pfennig of wage-cuts. Prices are climbing on the stock exchange because the trust barons know that under fascist terror the government apparatus will be employed even more ruthlessly than before to squeeze new millions of subsidies out of the toilers and to insure unlimited exploitation.

Look around you, unemployed Nazi voter? You expect that Hitler will give you bread and work, that he will abolish the von Papen emergency decrees and will repeal the reduction in unemployment insurance. Wasn't von Papen elected Prussian Prime Minister with the votes of the National Socialist Party? Your starvation "relief" will not rise a single pfennig! Not a single wage-cut decree will be repealed. The creation of work? Yes, for the Nazi officials who formerly thundered against "Party book officials," but are now getting into the soft, comfortable positions themselves. And for you there is left unpaid compulsory labor in military labor service camps on a diet of turnip and herring.

Look around you, artisan and small shopkeeper! You expect relief from the oppressive burden of taxation; the closing of the big department stores; customers who can afford to buy your goods. The craftsmen are again to have "a golden age." What tax is Hitler reducing? The auto tax! He is not worried about you, but about the owners of the villas and Mercedes cars. And the department stores? The Hitler Government has guaranteed them all sorts of protection. A few per cent of excess taxation—that is all. The activist elements in the Storm troops who wanted to force department stores to close here and there, were called back or even denounced as "Communist provocateurs." High and oppressive tariffs are raising the cost of food and are destroying the low purchasing power of working class consumer, even further, thus injuring the middle class.

Look around, laboring peasant! You expect re-division of

the land, cancellation of your debt burden, reduction of lease rates, cheap fodder. Hitler is not helping you, but the fat Junkers. Only the latter are pocketing the giant profits, the huge tariffs. Only the latter are swallowing the Eastern Aid millions! You must continue to pay terrifically high land rents and high taxes! On market days you must return home with your wagons full, because those who can buy your products are growing fewer and fewer.

What has changed since Hitler took over power? Only one thing—the exploiters and destroyers of the people have grown more insolent than ever before! Where do the swastika flags fly as symbols of victory? In front of the palaces of the rich. Expropriation of the stock exchange kings? Smashing of interest slavery? Breaking the slave chains of Versailles? Not one of these promises is fulfilled. Not a single stock exchange king is expropriated, not a hair on any capitalist's head has been harmed. No profiteer has been thrown in jail. Not a single starvation decree has been repealed! But hundreds of workers have been murdered! Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the revolutionary proletariat, and thousands of anti-fascists have been thrown into prison. The entire working-class press has been suppressed, all Communist seats in parliament annulled. Balkan-like terror, a flood of lies and slander against the only Party of freedom!

And they call that the "victorious national revolution?" Is that why you display your flags and march in torchlight parades?

No, the real revolution, the real liberation of the nation looks different!

Under the swastika the profit rule of the trust barons and Junkers is celebrating its greatest triumphs. But the proletarian revolution will smash their rule; it will take away from them the means of production and make the factories, mines and land the property of the people.

V.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND TRADE UNION LEADERS AS ENEMIES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTING UNITED FRONT

In an official article of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party published in the Socialist Party Press Service, Stampfer (editor-in-chief of the *Vorwaerts*) wrote as follows, the day after the Reichstag election on March 5th:

"These gentlemen now have a majority in the Reich as well as in Prussia. They have been appointed by the Reich President and confirmed by the people. They need only be a legal government and then we of course will be a legal opposition. . . . Everything speaks for the Constitution. . . . The election showed that the German people is divided into two approximately equal parts, one of which now wants to govern, while the other must allow itself to be governed. . . . We want to reach socialism through democracy."

Hundreds of Socialist Party workers are bleeding to death under the murderous dagger of fascism. Workers' property is being demolished and their right to organize trampled under foot. But Stampfer, Wels and Leipart are ready to become a loyal opposition and to cooperate with fascism, after they paved the way for fascism with their policy of suppressing the Red Front Fighters' League, disarming the proletariat, tolerating Bruening and electing Hindenburg. Ruthless and strong in suppressing fighting workers, after fourteen years of a governmental policy of toleration, they become cowards and knaves as soon as fascism begins an open offensive. Does not every worker organized in the trade unions or member of the Socialist Party now recognize what betrayal was committed by their leaders on July 20, 1932, when they called our appeal for the general strike a provocation? Will he not agree with us that the theory of the "lesser evil" did not serve to suppress fascism but to strengthen it? Is he not at one with us today in the Marxist

realization that Socialism can be achieved not through bourgeois democracy, through peaceful growing into Socialism, but only through revolutionary class unity and the achievement of the proletarian dictatorship?

Stampfer and Leipart preach legal opposition—keeping quiet and waiting. Stampfer and Leipart concede a constitutional majority for the government of the bloody fascist dictatorship. But they are deluding the workers with the legality of fascism when workers are being murdered day after day. They are again consoling the proletariat with bourgeois democracy as the “only way to Socialism”.

We Communists called the non-aggression pact proposed by the Social-Democratic Party leaders a maneuver to sabotage the fighting united front, and we find our predictions fully confirmed. Only a few days ago the heads of the Communist International, as well as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, made their proposal of the united front to the Executive of the Second International, the heads of the Social-Democratic Party and the leaders of the German Federation of Labor, for forcing through the minimum anti-fascist demands (see next section). We declared our willingness to refrain from any mutual attacks during this joint struggle. The executives of the Social-Democratic Party and the German Federation of Labor rejected any extra-parliamentary measures of struggle. The Executive of the Second International declared that all negotiations between the two parties in any one country were useless. It said that only negotiations between one international and another might possibly take place. First the Social-Democratic Party leaders forbade their subordinate organizations to take any joint measures with the Communists. They said negotiations were possible only between one Party Central Committee and the other. Now they reject even this united front offer of our and make negotiations between the two Internationals a preliminary condition. While Leipart is preparing for open class collaboration with the fascist dictatorship in order to

paralyze the fighting strength of the trade unions, the Social-Democratic leaders are now trying to suppress any proletarian unity in struggle.

An end to these saboteurs of the fighting united front! The German proletariat, closely linked to the workers of the whole world, is invincible if it frees itself from the influence of the traitors and saboteurs in its own camp, if the Social-Democratic, Communist, non-partisan and Christian workers join together for common struggle.

VI.

FORWARD TO THE UNITED FRONT OF ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE!

We, Communists do not believe in miracles. Goebbels and Company try to tell the people that the "extermination of Marxism" will give bread and work to the starving and that the national renaissance of the capitalists and Junkers will be able to lead Germany out of the crisis and the clutches of the robber Versailles Treaty! But the crisis will grow. Hunger and misery will grow. The class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat will grow. The conflicts within the capitalist camp in the clash for government jobs and profits will grow. The class struggle, which the fascist leaders say is dead, will break out within the National Socialist Party between the leaders and the big bourgeoisie of the upper ranks on one side and the mass of impoverished proletarian and pretty bourgeois adherents on the other. Germany's diplomatic isolation is increasing; raging imperialist war for the re-division of Europe as divided by the Versailles Treaty will break out.

But we Communists also predict that the bloody rule of fascism will not die of its own accord, as the Social-Democratic leaders lyingly tell you. When a system totters, it must be given a decisive blow! Only revolutionary mass action weakens the class enemy, increases his difficulties, tears the misled working-class Nazi voters from the clutches of fascism, and overthrows the dictatorship of the capitalists and Junkers. We Commu-

nists, in defiance of all terror, raise the banner of proletarian united struggle. We sound the alarm against the fascist dictatorship of starvation, force, and preparation for war.

We propose to the Social-Democratic and non-partisan workers, to trade unionists and Reichsbanner members, to all organizations that are ready to fight against fascism and against social reaction, that they adopt and carry out the following anti-fascist fighting slogans in the factories, the labor exchanges, in the trade unions and in the working-class districts:

1. Communists and Social Democrats, at once begin with the organization and carrying out of defense against the attacks of fascist reaction upon labor organizations, for the immediate release of all imprisoned workers and workers' leaders, for the repeal of the Protective Arrest Decree against Communist deputies and officials of labor organizations, for the annulment of the emergency decrees which provides for the establishment of the special Nazi police and for the suppression of newspapers and demonstrations.

Communists and Social Democrats, organize joint defense against the armed attacks of fascist bands and special Storm Troop police by means of mass protests, mass demonstrations, political mass strikes and mass self-defense organizations.

Communists and Social Democrats, organize committees of action, in the factories, labor exchanges and working-class districts and organize self-defense groups for the protection of the lives and property of the workers.

2. Communists and Social Democrats, through protest actions, meetings, demonstrations and strikes, begin at once with the struggle against all wage-cuts, against all impairment of working conditions, against attacks on social insurance, against the reduction of unemployment insurance, against the firing of workers from their jobs in factories and for the removal of police and Storm Troop

special police from the factories, as well as for the defense of the trade unions against the fascist commissioners.

(Quoted from united front offer of the Central Committee Party of Germany to the Party Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which the latter rejected.)

We combine our appeal for struggle with that of millions of Social Democratic workers and trade unionists:

Release Thaelmann, the leader of the revolutionary proletariat, from jail!

Free all imprisoned workers and working-class officials!

Down with the torture and mistreatment of imprisoned workers in the Storm Troop barracks!

We summon the millions of workers organized in the trade unions to defend their union organizations against the threat of class collaboration, against the destruction of their joint fighting strength through government commissioners. Oppose the Leipart policy and compel the unconditional re-admission of all workers expelled from the unions! We are fighting to win the working class Nazi voters for the emancipation struggle of the proletariat. Millions of times we shall ask them: Did you imagine Socialism to be like this? Do you want to let yourself be misused by the capitalists and Junkers against your starving fellow workers, while the capitalists and Junkers, the stock exchanges and banks, the millionaires and foreign pocketers of tribute aren't harmed at all and do not lose a single pfennig?

We oppose imperialist re-armament, chauvinist war propaganda, the misuse of the young workers for a Germany of Hugenberg, Papen, Thyssen and Krupp, of the millionaires and parasites, with our proletarian internationalism, the fighting union of the international proletariat for the annulment of the Treaty of Versailles, for the revolutionary breaking asunder of the Versailles robber system, for the extermination and expropriation of the capitalists and tribute collectors in our own land!

VII.

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

Germany is not Italy, Messrs, Goering and Hitler, Papen and Hugenberg! The German proletariat which smashed Bismarck's anti-Socialist law, which forged its indestructible weapon, the Communist Party of Germany, in the midst of the bloody years of the Weimar Coalition's barrage against Spartacus and the revolution, will be able to deal with this dictatorship, the enemy of the people, as it dealt with Kapp and Cuno.

You workers, toiling peasants and suffering ones, you do not want the tyranny of the capitalists, the appropriation of goods created by you by a small group of rich parasites. Therefore fight under the banner of Communism for the transfer of the factories and land to the hands of the working people, the workers and toiling peasants.

You workers and toilers no longer want to slave for the tribute collectors of Versailles and the financiers of New York, London and Paris. Therefore fight under the banner of proletarian internationalism for a Germany free from exploiters and tyrants, which will achieve the national liberation of the laboring German people.

Fascism means the rule of the capitalists and Junkers, hunger and war for the working people. Only Communism brings freedom and bread, land and work to all those who toil!

Long live the revolutionary mass struggle, protest and mass strikes against fascist terror and social reaction! Long live the general strike for the overthrow of fascist dictatorial government!

Long live the Red Army of Freedom, its Party, the Communist Party of Germany and its leader, Ernst Thaelmann!

Long live the united front of anti-fascist struggle!

Long live the German Workers' and Peasants' Republic!

Long live Socialism!



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