



Walter Ulbricht was born Walter Ernst Paul Ulbricht, in Leipzig in June 1893. Ulbricht was a member of the Socialist Labour youth and in 1912 of the Sozialistische Partei Deutschland (SPD). After the first world war Ulbricht joined the Spartakusbund, which won the name “Communist Party of Germany” in 1919. In the mid-1920s Walter Ulbricht studied at the party school in Moscow. From 1926 to 1933 he was a member of the Saxon Landtag and from 1928 to 1933 a member of the Reichstag for the KPD. In 1935 he fled from Germany and settled later in Moscow. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union Walter Ulbricht was member of the National Committee for a free Germany (NKFD), called into life by the Soviet Union. After the second world war, Walter Ulbricht returned to Germany and settled in the Soviet occupied zone. The Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland (SED) was created in 1946, and in 1950, Ulbricht was elected SED General Secretary.

During the Berlin revolt in 1953 Ulbricht and the SED were in confusion; they had to use force against the farmers and workers in a peasants and workers utopia? Eventually the Russians beat the rebellion at the expense of presumably many hundreds of lives. The power of the SED and Ulbricht from that moment were untouchable.

Ulbricht kept faithfully to the Moscow faithful line into the 1970s. At the beginning of the 1970s Ulbricht took a more independent course. As a result, in May 1971 he had to resign his position as General Secretary of the SED. He remained Chairman of the Council of State. Became popular, but was never charismatic. Walter Ulbricht died in August 1973 at the age of 80 in Berlin. He was succeeded by Erich Honecker.

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The Reformists Propagate Production Sabotage in the USSR (1. January 1930)

The reformists adapt their struggle methods against the USSR to the changed conditions. While after 1917 the direct military intervention [1] was organized, the enemies of Soviet power use different forms of production sabotage during the reconstruction phase. They combine the preparations of exteriorly attack with the direct production sabotage and the propagation of sabotage of working productivity in the country.

In the last weeks the social-democratic press led a systematically campaign against the socialist emulation.

In the *Gewerkschaftszeitung*, No. 39, Mr. Schwarz oracles about the “big dangers of socialist emulation”. His hostility he coats with the view, that the participation should be “left up” to every worker. Mr. Schwarz proclaims the right on sabotaging the socialist emulation and sabotage of production. At the same time he wants to tell the German workers, that the workers of the Soviet Union would only participate “by force” in that emulation. The social democrats have so big capitalist blinkers, that they are unable to recognize, that the workers, when they have the state power, when they are the masters of production, participate voluntarily in socialist emulation, because they work for themselves, for their own interests.

Socialist emulation is the communist method of socialist build-up. With the help of the emulation the maximal mass activity for the transition of the economy on socialist basis is being unfolded. The immense importance of the development of working productivity not just for the Soviet Union, but also for the world revolution in general, was most clearly developed by Lenin in his work *A great Beginning*:

“Work productivity is in last instance the most important and most significant for the victory of the new societal order. Capitalism has created a working productivity, which was unknown under feudalism. Capitalism can finally be beaten and will be ebaten, that socialism creates a new, far higher work productivity ...

“Towards the capitalist working productivity, communism means a higher working productivity of voluntary, conscious, united creating people, who use developed technology.” [2]

That is the best reasoning of the necessity of socialist emulation. With help of the emulation the backward enterprises get supported to reach a higher production niveau. While the emulation leads to a common increase of working productivity, it creates the conditions for raise of the living niveau of all workers, because the surplus product is being used in the Soviet Union for the social needs of the working class. A part of it the workers get instantly by lowering the work time, improving social facilities, increase of wages etc. Another part of the surplus product they get later, while by creation of new production branches and the raising of production quality the workers get the possibility for a higher living standard.

The outstripping of the tempo of capitalist economy by the socialist build-up in the USSR means at the same time the increasing economic independence of the Soviet power and the strengthening of the national defense. But the warship social democrats want an economic weakening of the Soviet power.

Socialist emulation stands in principle contradiction to capitalist concurrence. Concurrence between the enterprises or between the workers means in capitalism destruction of one by another, lowering of the livelihood of the working people, firing of workers from the enterprises, destruction of solidarity of the workers. While the reformists struggle against socialist emulation, they support capitalist rationalization and the deepening of concurrence between the workers in the capitalist enterprises. They preach “working happiness” to the workers and try to convince them, that the increase of the work productivity would push the entrepreneur to to improve the working conditions. They subordinate the workers interests to the capitalist profit interests. The reformists are necessarily principle enemies of socialist build-up in the Soviet Union and the methods of socialist emulation, because every progress of socialist build-up proves lively, that under the Soviet power the unfolding of productive forces, the use of all technical possibilities and the raise of material and cultural niveau of the working people is possible.

Mr. Schwarz claims, that the emulation would be done “on all costs – also on cost of the worsening of working conditions and worsening of commodity quality”. These words are absolutely right, not for the Soviet Union, but for the

capitalist rationalization politics of the reformists. While in capitalist Germany in connection with the execution of the Young Plan [3] a reduction of social care is being implemented and the livelihood of the workers is being worsened, the five year plan in the Soviet Union implements in connection with the development of production forces a comprehensive social program for the improvement of the livelihood of the working people.

At the end of the five year plan the nominal wages will raise by 47% and the real wages by 71% as in the first year. Additional comes to it, that the situation of the workers gets improved by other efforts too, for example the spending for social insurances are being increased by 100%. The five year plan, whose feasibility is already proved by the balance of the first year, brings an increase of consumption by the people by 66%. Of course in the context of technical improvements and with the better organization of labor in the enterprises the accord wages are being reduced. But that does not mean a decrease of real wages of the workers, because the increase of productivity of work is the condition for the raise of living niveau of the whole working class.

Nobody denies, that in this gigantic build-up mistakes and grievances exist. The Soviet power mobilizes the working masses for the overcoming of the grievances, by publishing the mistakes openly in press. The reformists still believe, that by abusing such publications they could mislead the German workers. They do not want a solving of these grievances, but that they wish, that these single grievances become a system.

The Gewerkschaftszeitung quotes for example two workers, who are against socialist emulation. In the letter of the first worker it is written:

“I see no use in this emulation. How should I not be angry, when the plan destroys the plan of personal enrichment, when there is after the work in the enterprise no power anymore for the work in the village anymore.”

No doubts there is a bigger number of workers, who think so. These are the people, who come in context of the progressing industrialization from the village into the factory, but see the work there more as a “side job” and their whole mind is fixed on improving their small individual farms.

In the other letter it is being said: “As an old worker I share totally this view (emulation would be exploitation) and therefore I do not participate in the emulation myself and do not try to be more productive in work than the others.” It is natural, that many old workers, who are familiarized with the antiquated working methods of the pre-war era and war communism, can barely be involved into the mass initiative of socialist buildup and the socialist emulation.

So the most backward people, who are still tightly connected with the village, have a relatively low cultural niveau and on on old workers are those who the reformists use to back their argumentation against the socialist buildup.

When the socialdemocratic arbiters in Germany extend the work time, then they do not care at all about the opinion of the workers. But when in the Soviet Union the work time is being reduced and under such conditions the workers care by themselves, that the solidarity of the workers is not being violated by some workers, who are doing by old tradition a “saint Monday” or sabotage the production, then the reformists step in as most pitying friends of such elements.

Notes

1. Not just the exorbitant Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but also the intervention by German Freikorps in the Baltics 1918–1920. In that time SPD was the main governing party.

2. W.I. Lenin, *Ausgewählte Schriften* in 2 Bänden, Vol. II, p. 576, German.

3. American plan for reparations by Weimar Republic. Till 1988 yearly 2 billion Reichsmark should have been paid (it was really not affordable, even with massive cuts).

How Do We Combat Fascism? (25 November 1930)

Who is the biggest enemy of the working class? Every worker will reply: The fascism. The social democracy and the Reichsbanner [1] have another opinion. The social-democratic police president, Grzesinski, declared in district Kreuzberg, the fascists would be no danger, but the communists. On the wicked murder by the Nazis in Charlottenburg Grzesinski replied, that he does not think about banning the NSDAP. On the same day the dissolution of the “Young Socialist Steward Service”, which was arranged by Künstler, took place.

Who are the fascist forces? Not just the Nazis. Also Stahlhelm [2], Young German Order, Landbund [3] and other reactionary organizations, Reichswehr and police also are in decisive situations under order of fascism. Also the Brüning government, which is labeled correctly by the communists semi-fascist. Where is a difference in the practical politics of Brüning and Frick? It is just a question of time until Brüning adds the Nazis to his government. Yes, so close is already the fascist danger in Germany. And this government of the direct preparation of fascist dictatorship is supported by the social-democratic leaders.

This support can cost the head of the proletariat, when the helper role of Severing and Grzesinski for Brüning succeeds. Think of the metal workers strike! The SPD leaders will betray their “own republic”, when she gets conquered by fascism. How can they fight against fascism, when they just flattened the way by their coalition politics, when they directly supported it by their practical Burgfrieden politics [4] with the Brüning government and prevent the struggle of the workers against fascism?

The rift between the social-democratic leaders and the proletarian part of their followers is becoming bigger daily. It is unbridgeable anymore. The main directorate of SPD already asked the question of splitting. Tomorrow the Severing police will shoot on the social-democratic workers, just like today on the communists. Between social-democratic workers and communist workers is no hindrance anymore, when the SPD workers free themselves from the influence of baiting by their leaders against us, from the wrong opportunist ideology, that the capitalist republic would already be the republic of the workers. Who still believes that today, that with the Reichsbanner and its semi-fascist members from Zentrum and with the exchange speculators from the State Party [5] fascism could be combated, will only get the last realization of it by the murdering and burning fascism.

Decide: With or against Grzesinski? When the workers struggle united, when they do not care about the agreements of the bourgeoisie with the social-democratic leaders and stand tightly together, then they are an invincible power. Ten thousands of social-democratic workers and members of the Socialist Workers Youth [6] want to struggle against fascism. But the SPD directorate decrees like a police president the expulsion of the members of Young Socialist Steward Service. Why? Because a true struggle against fascism is not compatible with supporting the semi-fascist Brüning program by SPD members in Prussia and the social-democratic police president. In this serious hour, where Brüning again threatens with Article 48 [7] and the situation in Germany increasingly exacerbate, where the Nazis lay on lurk, to attack, we ask every SPD worker:

Do you want the struggle against fascism and by that the struggle against the supporting of the Brüning dictatorship by the SPD or do you want the support of fascism, like it happens by Wels, Severing, Grzesinski & Co.?

Struggle against fascism, that means also the forming of appropriate organizations. Therefore it is necessary, that all workers, social-democratic, partyless and communist, in the enterprises and residential zones elect struggle committees against fascism and support with all forces the combat league against fascism. Struggle against fascism, that means: Struggle for bread, work and liberty, that means: Struggle against capitalist exploitation.

The smashing of fascism, that means: Hunting down the factory owners, the landowners and all exploiters, that means: All power to the working class and the buildup of a free, socialist republic!

Notes

1. Paramilitary of SPD, Zentrum and DDP (Weimar Coalition).
2. Paramilitary of DNVP (fascist more like Mussolini-type).
3. Far-right agricultural league; close to DNVP.
4. “Castle Peace Politics“; In First World War it was that SPD plotted with the imperialist parties and supported the war; later it was used for the general betrayal of SPD by plotting with bourgeois parties and acting against the goals they self proclaimed (SPD was formally a Marxist party till 1959).
5. Deutsche Staatspartei (German State Party) was the name of DDP 1930–1933.
6. Youth wing of SPD 1922–1933/45.
7. Weimar Constitution’s Article 48 granted the Reich President absolute power in case of an emergency. However, it was abused to de facto rule Weimar Republic 1930–1933 as a dictatorship of Hindenburg.

Our Party Is the Only Workers Party (20. November 1931 [1])

My first greets go to the courageous confession of the social-democratic comrades to the united front. Comrade Fischer, who was 31 years long functionary of the Social-Democratic Party believed, that the social democracy would struggle for socialism, and was expelled in that moment from the social democracy, when he self saw in the Soviet Union, that the way of Russian proletariat is the way of revolutionary Marxism, which alone leads to the liberation of the proletariat.

When before the departure of the social-democratic workers delegation a worker asked Künstler in the district bureau of SPD, if he is allowed to travel into the Soviet Union too, Künstler declared: "That is not coming into question, by that you stand outside of the ranks of the party!" Then he was asked: "When we would go to Italy, would that be allowed?" Künstler replied: "We have nothing against it."

So, to fascist Italy the social democratic are allowed to travel, but not to Soviet Russia, because the convincing from the victories of the politics of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in Soviet Russia means to recognize the bankruptcy of the politics of SPD and II. International. The social-democratic workers are not allowed to compare by own experiences capitalist decline and victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Capitalism or socialism. Capitalist republic or Soviet Republic. Class struggle or economy-peaceful politics. On these questions the social-democratic delegates have given the answer: For the united front on ground of class struggle! Correctly the social-democratic comrade declared, that the biggest mistake of the German working class was, that she got betrayed by the work-community politics and the National Assembly swindle of the social-democracy, instead disarming the enemies of the workers, let it self getting disarmed. When the German working class had followed 1918 the teachings of Marx, then she had today, like in Soviet Russia, higher wages, shorter work-time, abolishment of unemployment, bread and work for all working people, and we would not have had demonstration ban on 7. November in Berlin, but had demonstrated, like the workers of Muscovite enterprises with the guns in the hands. We are convinced, comrade Fischer has spoken in the name of thousands of social-democratic workers and functionaries, when he said: "I do not know enemies left of me, I only know enemies right of me!"

Yes, left at his side the masses of revolutionary proletariat are standing under the leadership of the Communist Party. But who stands right to him? Not just the Harzburg capitalists, not just Hitler, Hugenberg and the Zentrum-capitalists, but there also stands Severing, there stands Grzesinski, and there stand these social-democratic trade union leaders, who counsel in economy-adviser with fascist entrepreneurs about the best method of wage reduction.

Allow me in this context an open reply to the SPD. The Vorwärts asks: "Who is the main enemy?" We answer: The main enemy is the bourgeoisie, the main enemy are the capitalists. These hand full of exploiters can only plunder the people and suppress it by help of their agents in the ranks of the working class. Their agents, these are the social-democratic trade union leaders, the social-democratic leaders, who support the Brüning emergency-decree-dictatorship, Brüning's step-wise implementation of fascist ruling methods. Who wants to crush the power of the class enemy of the workers, that has to crush the influence of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers.

Who wants to struggle against fascism, has to know, that not just Hitler-fascism represents the class interests of great-capital, but that at the moment specially

the Zentrum party is the leading party of the politics of the trust-capital, which step-wise implements fascism. Who wants to combat fascism, must also combat capitalism, must struggle against the Brüning dictatorship, against the emergency-decree-politics, but also against demonstration bans and over actions by Severing, Grzesinski and co.

When the Vorwärts declares, that in the opinion of communists the united front would mean joining KPD, so we response: That is deliberately deception. Our party is the only party, which leads the class struggle of the proletariat. We know, that some social-democratic are not agreeing with us in some tactical questions, but we ask the thousands of social-democratic comrades:

Do you want to go with us the next step of struggle for the living interests of the proletariat by delaying some disagreements?

Are you ready to struggle in the united front against against the bans of workers demonstrations, of workers assemblies, of workers press and against the workers-hostile emergency decrees of Brüning and Prussian government?

Are you ready to struggle in the united front against Nazi terror, for creation of the mass self-protection of the workers by forming the self-protection in the enterprises, the house protection squads in the residential zones and the unemployed squads at the dole offices? Are you accepting, that as leadership of this united front struggle committees will be elected by the workers themselves, in which the most active communist, social-democratic, partyless and Christian workers will be members?

Do you want to help, to mobilize the staffs for the mass strike – the strongest weapon of the working class against the fascist murder terror and against the suppressing actions?

Are you ready to struggle under leadership of the struggle committees, which were elected by all workers themselves, against every Pfennig of wage cuts, against the hunger arbitrations? Do you want to struggle with us against the working-community-politics of the social-democratic trade union leaders with the fascist entrepreneurs, which are only serving the interests of bourgeoisie? You all must help to smith the united front on the ground of revolutionary class struggle.

We are convinced, that ten thousands of social-democratic workers think like the social-democratic Russia-delegates, who spoke out in this hour a glowing affirmation to the united front.

Notes

1. This speech was held on the occasion of a report by the social-democratic workers delegation about the Soviet Union.

Speech to the Reichstag (23. February 1932)

The discussion in this Reichstag has shown, that this Reichstag is being session for the imperialist war politics. He shows, that the national socialists and social democrats are ingratiating to proof that they are the most loyal servants of Hindenburg and Groener! The Communist Party is the only political party of the proletariat, which is using the president election, to win the million masses of the working class because of their daily struggles for the Bolshevik goals, to expand and firm the united front of the proletariat as leader of all working people, to unmask the parties in the currently existing bourgeois dictatorship and her most reliable supporter, the social democracy, as the deadly foes of the working class! That is the appeal of the central committee of our party, which was taken enthusiastic by millions of workers and peasants in the enterprises, on the dole offices, by the employees in the bureaus, by the small peasants, the working peasants in the villages. Millions cheer towards the red worker candidate, our comrade Thälmann.

The German weapons, which were carried victorious in foreign countries under the assistance of the German social democracy, who led the raid against the Balkans and suppressed there the working peasantry, who went to Turkey and suppressed the working people there, who commonly proclaimed in the headquarters during the common conference of the former government, under the attendance of Hindenburg, to use Ukraine as deployment zone against Soviet Russia. These imperialist war politicians, who try even today, during the president election, to mobilize the working people for the enslavement, for new wars.

Hindenburg is the program of the imperialist war! Hindenburg was the one, who gave out the decree, in which it is said, that those soldiers, who are not willed to carry in service of Krupp and company their bones to the battle fields, that they have to be tied up. Now, the German workers will response in this president election, who should be tied up!

**Article in Die Welt
(2 February 1940)**

See Sozialistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Joint Socialist Working Group), The KPD and the Solidarity of the Illegals for a critique of this article.

The Neue Vorwärts, organ of the former Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, has published an article by Dr Hilferding, entitled the Purpose of the War, in which the author comes to the conclusion that one must unreservedly wish to see the victory of France and England.

Hilferding maintains that the war is being waged by the governments of England and France for the ideals of liberty and not for capitalist class interests. The bourgeois press of Britain and France expresses itself somewhat more precisely regarding the purpose of the war. The press which represents the views of the City of London has in the last few weeks openly declared that by means of the war 'freedom' is to be gained to carve up Germany and use it as a war-instrument against the Soviet Union. By unreservedly desiring the victory of Britain and France, Hilferding also endorses this war aim. This war policy of the Social-Democratic leaders is not only directed against the interests of the German people, but is contrary to the will of millions of working men and women in Britain and France. How many declarations and demonstrations of

workers against the imperialist war have been reported in the last few months? M Blum complains that many workers refuse to read his paper any more.

The special task of the *Neue Vorwärts* now obviously consists in concealing the war aims of British imperialism with a false picture of alleged 'freedom and democracy'. On the other hand, the German workers rightly ask, would it not be more in place if the British and French governments, in order to prove that their words are seriously meant, gave complete freedom to the peoples of India, Africa and Egypt? [1] When the middle-class papers declare in one article that England is fighting for freedom, and report in another article in the same paper the arrest of fighters for freedom, the muzzling of the workers' press, the establishment of concentration camps and special laws against the workers, then the German workers have the proof before their eyes that the ruling class in England is carrying on the war against the working class, and that, if Germany were conquered, the German working class would be treated in the same way. The German workers know the big business men of England and the two hundred families of France, and are aware what an English victory would mean to them. The revolutionary workers and progressive forces in Germany who, at the cost of great sacrifices, are fighting against the terror and against reaction, do not wish to exchange the present regime for a regime of national and social oppression by British imperialism and German big capitalists who are subservient to Britain, but are fighting against all enslavement of the working people, for a Germany in which the working people really rule.

When Hilferding says further, 'the war is not a war resulting from antagonistic capitalist interests', and asserts that 'the capitalist class is not responsible for the war', then he is simply flying in the face of such facts as the struggle between the capitalist classes of the various countries for new spheres of interests, for the conversion of the smaller states into dependent states, for securing the imperialist oppression of colonial peoples, India, for example, as well as the recent enslavement of peoples, Czechoslovakia, for example. [2] In his speech on the twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution, Molotov described in detail how the democratic countries:

... in the last few years have more and more sought a way out of the status quo in risky foreign policy, in the robbery and plundering of foreign territories and colonies, in the re-division of the world through war. Even the richest countries, and those which have, so to speak, become fat by hoarding riches, can find in their internal strength no easing of the present situation — they can discover no way of satisfying the people. [3]

Herr Hilferding is so dominated by the desire to protect capitalism, that he expressly stresses not only that the British and French capitalist class are not responsible for the war, but also that the German capitalists are not responsible

for the war. Hilferding is afraid that in the course of the war the masses of the people who want peace will not only turn against the war-makers in the state apparatus, but also against those who are mainly interested in the war, namely, the big capitalists and the big landowners.

It is not sufficient, however, to recognise the capitalist causes of the war, it is necessary to be clear regarding the special conditions of the present war and the grouping of forces in it. Hilferding maintains that since 1933 Britain and France continually made concessions to Germany in order to maintain peace, even at the price of a real reduction of their power. Nobody will deny that for years the Chamberlain government rendered the Hitler regime economic and foreign-political aid. But Chamberlain pursued this policy not in the interests of peace, but on the contrary, in order to make use of German National-Socialism so as to crush the revolutionary forces in Europe and prevent the bringing together of the democratic forces in a fighting People's Front. The so-called 'Non-Intervention' policy, for example, was nothing else but active support of the reactionary forces in Spain.

It is true that by annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia German imperialism proved its aggressiveness. But this only goes to prove that the ruling circles in England promoted the Hitler regime with the desire to use National-Socialism [4] which dreadfully terrorises the German workers as gendarme against all progressive forces and against the Land of Socialism.

If, as Hilferding says, the British and French governments were at that time concerned about the maintenance of peace, then they could very well have achieved this by concluding a pact with the Soviet Union. British big business, however, sought a way out of the difficulties of decaying capitalism in war. It sought to make use of every possibility in order to incite the German people and the people of the Soviet Union to war against each other. By the Munich Pact it handed over Czechoslovakia to Germany in the expectation that the German ruling circles would be prepared to wage war against the Soviet Union. The policy of the British government towards Poland had the same aim.

On the other hand, among the working people of Germany there was a growing desire to maintain peace. After the annexation of Czechoslovakia, discontent on account of the oppression of foreign nations by Germany increased among many German working people, who said that this policy of conquest was directed against the interests of the German people themselves.

In view of the changes in the situation in Europe [5] this was the problem that faced the rulers of Germany: they had either to allow England to use them as a tool, and be forced by her into declaring war against the Soviet Union, or else

they had to admit the truth of Stalin's statement on the Eighteenth Party Day, when he said that the English, French and North American press 'aim, without any clear reason, at provoking hatred against Germany in the Soviet Union'. With reference to foreign policy, Stalin says:

We stand for peace and the consolidation of fruitful relations with other countries. This is our unalterable policy, and we shall keep to it so long as those countries maintain such relations with the Soviet Union, and so long as they do not try to damage the interests of our country. [6]

The Hitler government deemed it expedient to establish peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, not only because support of the British plan would have made Germany an object of the British plan, a vassal of British imperialism, but also because the strength of the Red Army, the strong international position of the Soviet Union and the sympathy of the working masses of Germany for the Socialist Soviet Union, made this adventure appear hopeless. The ruling classes of Germany decided to adopt a new foreign policy.

The German government declared itself ready to establish peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, whilst the Anglo-French war bloc want war against the Soviet Union. The people of the Soviet Union and the people of Germany desire a speedy end to the war in accordance with the interests of the working masses. [7] The Soviet people and the workers of Germany are against the spread of the war. The German working class wants an extensive trade alliance with the Soviet Union. By means of peaceful trade with the Soviet Union and the other nations of East and South-East Europe, Germany can not only satisfy her needs for goods, but can also show that it is not lack of Lebensraum that is the cause of the poverty of the workers; and that it is not the imperialist oppression of other nations, but peace and friendly relations with them — and above all with the great Soviet nation — that the German people want. Many workers who wish for socialism welcome the pact all the more because it strengthens their friendship with the great land of socialism.

Herr Hilferding now serves up the old Social-Democratic clap-trap that the Soviet-German Pact proves that the Bolshevik and the Fascist regimes are essentially the same. He is unable to perceive the simple fact that in Germany capitalism prevails, whilst in the Soviet Union capitalism has been destroyed by the great Socialist October revolution, and under the Stalinist Constitution Socialist democracy of the working people is being further developed. The Soviet Union has concluded agreements with the government of capitalist Germany, as it has formerly done with other capitalist countries. The conclusion of a treaty between a capitalist government and the Soviet Union is therefore nothing new in itself. What is new is that the Soviet power, supported by the

economic power of Socialist economy and the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, has gone over to an active policy in the fight for peace.

If Hilferding and the other one-time Social-Democratic leaders direct their war propaganda against the German-Soviet Pact, it is simply because the British plan has the less chance of success, the more deeply the friendship between the German and Soviet people is rooted in the working masses. Therefore not only the Communists but also many Social-Democratic and National-Socialist workers regard it as their task not in any circumstances to permit a breach of the pact. [8] Those who intrigue against the friendship of the German and Soviet people are enemies of the German people, and are branded as accomplices of English imperialism. Among the German working class greater and greater efforts are being made to expose the followers of the Thyssen clique, who are the enemies of the Soviet-German Pact. There have been many demands that these enemies shall be removed from their army and government positions, and that their property shall be confiscated.

The fight of the German working people against the agents of British imperialism, against the Thyssen clique and their friends among the Social-Democratic and Catholic leaders in Germany, in no way implies the formation of a bloc with the National-Socialist regime and toleration of the oppression of Austria and Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, this attitude demands a still more determined fight against all imperialistic strivings of the ruling circles in Germany. This imperialist policy finds its expression above all in the national oppression of the Austrian, Czech, Slovak and Polish people. Whereas the one-time Social-Democratic leaders do not give the slightest support to the fight of the nationally oppressed peoples, the Communists, and all progressive forces in Germany, are fighting for full right of self-determination of these peoples. An energetic waging of this fight is a fundamental condition of the fight for peace and for the rights of the working people in Germany itself. National oppression in so-called 'Great Germany' is only grist to the mill of British imperialism, which seeks to conceal its real war aims behind the slogan of liberation of the Austrian and Czech people. [9] On the other hand the fact that the Czech people are so oppressed makes it more difficult for them to realise that English imperialism, and the accomplices of this imperialism in Czechoslovakia, have no other aim but to make the country a protectorate of England, in order to use it as a base from which to attack the Soviet Union. If they were not so oppressed the mass of the people in Austria and Czechoslovakia would fight with greater resolution to resist the English plan. The German people, and the other nations which are now under German rule, are faced with the problem of working, not with English capitalism for the spreading of the war and a new Versailles, but with the Soviet Union for peace, for national independence and for the friendship of the people. The working class, the peasants and the intellectual workers of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, will become the

strongest guarantee of the German-Soviet Pact and the hindrance of the English plan.

Hilferding specially stresses that Germany is to be freed from reaction as a result of the war, that is to say, with the aid of British bayonets. He therefore demands of the British and French governments that they achieve a speedy victory. [10] The German Communists and revolutionary workers, who even at the time of the Weimar republic were fighting against the strengthening of the reactionary capitalist forces in Germany, and who made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle against the National-Socialist regime of terror, regard it as criminal madness that some Social-Democrat and Catholic leaders should believe they can end this regime in Germany by means of a reactionary war — a war which means the destruction of millions of workers, immeasurable misery, greater than in the Thirty Years' War. This war policy is the more criminal because the power which, according to Hilferding, will decide the outcome of the war, is the most reactionary force in the world. English imperialism gives another proof of its reactionary nature in so far as it refused the suggestion, made by Germany and supported by the Soviet government, for the termination of the war. The English answer was to lead the offensive against the workers, to carry to greater lengths all previous anti-Soviet slander campaigns, and above all to organise the concentration of all the forces of reaction for war against the Soviet Union.

The fight for democratic liberties and the rule of the working people in Germany cannot be waged in alliance with British imperialism. The working people of Germany are fighting heroically against oppression and exploitation by the present regime in Germany, because its terrorist rule does harm to the German people and discredits Germany, and because it thereby weakens the resisting power of the working people and helps reaction in Britain and France to deceive their own people regarding the true war aims of British imperialism.

Hilferding's article, and also the declaration of the former Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany against unity of action of the workers, indicate that the war and the new tasks arising from it confront the Social-Democratic workers in Germany with the decision: either, together with the Communists, to set up the united front from below, to stand for the common fight for a people's front of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, for active friendship with the Socialist Soviet Union and to turn from the bellicose anti-Soviet reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, or to share responsibility for realising the predatory plans of British and French imperialism and the reactionary plans of German big capital.

Notes

1. The following two sentences were omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.

2. The following sentence, the quote from Molotov and the paragraph after this quote were omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.
3. See Molotov's Speech at the Anniversary Celebration, World News and Views, 11 November 1939 – to be scanned for the MIA in due course.
4. The following six words were omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.
5. The remainder of this paragraph and the quote from Stalin were omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940. The foregoing text ran directly into the next paragraph, that is: 'In view of the changes in the situation in Europe the Hitler government deemed it expedient to establish peaceful relations with the Soviet Union ...'
6. J.V. Stalin, Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU(B), Works, Vol. 14 (London 1978).
7. The remainder of this paragraph was omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.
8. The remainder of this paragraph was omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.
9. The remainder of this paragraph was omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.
10. The remainder of this paragraph was omitted in World News and Views, 17 February 1940.

The Historical Role of Karl Liebknecht (12 August 1951)

Karl Liebknecht! This name is for millions of peaceful people in the whole world symbol of fearless, heroic struggle against the imperialist war. His “No!” in the darkest night of chauvinist baiting has saved the honor of the German workers movement.

From the begin of his political activity he led an untiring struggle against imperialism and did all he could to mobilize the masses of the working people, specially the working youth, for this struggle.

“This name”, wrote Lenin on Karl Liebknecht in his Letter to the Workers of Europe and America, “is the symbol of truly honest, truly willingness for sacrifice, relentlessly struggle against capitalism. This name is the symbol of the irreconcilable struggle against imperialism, a struggle not in words, but in deeds, which specially then needs highest willingness for sacrifice, when the 'own' country is grabbed by the frenzy of imperialist victories.” [1]

Like Thälmann in the time after the First World War was a leader of the German working class a leader in the struggle against the worst enemy of mankind, imperialism, so consequent and tough was Karl Liebknecht, the warning caller in struggle against German imperialism before First World War and during war.

The conditions of that struggle were very hard, because the German imperialism was the most aggressive, most predatory and most violent imperialism. The reason lies in the fact, that the German capital found an already apportioned world, when it was starting to conquer new markets and influence spheres. The hunger of the German imperialists for colonial extra profits was on basis of the fast industrial development of Germany specially high. Therefore they demanded a “place on the sun” and were ready to enforce it with all means of blackmailing and war and to suppress every inner resistance.

Another characteristic of young German imperialism was, that it was not only backed by the bourgeoisie, but also the Prussian Junkers [2], who always had war, plundering and conquering as life elixir. The Junkers ruled in Wilhelminist Germany [3] over the state apparatus and so the whole public life. The army was completely in their hands. Because of their tangle with the industrial and bank capital, they formed with the great-bourgeoisie a reactionary junkerly-great-capitalist block, which led Germany by its whole foreign and inner politics on the path of conquering wars.

The most dangerous tool of the bourgeois-junkerly German imperialism, its strongest support was the militarism, which poisoned the whole public life and was doing the preparation the military for the war of new apportioning of the world.

“For sure”, wrote Liebknecht 1907 in his famous book *Militarism and Antimilitarism*, “also the ruling class of capitalism wants to seize their profit interests with full comfort. But this comfort is neither harmonic with the capitalist concurrence, the national and international, nor it is the taste of those, who get stripes of their skin cut out by capitalism, so capitalism creates an armed, brutal bastion of violent rule to protect the wage slavery, the most holy of profit.” [4]

Untiring Liebknecht indicated, that the imperialist conquering politics endangers the existence of the whole people:

“This politics serves directly or indirectly the exploitation interests of the ruling classes of capitalism. She is trying to pave the way for the random-wild production and the senseless-murderous concurrence of capitalism with more or less skillfulness over the world, by trampling on all duties towards the lower developed people; und she succeeds nothing, but a crazy endangering of the existence of our culture by the summoning of world-war-like implications.” [5]

Also other leftists in the German social democracy have repeatedly indicated the big dangers of the heavily armed junkerly-bourgeois regime, they revealed during the debate about the military budget the scandalous conditions in the army and unmasked the war-mongering activities of the ruling plot. But Karl Liebknecht was the only one, who knew, that only protests or general declarations would not succeed.

He recognized early, “that the enemies of the workers cook their soup mostly at the fire of restricted chauvinism” and that “the military mass suggestion or also mass psychosis” means a big danger for the working class and the whole people. Therefore he campaigned so persistent for an awakening, untiring education of the masses against the role of militarism which is hostile to the people. “It is so true, that the development works for us, but it is also so untrue, that everything would come from alone”, he warned from opportunism in the social-democratic leadership, which spoke about the danger of a world war, but did nothing to prevent it. There was almost no party congress since 1904, where Liebknecht did not repeat his demand for a special propaganda against the Prussian-German imperialism. For him the struggle against militarism was a task of national importance for the social-democratic workers movement, which served the preserving of peace:

“So true the peoples peace stands in the interest of international proletariat and also above that in the culture interest of whole mankind, so true is also the struggle against militarism, which is the baiting of the people against each other, the sum and the extract of all peace-disturbing tendencies of capitalism, which is a serious danger of a world war, a cultural struggle, on which the proletariat is proud to lead it, which it must lead in its own interests and no other class as such ... has an interest which would be similar as big.” [6]

The compact majority of the reformists in the party leadership was decisively against the struggle against militarism, but Liebknecht has recognized the importance of struggle against militarism as part of the anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore he did not restrict himself on appellations to the social-democratic party leadership, but appealed directly towards the part of the people, which was designated by the military camarilla, to be forced to shoot one day on their fathers and mothers, towards the working youth.

Against the will of the party directorate he supported the founding of independent proletarian youth organizations and guided for the youth the path of struggle against militarism and war. He was the founder of the socialist Youth Internationale, whose members struggled in the first ranks as fighters against the imperialist war, when the world war began. In the Reichstag he always campaigned for the interests of the working youth and struggled against their deprivation of rights. With the whole sharpness of his spirit he debunked every time he could, that all youth-caring actions of the reactionary government, but also the hypocrisy of the church, just have this one goal: to make out of the children of the working people abulic soldiers for the interests of the ruling class.

The history has proven, how right and necessary the struggle of Karl Liebknecht against the war politics of ruling feudal-imperialist clique was. Karl Liebknecht wrote over the imperialist war prospects a la Krupp already in 1913:

“Brutal, robust, totally cynical scorn against all arguments and methods of a so to speak finer attitude, like militarism self, this concentrated, systematized rawness of violence – so is the arms industry ... And not prospering during happiness, freedom and peace of the people, but dissension, war danger, war, is their food; more hate among the people means more profits!” [7]

Karl Liebknecht shows us, how every chance must be taken, to untirely educate the people about the war mongering of profit-greedy imperialists. Because the freedom of press and assembly got more and more restricted, he mainly used the Reichstag as tribune, to brand the anti-national actions of the armament capital. So he debunked shortly before the war the canon-king Krupp, who bribed high

officials and officers, to get military secrets and to start with its help a nationalist propaganda campaign for rising the military budget.

On hand of this example Liebknecht debunked the connection of armament capital and the state apparatus of imperialist Germany, but also proved the connections of German and foreign armament capital. He understood, that the war must be prevented before its outbreak. Therefore he warned the party already in 1907 to systemically organize the struggle against the imminent danger of war.

“Or should”, so he asked, “... the German socialdemocracy, the German workers movement, the core troop and elite of the new Internationale, like she loves to praise herself, close in too much carefulness and trust to that task ... until she stands unprepared in front of the in some measure avoidable fact of an upcoming world war by use of all forces and methods of struggle ... for which she would have to take the responsibility too?” [8]

Karl Liebknecht stood back then almost alone, and so his untiring and fearless struggle could not prevent the war. But he teaches us, how much toughness and skill the struggle for peace needs, how concrete the propaganda against war has to be and how she has to differ fitting on the conditions.

In August 1914 everything became reality, what Karl Liebknecht feared for years: The German imperialists started the war for the redistribution of the world, which was prepared long time before. Like Liebknecht predicted, the heavy joint guilty fell on the social democracy. Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and co defected openly into the camp of imperialist imperialism. But Liebknecht stood loyal to his views. In the Reichstag faction he directly stood up against the support for the war credits, but complied at first towards the majority. Soon the behavior of the social-chauvinist party leadership destroyed his last hopes on a change of their politics and he began to struggle along with Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others against the party leadership. At the next vote for the war credits in Reichstag, on 2. December 1914, Karl Liebknecht refused as only one the credits. He concluded a declaration in the social-democratic Reichstag faction, in which the real reasons of the war are debunked:

“It is an imperialist war”, it is said in it, “and specially on the German side with the goal of conquests in big style.” [9]

Liebknecht proved by his acting, that he was the greatest patriot of the German people. Or can there be a greater patriotic deed, than saving his people before the horror of genocide? Which courage belongs to it, standing alone under millions of “fatherland-defenders”, who are drunk by chauvinism and victory reports, to raise his voice for putting an end to the war, shows the fact, that even his best friends and comrades – Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring und Karski

(Machlewski) – dehorted him one day before the vote, to vote alone against the war credits, because they feared, that his voice would not be heard and his sacrifice would be senseless.

In one thing his fiends were right: The whole brutal violence of the military dictatorship now went against the group of the left. Karl Liebknecht was conscripted as an reinforcement soldier. Rosa Luxemburg was imprisoned. Liebknecht was declared as a foreign agent and insulted as a fatherland-traitor. But the class conscious workers and the working people, who became doubtful due to the war politics of the socialchauvinist party leadership, Liebknechts acting gave them new courage and hope.

Liebknecht was untiring in his struggle. His Reichstag declaration was spread as an illegal flyer. Already in Mai 1915 he told the workers: “The enemy stands in the own country!”

On 1. January 1916 Karl Liebknecht and his struggle-comrades had a meeting, to found the Group “Internationale” – the Spartakus Group. On the historical importance of the founding, Lenin wrote in his Letter to the Workers of Europe and America:

“With Liebknecht and the Spartacists are all those German socialists who have remained honest and really revolutionary, all the best and dedicated men among the proletariat, the exploited masses who are seething with indignation and among whom there is a growing readiness for revolution.“ [10]

Again and again Liebknecht called in word and script for the revolutionary ending of war. In his call to mass demonstrations on 1. May 1916 he wrote:

“And for which purpose all these horrors and bestialities? Therewith the East-Elbian [11] Junkers and their familiar capitalist profit-makers to fill their pockets by suppressing and exploiting new countries. Therewith the baitors of the heavy industry, the army suppliers, to generate golden harvests from the bloody corpse fields. Therewith exchange speculators to make profiteering deals with war bonds. Therewith food speculators to make profits on costs of the starving people. Therewith the militarism, the monarchy, the darkest reaction in Germany gets power as never before and becomes the unshared rule.” [12]

During the first big mass demonstration on 1. May on the Potsdamer Platz [13], Karl Liebknecht showed clear and precise, who are the war-interested and called to the masses: “Down with the government! Down with the war!” Karl Liebknecht was imprisoned. The class justice sentenced the Reichstag deputy Karl Liebknecht to long time in jail, but his voice could not be silenced. From

the jail he sent secretly his articles for the Spartakusbriefer, for the Jugendinternationale, for flyers and calls.

The biggest influence on Karl Liebknecht had the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia. Karl Liebknecht was instantly conscious of the world-historical change, which the Russian proletariat has won by that. The victory of the Bolsheviks gave him new strength and confidence of victory for the struggle against the German war criminals. Karl Liebknecht always felt deeply connected to Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, which has shown the German working class, how to be victorious.

At the eve of the November Revolution Karl Liebknecht was released from jail. On 9. November he proclaimed the in Lustgarten [13] the German Socialist Republic, which was bloody choked by the Noske guards. Karl Liebknecht already demanded on 10. November the tightest friendship with Soviet Russia and concluded the approach of diplomatic relations.

The vanguard of the German working class has struggled in the November Revolution heroically. Her courage succeeded to push through some democratic demands and diverse social improvements. But the November Revolution staid a bourgeoisie revolution, the capitalist class rule kept in power. That had its main reason in the fact, that the majority of the working class still had bourgeoisie prejudices and thought to be able to overcome the power of monopoly capital and great landowners by the ballot. The November Revolution did not solve the historical task of the overthrow of German monopoly capital and the great landowners, because there was no revolutionary workers party of new type, which had been able to liberate the masses from the influence of the socialchauvinist leaders. Now the underestimation of the party by the left revenged, who staid till December 1918 with the Kautskyanists in a party. [14]

“A true revolutionary party”, wrote Lenin, “the Germans workers did not have in the moment of the crisis, because of the too late split, because of the damn tradition of ‘unity’ with the corrupt ... and characterless ... gang of lackeys of the capital.” [15]

Despite everything! Liebknecht titled his article, when the Berlin workers were quelled in the too early provoked struggles.

“But our ship sails a straight course and is proud of it till its goal. And when we will still live, when its is reached – our program will live; it will rule the world of the liberated mankind. Despite everything!” [16]

When this article was published on 15. January 1919, Karl Liebknecht was already murdered by the blood-thirsty soldiers. But his spirit could not be killed

by them. Karl Liebknecht is for the German youth the role-model of the fearless, sacrifice-ready fighter against the imperialist war.

Notes

1. W.I. Lenin, Werke, Vol. 28, p. 445, German.
2. Junkers were the German feudal landlords.
3. German Empire (1871–1918).
4. Karl Liebknecht, Militarismus und Antimilitarismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der internationalen Jugendbewegung. In: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften, Vol. I, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1958, S. 319, German.
5. Ibid., S. 274, German.
6. Ibid., S. 360, German.
7. Karl Liebknecht, Was ist? Was wird sein? In: Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, pp. 227/228, German.
8. Karl Liebknecht, Militarismus und Antimilitarismus. In: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften, Vol. I, pp. 450/451.
9. Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Series II, Vol. 1, p. 59.
10. W.I. Lenin, Werke, Vol. 28, p. 445, German.
11. The Elbe is a river in East of Germany. East of that river most land was owned by great-landowners.
12. Spartakusbriefer, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1958, pp. 174/175, German.
13. In Berlin.
14. Ulbricht means the USPD.
15. W.I. Lenin, Werke, Vol. 32, p. 538, German.
16. Karl Liebknecht, Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze, p. 530, German.

The Hamburg Uprising under the Leadership of Ernst Thälmann

On the dark background of the unprincipled compromise politics and the disgraceful capitulation of the Brandler clique the heroic struggle of the workers of Hamburg emerges. The KPD had in Hamburg around 18,000 members. The cadres of the Hamburg Communist Party were educated by comrade Thälmann with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. By the irreconcilable struggle against all deviations, which was led by comrade Thälmann, in Hamburg a struggle organization was founded, which was political and militarily ready for the uprising.

When the Hamburg workers heard, that the Reichswehr should march to Saxony, the fighting spirit increased by a multiple. On 20 October 1923 there

were many clashes between police and workers. In this tense atmosphere it showed, that also many from petty bourgeoisie and in some cases even the police sympathized with the demonstrating workers. When on 22 October the message arrived, that the Reichswehr steps into Saxony, the harbor and dock workers immediately stopped working. In the night of 22 to 23 October the call of the Reich's Enterprise Council Committee, which was previously sent to the Hamburg Party organization, was being spread. The committee called the working class of Germany to general strike, to the uprising against the offensive of reaction and against the military dictatorship. In the call it was said,

“that any delay is equal to death and it is absolutely necessary to start the struggle in the whole country because the isolated struggle in Middle Germany can lead to defeat. It will not be the repeating of the November Revolution of 1918. The decisive hour has come. One of both: Either the working people save Middle Germany, turns Germany into a workers and peasants republic, which is allying with Soviet Union, or an enormous misery will come up.”

After just a few hours the most enterprises were standing still. The action was led by comrade Thälmann. Mass demonstrations took place in whole Hamburg. In the Hamburg workers quarter Barmbeck the situation was specially tense. Everything just waited on the command to strike out. In the main streets more and more people gathered together till late in the night. The police was powerless. Their tries, to strike down the workers by violence, failed on the closed action of the demonstrators.

The Hamburg Party organization had created a so called Ordnerdienst (OD), which was the military core of the proletarian groups of a hundred. The training of the Odnerdienst was role-model-like. Its members were familiar with the use of weapons and knew the basic rules in street battles. On 22 October in the night the district leadership of KPD Wasserkante decided to start the uprising on 23 October at 5 a.m. It was decided, to start with the declaration of railmen strikes, to prevent the transports to Saxony.

The decided uprising plan was by the explanation of a participant the following:

- a) The uprising starts by a sudden attack of the armed workers detachments in the workers quarters of the city, by occupying primarily weapons stockpiles;
- b) disarming of police and fascists in the workers quarters;
- c) coincident contraction of the already armed workers detachments, who have to be covered by the mass demonstrations from the suburbs till the city center, and pushing away the enemy (police and fascists in the city center) towards South (to the river, whose bridges have to be occupied by the workers earlier) and here the final disarming of the enemies;

d) occupation of mail and telegraph office, the most important train stations of city and inter-city traffic, the airfield and other most important objects before the detachments from suburbs step into the city center, by the suburb forces of the Party;

e) to prevent the citation of reinforcements of the enemy from outside, it is needed, to ambush them on the main streets, which could be used for their supplies. With the organization of an attack from behind and the annihilation of their ways in a radius of 25 km the forces of the local organizations of the next close workers cities and settlements will be assigned. The organizations of Harburg, Wilhelmsburg, Ütersen and Stade should block the shipping traffic on the Elbe river.

In the history of the uprising the struggles in workers suburb Barmbeck were the most decisive. They stood under the leadership of comrade Thälmann. Because the workers here had only 19 rifles and 27 pistols, the question of arms was here the most important for victory. Comrade Thälmann drafted an action plan. At first the 20 police stations should be stormed to get their weapons. Equipped with one rifle and two pistols the single combat groups went to their objectives. After the disarming of the police station the Wandsbeker barracks, which was staffed with 600 policemen and had over six armed cars, should have been stormed.

At 5.30 a.m. the combat groups disarmed 17 police stations. Around 170 rifles and lots of ammunition were the result of the surprise attack by the workers. Three police stations could not be disarmed due to the failure and undisciplined behavior of some combat group leaders. The Wandsbeker barracks were alarmed, the police stations directly got help and the storm on the barracks was prevented.

A part of the comrades, who were not used for the disarming of the police stations, were sent by comrade Thälmann to the train stations, enterprises and docks to call out the general strike and to win the workers for the struggle. This action was successful. All means of travel stood still. Many workers trekked unified through Hamburg to support their fighting class brothers. At 7 a.m. comrade Thälmann commanded the build of barricades, which was directly seized by the workers. Big parts of the working people, specially women, participated. The working women and youth fulfilled great efforts and helped to uphold the heroic resistance by their activity.

The girls and boys of the Communist Youth League struggled determined. They were the connection people between the barricades and supplied the fighters with ammunition. On the top of these fighters stood comrade Willi Bredel. With immense courage the workers struggled side on side, indifferent if they were

members of KPD, SPD or non-partisan. They knew how to use the few weapons to fight back the police.

The combat groups positioned on the roofs and in the apartments. So they were able to rule the whole breath of the streets with few weapons. The police had their main focus on the barricades, where they thought the masses of defenders would be, while in reality just a few snipers were there.

The combat groups executed sudden attacks. These sudden attacks of the combat groups played a decisive role in the Hamburg Struggles. The struggle in Barmbeck, in the North part of Hamburg, staid isolated, because the traitor Urbahns gave out the decision of the Chemnitz meeting “The struggle will be delayed” as a directive in Hamburg, although the struggle has already begun.

In the night of 23 to 24 October no bigger fighting happened. The policemen were not willed to to attack although their officers ordered it many times, because the workers have proven on day by their tactics, that the police was not even with armed cars able to storm the barricades. So in example one armed car was made unable to fight by the courageous mission of a sniper. In another case two armed cars drove towards a barricade. The workers quickly built up behind the cars another barricade. So the cars were locked and unable to fight for a while.

Despite the traitorous directive of Urbahns to stop struggling, the workers of Hamburg demonstrated and hunted the opportunist trade union leaders out of the house of trade union.

On the second day of struggle the police got reinforcements. 500 policemen from Lübeck, the cruiser Hamburg and two torpedo boats were sent. To the support of the reactionary hordes airplanes flew over Barmbeck. A detachment of sailors refused to fight against the workers.

Around 6,000 policemen and military, equipped with heavy arms, tried to storm Barmbeck. 300 determined workers with few ammunition resisted toughly against the reactionary hordes. When comrade Thälmann noticed, that he struggled isolated with the Hamburg workers, he gave order for organized retreat.

Three days and three nights the workers in Barmbeck delivered heroic resistance. The uprising was canceled by decision of the Party, because the Hamburg Struggle stood isolated due to the betrayal by the Brandler clique. The armed combat groups of the Hamburg proletariat retreated with role-model-like discipline. Comrade Thälmann continued his work; he stayed illegally in Hamburg.

The Hamburg Uprising has historical importance. It shows, that the readiness of the German workers to struggle under the leadership of KPD for the social and national liberation of the working people, was there. Comrade Thälmann and his fighters proved by deeds, that with correct military and political leadership the working class can fight successfully against enemies in superior numbers and equipment, when she uses the teachings and experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Hamburg Uprising belongs to the proudest traditions of the German workers movement, teaches us, that a united acting working class under the leadership of a Bolshevik Party can master all tasks.