

of Mussolini. The new rulers have dissolved Parliament, set aside the civil government, placed the country under a condition of martial law and established a censorship over the press. The new government has before all issued a decree for the creation of national "Somates", whereby a counterpart of the Fascist militia of Italy will be set up throughout the whole of Spain.

The new military directorate which has come into power as a result of the *coup d'état*, corresponds in some respects to the Great Fascist Council of Mussolini. The program of the new Dictatorship provides, before all, for the most vigorous prosecution of the war in Morocco. But this will in no wise serve to avert the collapse of industry, nor the bankruptcy of the state. For this reason the military dictatorship cannot be of long duration. The continuation of the Moroccan war must embitter the broad masses of the population against the new rulers, and also the great landlords who are attached to the old political parties and stand in opposition to the new system. The working class will, therefore, if it sets to work properly, soon settle with its Fascist opponents.

THE WHITE TERROR

Another Onslaught upon the Communist Party of Bulgaria

By E. A. Buck.

That which was to be expected after the upheaval in Bulgaria has now taken place: the Zankoff government has outlawed the Communist Party. The whole of the Party functionaries in Sofia are reported to have been arrested on the 12th of this month, removed to the barracks, and detained there under a strong guard. The People's House in Sofia is occupied by soldiery. Like measures are reported to have been taken in the provinces.

Unfortunately, we are still without details concerning this brutal act of violence on the part of the government, so that we are not informed as to either the names or the number of those arrested. But one thing is certain: the government of military dictatorship has at last arrived at the decision to take up the conflict with the Communist Party. For weeks the whole bourgeois press, including the social democrats, has been carrying on a savage agitation against the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The government has been openly called upon to adopt the severest measures against the Party, to prevent the Party from being represented in the new parliament. Now or never, shrieked the whole press pack—now or never we have to settle with the Communists! The right moment has come! "If this opportunity is missed, it will be a grave mistake, one which we shall have to pay for later with heavy sacrifices"; thus wrote the *Mir*, the most reactionary organ in Bulgaria. And in these words it simply expressed the most fervent desires of the whole Bulgarian reaction.

The government "justifies" its measures by the assertion that the Communist Party, conjointly with the Peasants' League, had planned a general insurrection for September 17. It is even in a position to supply the "exact plan" of this insurrection. The working class is sufficiently informed in the matter of "accurate reports" of this description; they are fabricated by the Bulgarian spy system like the Weissmann "documents" in Germany. The real reason for the persecution of the communists is rather to be found in the feeling of insecurity of the present government. Having attained power by means of a military conspiracy, it fully recognizes that it has no firm support in the masses of the people, although it is formed from the whole of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, including the social democracy, and is supported by these.

After the upheaval of June 9, the whole of the bourgeois parties combined to form a bloc, for the purpose of carrying on a joint struggle against the C.P. of Bulgaria and the Peasants' League. The "liberals" alone did not formally enter this alliance, although their program is actually identical with that of the bourgeois bloc. They are, moreover, represented in the government by two ministers, and support it without reservation. The Peasants' League is completely crushed; its leaders have almost all been murdered. The Communist Party has therefore to lead the fight against the whole reactionary power entirely alone.

The influence of the Communist Party has greatly increased in the villages since June 9. The small peasants belonging to the Peasants' League, disappointed and robbed of

their leaders, are streaming into our rural groups, and take up the slogan of a workers' and peasants' government with the greatest enthusiasm. A movement has been noticeable among the peasantry during the last two or three weeks, a movement which has become markedly stronger since our Party made to the members of the Social Democratic Party and the Peasants' League the proposal of a united front. The Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party met our proposal with suspicion and slander. Instead of declaring itself in favor of the united front of the proletariat, this party utilized the time in bargaining with the bourgeoisie for two more ministerial portfolios. The members of the Social Democratic Party have spotted this little game, and the honest elements among them rebel against the sabotage of the united front by their leaders, who prefer alliance with reaction to alliance with the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie could not look on calmly at the rallying of the masses to the C.P. of Bulgaria, the less as the time approaches for the re-election of parliament. The bourgeoisie is very well aware that in the case of an election the Communist Party, supported by the Peasants' League, would be certain of gaining the majority in parliament, for it could be seen at the last election that three quarters of the total voters backed up the C.P. and the Peasants' League.

Such prospects as these alarmed the rulers of Bulgaria. The government is therefore anxious to settle with the C.P. of Bulgaria at the present moment, so that it may have at its disposal an obedient parliament; a parliament whose doors remain closed to three quarters of the people; a parliament of capitalists, bankers, large landowners, and profiteers; or, what is exactly the same thing, a parliament composed of the leaders of the bourgeois parties. This is the final nail in the coffin of bourgeois parliamentarism.

The government has set about its project with the same brutality, and the same methods, as when it seized power. The Communist Party is robbed of its leaders by the arrests. We are on the eve of civil war in Bulgaria. The news received from Bulgaria during the last few weeks shows that the united front of the C.P. with the masses of the peasantry has been actually realized. It is probable that negotiations have been carried on to this end with the leaders of the remnant of the Peasants' League. The few adherents of the social patriots are also urging a united front with us against the reaction. We do not doubt but that our Bulgarian brother party will be in a position to repulse this latest onslaught of the reaction, and to pass from the defensive to the offensive.

The White Guardist Attempt on the Life of Comrade Rappoport

Comrade Rappoport has given to a representative of *Humanité*, detailed information regarding the White Guardist Murderer Katzenelson, who sought to murder Comrade Rappoport but instead of which severely wounded the latter's daughter. The murderer served in the war as an officer and then joined the Wrangel army. After the disaster which overtook Wrangel, Katzenelson betook himself to Paris. A year ago, Katzenelson sought out Comrade Rappoport and requested him to intervene to obtain his return to Russia as he alleged that he had changed his opinions and desired to help the revolution. Rappoport, it appears, was suspicious of Katzenelson and refused him his request. It is extremely probable that Katzenelson wished to go to Russia in order there to exercise terrorist acts against the leading communists. When he was unable to realise this plan, owing to the refusal of Comrade Rappoport, he was determined to be revenged on the latter.

In connection with this matter, Comrade Rappoport pointed out that the Russian Monarchist Bands who previously were to be found in Bavaria and Berlin have shifted their activity to Paris.

Since the commencement of the revolutionary crisis in Germany, many emigrants, becoming terrified at the menace of German Bolshevism, have betaken themselves to Paris. Among this group is to be found the one which prepared the attempt against Milyukov. At the time there is appearing in Paris a terrorist newspaper called the *Ruskaya Gazetta*. Among its contributors is a one-time Bolshevik, Alexensky, who has now gone over to the reaction and who also writes for the *Matin*.

Katzenelson declared before the Paris Court of Investigation that he wanted to "avenge Russia".

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The State of Emergency in Germany

By Wilhelm Bartz (Berlin).

In the middle of August, the Social Democracy conducted a violent campaign against Gessler becoming the Reichswehr Minister of the Great Coalition. On this rock, the Coalition Government, then in the making, threatened to go to pieces. The Social Democrats gave way. Gessler remained Reichswehr Minister, but the campaign against him continued. A few days ago, the Berlin Social Democratic District Conference adopted a resolution, in which it demanded, in the strongest terms, the removal of Gessler. Two days later the whole public power was handed over to the same Gessler, all constitutional safeguards were suspended, and this—the most significant aspect of the matter—with the consent of the Social Democratic leaders and of the Social Democratic Party Executive.

This is characteristic of the present position in Germany. These measures were necessary, so the *Vorwärts*, the Social Democratic central organ, maintains, in order to prevent the Republic from being overthrown by a monarchist "right" patch on the occasion of the liquidation of the Ruhr conflict. This danger appears, as a matter of fact, to have been momentarily averted; the movement of Hitler and his armed bands has been brought to a standstill. Hitler will not, for the present, march on Berlin. Nor is it in fact necessary that Bavaria come to Berlin; Bavaria is being set up in Berlin itself. For there is no doubt that a development to the right is now proceeding in double quick time, and with the inevitability of a natural force. The positions held by the workers up to the present are most seriously menaced. The *Vorwärts* openly admits this. In its morning edition of September 28 it states:

"As to the relation of the Reich to the individual states, it is in the nature of things that, just as in the case of individual citizens, so must the individual states also submit to temporary curtailments of their full powers. We are confident that, everywhere where the State governments stand under Social Democratic influence, this necessity will be acknowledged without more ado."

The "right" organizations, of course, will not need to impose such restrictions upon themselves. Proceedings against the "right" organizations, such as were still in evidence here and there, will now stop completely. The state of emergency will rather bring grist to their mill. Indeed, their best friends have the whole power in their hands. If Social Democrats were, here

and there, appointed as so-called Civil Commissaries, which incidentally, only happened to a very limited extent, this has not taken place in order to secure the rights of the workers, but in order to have Social Democratic assistants in the liquidation of these rights. When the work is advanced to a certain stage, then these also will receive their dismissal.

We have already witnessed something of the kind in Bavaria, where the Social Democracy has smoothed the way for the counter-revolution. The same thing would now repeat itself on a national scale. Provided, of course, if the development should consummate itself in the sense of the "right", and along the road cleared by the Social Democracy. Opposed to this, however, stand obstacles, both of an external and of an internal political nature. The Government's position in relation to the Entente is certainly not strengthened by the surrender of all power to the Generals of Wilhelm II. Poincaré will, in laying down the conditions, which, apart from this were already hard enough, have no hesitation in weakening an adversary from whom he must fear revenge. Hard capitulation conditions, however, coupled with the renewal of the Reparations payments, imply an aggravation of the financial crisis, imply an increased expropriation of the middle class, imply more grinding poverty for the working masses.

To be sure, this aggravation of the internal conditions may temporarily increase the ascendancy of the "right", which regards bayonets and machine guns as the most effective means of healing the wounds. But it must not be forgotten that Germany has a proletariat of fifteen millions, which plays an important role both numerically and as the upholder of production and the transport system, that it can be held down for only a very short time by the methods which are employed in Bavaria, in Italy, in Spain or in Hungary.

Such is the state of affairs in Germany to-day. The black patches on the map of Europe show a further increase. But that is the surest way to hammer the German proletariat into a solid block, upon which all the waves of reaction will ultimately break.

In another place, we bring as a historical document the manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany, in which the Party sets out the position as it sees it the moment, and makes public its attitude in regard to it.

The Lining Up of the White Fronts

By A. Thalheimer

The Drama of Revolution has begun in Germany. At the given signal the white front is assembled. With a stroke of the pen, Ebert (as the representative of the Social Democracy) has removed the democratic-parliamentary drop scene. General Seeckt, his officers, his Reichswehr, and his Fascist bands now occupy the stage. Social Democracy has now abdicated in favour of the white generals. The bourgeois republic and the bourgeois republicans are at an end. Now it is simply a question of saving the Capitalist Order and with it the social democratic leaders. It is true that the workers, the members of the Social Democracy, the defenders and saviours of the bourgeois republic in the days of the Kapp Putsch, are the only republicans in Germany, but they are already wanting the socialist republic, they are already gliding into the arms of Communism. Did not the social democratic workers, only yesterday, demand the heads of Gessler and Seeckt, are they not calling for the seizure of real values, do not they insist that the bourgeoisie shall bear the costs of the Ruhr defeat? Therefore, no proletarian defenders of the republic. Therefore, no defence of the republic! The sword of military dictatorship of the white generals shall be over it! Let the monarchists save the Bourgeois Order, for the republicans are enemies of the bourgeois Order.

What matters the republic when the sacred Order of Capitalist Robbery is threatened? After the defeat of the Hohenzollern Monarchy in 1918, the bourgeoisie sought salvation in the bourgeois republic. After the defeat of the bourgeois republic—it flies to the monarchist army. And with it the whole gang of reformist party and trade union leaders. The circle is complete.

The mustering of the Hitler-Ludendorff forces in Bavaria had to serve as the pretext for the military dictatorship. The Bavarian monarchists had made use of this, on their side, to have their dictatorship proclaimed by the government. The government of Knilling appoints the tool of the Crown Prince Rupprecht, and of the peasants' leader Heim, Dr. Kahr, as General Commissioner of the state, as dictator over Bavaria, over all the authorities in Bavaria; even the officials of the republic (Railways, Post und Telegraph) are to be subordinate to him.

This is the first cautious step to the separation of Bavaria from the Republic.

The great coalition replies to this by ceding to Kahr and to General Lossow the exercise of dictatorship on behalf of the republic in Bavaria.

It thereby recognizes *de facto* the first step of Bavaria towards separation. It formally invites the Bavarian monarchists to seek the unity of Germany by means of a monarchist *coup* throughout the rest of Germany. It provokes Kahr to set Ludendorff and Hitler on the march against red Saxony and red Thuringia and to encircle red Berlin from the West (Westphalia), East and North.

The white front from Ebert to Kahr plays into the hands of the Fascist front, whereby at the same time, each partner thinks himself able to out-do the other.

Both fronts, however, will strike at the proletariat. The capitulation to Poincaré, the carrying out of the Stinnes program demand this.

Where is the German proletariat?

Where are the fifteen million town and country proletarians?

The communists are at their post. They call for the formation of the united front against the dictatorship of force. They are preparing for the mass strike. They are rallying the social democratic and non-party workers around them. The so-called left social democratic leaders are conspicuous by their absence. Party unity! (That is a more important thing than the dictatorship of the sabre!) They require time for consideration, one must not be too precipitate. . . .

The advance of the proletariat finds them in the rear with the baggage.

The advance of the masses will come in spite of them. The first shots have already been fired in the Saxon Erzgebirge.

By the time these lines come before the eyes of the reader, perhaps the machine guns of Hitler, and Ludendorff, as well as those of Gessler and Kahr, will have already torn away the veil which prevents the workers from seeing the possibility of the proletarian united front.

No! With them they will carry on a game together behind the scenes.

Against the working class!

Against Saxony and Thuringia!

The struggle against the German proletariat has been prepared by the coalition government, by the suppression of the Factory Councils' Movement, by the persecution and the prohibition of the communist press, by the arrest of the communist functionaries, by the blood baths among the starving in many of the cities of Germany.

In this struggle, the enemies of the proletariat are attempting to split the working class, to provoke it, to overcome it separately, and thus be able to set up the absolute rule of the great capitalists over the working class.

For this struggle, the most terrible with which the German working class has yet been confronted, the greatest readiness to act, the greatest steadfastness and firmest determination of all the working masses is necessary.

Where does the United Social Democratic Party stand?

Its right wing leaders, who have long since been politically bankrupt, and have shamefully abused the confidence of their own party comrades, not only permit the preparations for the slaughtering and enslavement of the proletariat, they are the chief culprits in this undertaking.

Ebert, the crony of Noske, the enemy of the socialist governments in Saxony and Thuringia, has protected Gessler against his own party and has now made him dictator.

Hilferding prepares the "curative crisis" by creating a gold currency for the rich and seeks to save the national finances by reducing the pensions and the unemployed dole and by abolishing the eight hour day.

Sollman, who signalized his entry into office by suppressing the *Rote Fahne* and forbidding the Factory Councils' Movement, sets the whole of his police force against the workers. He, the black-red-gold nationalist, will render the workers docile in order that they may be subjugated under French dictatorship.

Radbruch organizes blood justice against the working class.

All these right leaders in the government act in consort with the official bodies of the Socialist Party of Germany. True to their old role, they form a united front with the great capitalists, the generals, the Reichswehr and the Fascists. The Central of the Communist Party of Germany, on the 24th of September last, directed an appeal to the chief organs of the Socialist Party of Germany, of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.), of the Federation of Clerical Workers (A.F.A.), of the Independent Socialist Party and the German General Union

of Officials (A.D.B.), calling for a united struggle against the threatening dangers. The Social Democratic Party and the trade union leaders have rejected this; they have, along with the bourgeoisie, set up the military dictatorship and a state of siege against the working class. They appeal, not to the proletariat, they appeal to the reactionary monarchist officers, to the black Reichswehr and to the counter-revolutionary bands.

The leaders of the left wing of the Social Democracy claim that they see the dangers. But they are lacking in determination. They wait and see. Will they idly wait until it is too late?

We, however, know that the social democratic working masses are willing and determined to take up the struggle together with the communists, with the whole of the revolutionary working class.

An iron front of the whole proletariat must be formed. Everywhere, in the workshops and in all localities, the workers must come together, regardless of parties, and prepare the united defensive and offensive struggle. They must bring the trade unions and parties in the different localities into the fighting line. The factory councils must assemble. Defence Committees must be formed. It is their task to prepare the general strike throughout the whole of Germany. That must be the answer to every attack upon the proletariat.

Workers! Be on the alert. Do not permit yourselves to be overcome piecemeal. Do not let yourselves be annihilated in isolated struggles.

If the fifteen millions of German workers stand solidly together, then they will succeed in overthrowing the five hundred thousand enemies of the workers. Then will the victory of the proletariat be assured.

Workers, Comrades! Arduous and severe will be the struggle which the enemy has thrust upon you. Fight him when he begins with all your powers, with enthusiasm and with the joy of sacrifice. Your lives and the lives of those near to you are involved. Your victory is at stake. The fate of the International Proletariat is in the balance.

Assemble all your forces together!

Down with the great coalition of capitalist plunderers!

Away with the state of siege and military dictatorship!

The weapons into the hands of the workers!

For the Workers' and Peasants' Government!

Let the rich pay the reparations!

Long live the mass strike!

Long live the fight!

Berlin, September 23., 1923.

The Central of the Communist Party of Germany,
(Section of the Communist International.)

The Communist Party of Germany to the Whole Working Population!

Workers, Clerks, Officials, Small Business People, Peasants!

The Stresemann-Hilferding government has capitulated to Poincaré. It has put an end to passive resistance. This signifies, in spite of all asseverations, complete submission to the dictatorship of French imperialism. Germany is to be placed under foreign tutelage, to be converted into a colony. That means increased oppression and shameful plundering of the German people. Wages are to be still further reduced, pensions and unemployment benefit are to be cut down, the hunger will become even more terrible. Working hours are to be increased to an unendurable extent while unemployment will increase enormously.

In order that this may be accomplished, the working class must first be beaten to the ground.

And the capitalist government, the great plunderers of the German people, Stinnes, Krupp & Co., the Reichswehr generals and the Fascist murderers of the workers, all have understood this.

The Rhine intriguers, the national traitors and vultures of the Ruhr war, the protégés of French militarism, are doing their utmost to separate the Rhineland from the Republic. The dismemberment of Germany begins.

Hitler calls in Munich for the general attack. Using Bavaria as a base he wishes to roll up the whole of Germany. They wish to begin the great slaughter in Saxony and in

Thuringia. The Fascist bands are gathering round Berlin. They are being mobilized in the provinces.

Bavaria has been placed under a state of siege by the Knilling government.

Kahr, the hero of the Kapp Putsch, the enemy of the unity of the republic, is in Bavaria, preparing to march.

Ebert, Gessler and Seeckt have seized upon this as a pretext and placed the whole of Germany under a state of siege. Gessler as Reichswehr Minister, has, together with General Seeckt, equipped the forbidden armed bands of the great capitalists and set up a black Reichswehr. The Social Democracy, before entering the coalition government, demanded the removal of this Reichswehr Minister, Gessler. The social democratic President of the Republic, Ebert, has now, however, given full dictatorial powers into the hands of this same Gessler. All political rights, all constitutional safeguards, are set aside. Militarism holds unlimited sway.

Exceptional Law, Capital Punishment! This is what the decrees of Ebert proclaim.

Against whom are these fearful threats and preparations directed? Against the national traitors of the Rhineland Republic? Neither Ebert nor Stresemann can touch them. They are under the protection of French arms. Are they directed against the Fascists and against the Bavarian government, who wish to plunge Germany into civil war and to destroy the Republic?