MARIA REESE ACCUSES: An Indictment of the Stalinists by a Leader of the German C.P.

(Editorial Note: Unser Wort, central organ of the Internationalist Communists of Germany, publishes in its lust issue a sensational letter sent by Maria Reese, leading comrade of the German Communist Party, to the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. G. and the E. C. C. I. We reprint below the statement of comrade Reese and the biographical commentary of Unser Wort.)

Comrage Maria Reese was one of the best known and most betoved mass speakers of the Communist rarty or Germany. All ner meetings used to be overmied. She distinguished nerseif from the other C. P. G. speakers, by leaving uside all the empty parases and meaningless gestures and by, instead of that, seriously and objectively polemizing against time a member of the Reichstag, came over to the C. P. G. from the S. P. G., after realizing that the poncy of the S. P. G. could not lead to socialism but rather aiged Fascism. Her action aroused a great dear of attention among the working class at that time and was utilized by the C. P. G. in a big campaign against the social democracy. After the German catastrophe, when she saw that the C. P. G. had collapsed in Germany and that aid for the German protetariat could be expected only through international solidarity, comrade Reese went abroad to work for the vanquished German working class and against the Fuscist dictatorship. Comrade Reese was persecuted for her activity by the police in Denmark and expelled

The fact that such a comrade as Maria Reese, who because of her sense of responsibility before the working class Went over to the C. P. G. from the S. P. G., today makes a break with the Stannist bureaucracy—this constitutes a heavy blow for Stalinism and a signal for the German projetariat. We are firmly convinced that the most decisive sections of the membership of the C. P. G. will go the same way as comrade Acese. All the frenzied shouting, all the lies and calumniation of the bankrupt C.P.G. and Comintern bureaucracy cannot

repeated attempts to clarify my pontical amerences with the party and the leadership of the Ked Ald (1. L. D.) by means of oral and stanger and isolate me.

not take back my written accusa- success which the apparatus attri- the workers have no control. tions of September 25. On the con-buted to itsef. Moscow had to be crary, for the clarification of the shown how well the work was bematter, I must add to them and em- ing done. phasize the fact that it is a mattions now appearing in your comtions now appearing in your comgists of the C. P. G. had learned tee-moneys never reach them, confunctionaries with me—that you ders nefore, then those who rethe c. E. C., but the great stratetrace many of the c. E. C., but the great stratetrace many of the committrace many of the com else but a consistent extension of theses, which they were busy put- account have charge of them. The apparatus of which we were in to the working class and sharing every one knows he is innocent— defamation of active comrades, your catastrophic policy before Hitter's seizure of power. In it is expressed a typically petty bourgeois zation of the factional struggle they tack of confidence in the power and conducted for little jobs. You knew mess struggle of the proletariat, all this better than I, and you know which is even increased by you it now. But you knew nothing abroad to the point of despising the whotseever at the decisive moment. geoisie, which in your view is to be substituted for the scarcity of class THE OPPORTUNIST COM. struggles and for the defeated MITTEE-POLITICS. Communist party.

HOW YOU FOUGHT AGAINST

A MARXIST POLICY? After your shameful defeat in Germany (before which you had without a command), your Commit. tee-Polites has now completely divorced you from the mass movement, with which you, as representatives of the bureaucratic party machine, nave long ago lost all contact. Bruening and Hiudenburg....

Committee-Politics, in principle. to sweep away. That is why you have told your You have always taken the road I insult them, because I have op- at present, when it brings you an apparatus. posed your putting them up as the income through Muenzenberg. That standard bearers of anti-Fascism, is a source which imperialism will class. When Fascism advances in any means by your politics. unbearable contrast to the inner sincere revolutionary. If Reese's and the revolutionaries speak. they have always boasted so, so many wo these countries, it meets with no You do not at all wish to disevents in Germany. Maria Reese letter can have any influence on the these countries, it meets with no You do not at all wish to dis- events in Germany. Maria Reeseletter can have any influence on the resistance from your bourgeois cuss politically about the questions demanded a discussion on what oc-fate of the Communists persecuted November 10, 1933.

I do not intend to return to the today, the workers who believed in you.

SABOTAGE AGAINST

cow-1. e., the Commtern, not the strain ever since February 28. I treasury you have seen to it that Germany from the conce-house alliances with foreign lords and make it impossible. the poncy of the social democracy.. described German working class that in our fighting comrades as the by forbidding me to work, because been in the leaderships of the in 1525, comrade Reese, at that you are at the front. Thus you Hitler barons. permit yourselves very easily to It is not you who are utilizing zenberg and you succeeded in get. I tried in vain, after the entry SITUATION OF COM. TORGLER. nas made the C. P. G. defenseless, are in this way advancing, indir-carried it out. But not after that. occause it produced mental slaves, ectly, the Fascist development in THE INGLORIOUS CAPITULA. secause it commuted the democrathese countries and you are thereby TION BEFORE HITLER. are inquence of the workers in the striking the world proletariat in ed headless and helpiess. That policy. workers' democracy which could have kept you informed about their trength and their mood of struggles; which would have enabled not even begin to imagine that you controlled by any workers' organiza- promises to lead it in struggle. without ledaership. the conmission for mass work to Muenzenberg. which a belonged, attnough 1 pro-

> In all these questions, I informed conducted for little jobs. You knew

is never achieved.

mass movement, linked up as it is that is the strongest proof that with phrases and with a philistine you never knew anything and never by the newspaper Unser Wort in the policy of masquerades to that is only as invaluable testimony in by the newspaper Unser Wort in the policy of masquerades to that is only as invaluable testimony in favor of the accused. From the bitter truth about the party to of the world proletariat against letter it is clear even to the blind parliamentarian and uninitiated in rupts do not of their own will letter which she belonged until very re- Fascism. At her every attempt she how far removed the official party any of the plans, not even in any the arena of history, then it is time cently. The German agency of the met just a blank wali. Reese then was from the thought of insurrec-defensive plan, and believed as I that the wrath of the workers should I have been fighting against your Comintern bureaucracy understood drew all the conclusions for her-Committee-Politics, because it is a nothing, foresaw nothing, prepared self: she broke with the Comintern insurrection and consequently from desert the proletariat in its most longer pay any attention to them, crime against the working class and nothing. Revolutionary work it ream and placed herself under the ban-such "signals" to insurrection as fateful hour. The situation became but proceed to the creation of party has nothing whatever to do with placed by hollow phrases and boast- ner of the Fourth International. the Reichstag fire! revolutionary class struggle. It is fulness. It fooled the workers and After that the Stalinist bureauthe politics of the despairing, of the party year in and year out. cracy, which has nothing more to disappeared into illegality, in or- the defeated, of those who have lost The Central Committee fooled even lose politically, "expelled" Reese der to preserve your precious leadall belief in the power of the workits own apparatus. People who ocfrom the Comintern. But also into revenge for the fact that a recityation and as to how you evaluated the ternational which will not tolerership of the working class for the time after the defeat, leaving us, time after the defeat, leaving us, of the Muenzenbergian congress-party like Torgler, head of the all the traits of vengeful and lying self until very recently in its ranks be done. comedies, at which telegrams of parliamentary fraction, or Maria impotence characteristic of them. has of enly and honestly spoken the YOUR LATEST PEARLS felicitation from fleinrich Mann or Reese herself, deputy of the Reich- The main accusation against com. truth about the leadership, the re- OF WISDOM Einstein are supposed to take the stag, believed honestly to the last Reese consists in the fact that she gime and the practices of the place of the united front which moment that the Central Committee joined the camp of "counter-revolu- Comintern. The bureaucacy for- Like the rest of us, comrade Torhad its plans, that it had prepared tionary Trotskyism". This estima- gives cowardice, forgery, treachery gler was very much concerned over Dahlem, in his childish enthus the necessary fighting forces, that tion is not a new one! The "rev- and betrayals under one condition: this and attempted to reach lead-Through your sectarian policy of the "struggles" of the good the Comintern knew whither it was olutionary" work of the Stalinists to bring no tales out of school. For ing comrades. When he finally the last few years you have failed burghers in the democratic coun-leading the German workers. With to bring about a mass movement in tries against the foreign fascisms, Hitler's coming to power and es- Kai-Shek, Pilsudski, Citrin, Wels, responsibility have long replaced most intimate circles, a member of ity. That will be difficult, but it Germany or internationally. On the only keeps on looking for all kinds pecially with the burning of the Hitler. According to this logic, the laws of revolution and of Marx- the C. E. C., and asked him for contrary, despite the revolutioniza- of sensations—and that is in fact Reichstag by Goering's agents, the Marxian criticism of these crimes ism. The fight for inflated personal advice, the brave one answered: contrary, despite the revolutionization of the masses, you have weaktion of the masses, you have weakened yourselves. In despair, you

what all the Committee-Communists revolutionary illusions of the best is "counter-revolutionary" work. But this is not all. The resolution sured livelihood have pushed to the all the labor organizations are goare now seeking succor in the arms that all these things are mere bon- The Central Committee left the adopted in the name of the Ger- background the struggle for the ing to be crushed, a bloody terror of the lords and countesses, just fires that will only leave behind party to the mercy of fate without n.an Communist Party, that is, by proletarian dictatorship. Maria is going to rage, murder and deas the social democrats did—with them a fithy heap of ashes which leadership, without slogans, even a few bankrupts hiding in emigra- Reese convinced herself of it on struction of the proletariat will be the revolutionary movement of the without explanations. Another such tion, accuses Maria Reese of "ren- the tragic experience of the German on the order of the day, hunger, Your opportunism is so incurable masses—the one you are obstruct. treachery on the part of the leaders dering aid to the government of proletariat. Together with her misery, balkanized conditions, conthat you no longer can conceive ing in its development by your is unknown in the history of the Hitler and thus delivering to thousands and tens of thousands centration camps, war against the movement will only be carried to that you no longer can, conceive the committee-Politics-will only have revolutionary struggle. It is not the latter, party members and sym- of betrayed revolutionaries have Soviet Union and perhaps, in the its grave for the benefit of a paid hard to imagine the dark despair pathizers". The awakened German gone through the same experience, end, the decline of all culture. And apparatus that has nothing whatof the betrayed masses and the proletariat will brand this base ac- In jails and concentration camps you in particular-these sadistic

bourgeois "comrades-in-arms" that of least resistance and particularly frightful helplessness of the party cusation on the foreheads of the ac-The emigrant activity of Muen-courageous open letter and only to courageous revolutionary conclu- of all their sadistic pleasures." through which you deceive the stop, when it has no use for you zenberg, Heckert and Co.; false re- after the appearance of this letter, sions. It is the duty of every rev- I shall never forget with what useful for the liberation of the working class. In one "common any longer. But by that time the ports, lying correspondence, hollow that is, after she herself broke with front" with them you have sabot- Red Aid will not have been built up, and sham congresses intended to the Comintern. To call the bankaged my work for the Red Aid and through your false policy, for it is throw dust into the eyes, could not rupts openly by the name of bank- letter of Maria Reese in all the comment: "And these are supposed olution as you are in intriguing for the defeated German working already today left almost without but appear to Maria Reese as an rupts is a direct duty of a true and languages in which the exploited to be revolutionaries! To this end and in political impotence, German

The Stalinist bureaucracy takes silence and in a lack of all indica- of a new Communist party and In-

"comrades-in-arms". But it is your of Committee-Politics and the Ger. Red Aid is almost without any ignorance, one which would inform its fate, would not have had to to say that of me, pfui...." And policy that has prevented a prole- man catastrophe. Committee-Pol. means for its tremendous tasks. us about what to do when the become "headless". You had re- then he concluded: "One would tarian mass movement from being ities permits you to live more con- l'articularly now it would have been Fascists drew back for the final conciled yourselves beforehand to think that he'd know something". created, that movement which alone veniently. Besides, the line bas easy to build it up and to create blow. You were always so boast- the heavy fate that was to befall And now comrade Torgler is actualcan offer the necessary resistance, been laid down in Moscow, and the means for genuine support of ful, but that was only for show the working class. as I have so often and so repeated- therefore is correct. Thus-with. it. You have consciously obstructed at the mass meetings, in the papers, But we, who did not previously think that your defenseless surrenly stressed by verbal and written out any discussion we in Germany this and the West European Comin- at the convention parades and even bear ourselves with that ostentat. der of the working class has had slid right down into Fascism. But tern parties have gone along with in the sessions of parliament, ious, bureaucratic sang-froid, be no effect on comrade Torgler, has

meerated from material cares. Mos- most broken down under that the interests of the Committee- philistines. workers—is officially convinced of cannot keep quiet until experience not a single meeting was organized yourselves seriously, you poor manthe correctness of your poncy be-shall once again prove your policy for this purpose for me. No method nikins of history, therefore you would not wait any longer for trom struggle? Why doesn't Heckcause of foreign-poncy considera. Jalse. There is a certain "discip- was too filthy for you to defame also did not take rascism seriously. Your commands because by then ert and why don't you speak of tions to watch it is sacrineing the line" which is a crime against the me among your citque. You sucworks projectarias, aithough it re- working class. To maintain sil- ceeded in turning the Comintern ism had to be taken seriously. If that you poor bankrupts would lieve that the German workers cognizes you and despises you as ence about your Committee-Pol- apparatus against me in no time. the party had had a democratic still deign to play the role of leadthe abominable pankrupes you are; ities is just such a crime. You no Muenzenberg's agent, Katz, follow- control over the apparatus, and if ers again—we acted. It was not and Moscow is agreed to have you longer believe in the power and in ed in my trail with the money col- the latter had not been omnipotent out of headlessness or in flight that continue your "leadership" over the the fighting qualities of the work- lected for the German anti-Fascists, with regard to the working masses I left for lenmark. I could have the C. E. C. on the day of the fire revolutionary labor movement of ing class. Therefore you conclude in order to sabotage my work and and service with regard to the working masses also gone into hiding like your and asked her for the perspective tables in Paris, winie you ten the ladies who have as much interest You answered my protests finally offs like you, in silence, while the work. thing. So you did know what was

I had said something against Muen-party. nand out "brave" and provocative these people, as another comrade ting Moscow to recall me. And you of Hitler into the government, to orders, to which later on the citte of the Political Committee express- infamous bankrupts really imagined and a leading comrade and to find of the projectariat is sacrificed, ed himself naively. Imperialism is that such a command could seal out what sort of a perspective inus, with Muenzenberg's uncon-utilizing you, in order-with your my lips. Before your latest self- these suddenly silenced leaders actromable committee beamd you, you active aid-to prevent the mass exposure, before your catastrophic tually had. For I had to appear ed was the monitation of the incan very easily play at revolution. struggle and the revolutionary ad- collapse in Germany I would have pefore the working class. But not ternational proletariat, and clari-The dictation of the Comintern vance in its own countries. You taken a party order from you and a one among you could be reached.

any of your plans. I could never struggle. Only one lie, that it was plant against him. It was behave believed you so irresponsible we wno had set fire to the old dump, cause of your irresponsibility that You have sabotaged my work for that you would surrender the work- sufficed to unmask all your boasts he was chained and despite your even you Moscow parrots to lead in the Red Aid from the beginning, ing class without any defensive and qualities of leadersnip and to countesses at so much irresponsionity and at such a latal hour-you yourselves because the Muenzenbergian Com-plan, after posing for years as its make the German working class ne will be condemned although in the quiet getaway of the leadercast it aside discainfully. You did mittee-treasury - which is not leaders and after your manifold defenseless, to leave it as a mass nocent, if the international profesship, comrade Torgier wandered,

could learn from the simple work- tion but only subordinates itself to Even if the prerequisites for a The social democratic leaders...

not transmitted. My discipline, they were held by S. P. G. and C. protest were sent to you and to The certainty that the struggle night of the fire no leaflet had ap- do not practice factional revenge? before outsiders on the internal in Brunswick, where they united, not perhaps know anything at all sacrifice their last pennies for the tion; that no action of resistance quite well that the Fascists comthen they were once again rapidly about this. Katz dictated for preparation of the resistance. You had been begun-after we then, municate with precision to comrade let themselves be arrested, repress- aid of the deserted proletariat, their other tortures. The Red Aid treasury is at least ed, tortured and thrown into the what do you do? You can only It is precisely the German C. E. outionary movement. But all this controlled by the apparatus of a concentration camps, withering heap insults on us and from your C. and particularly its political is made up for by so much the workers' organization. The money away one by one, due to your head- safe hiding-places, you call us in leadership that has all the cause greater intrigues. Also with redisciplined and headless. If you to commend comrade Torgier, for gard to Moscow, which no one dares ter of fundamental pontical questions, I into des some good to the victims of the had had your heads on your shoul. never was a political defendant in to oppose with political arguments,

Comintern, then such vain show- selves and I could have looked on,

THE REICHSTAG FIRE AND THE

I saw that you had not prepared acation of why we did not set are We were surrendered just like to the Reichstag. I was in the answer. But since when do leadthis, the workers and all of us seccustag on February 27 and 1 ers wait for commands from their who were not in the apparatus. can explain why comrade Torgier soldiers? At the same time he also Your whole preparation for illegal- is innocent. As a result of your old me to retain my living quarmatter of policy and leadership of the back-particularly the German. How can you dare race me as ity consisted in securing the conthe party and because it thereby and the Russian. That is what I leaders, after I have learned to tinuity of payments of salaries to intier's entry into the government prevented a selective leadership, have been fighting against. Only know your real worth in all your the apparatus people, the safe, and to your catastrophic famure, whoever thinks independently, falls the solidarity of the world prole. wretenedness, following Hitler's maintenance of machinery, etc. It as a result of despair for the fate were left without any perspective a victim to stander campaigns. But tariat can help the German work- seizure of power? I had to pose was only thus that Hitler could of the working class add conscious when a situation came, at which ers and defend the Seviet Union, political perspectives before the wreck the whole party with the or his innocence, he wanted to take ed to arrive. But the attitude of Moscow left you without a com- which is threatened by nothing so workers at the mass meeting, but stupid lie that the Communists had the step toward a neighbor indivimand, you "great" leaders remain- much as by the current Comintern you remained deaf and dumb at set fire to the Reichstag, without qual action so as to prevent the snows what a catastrophe can over-Hitler's assumption of power and having to mobilize his whole army. Worst. You, least of an, have any take the working class, when the we did not know the least about A victory and a defeat without a right to make a political comariat does not prevent it.

And you sit in your Parisian the Fascist prison, driven by a er, that the worker himself gath- a few of his confidentes-is much revolution were not at hand, be- to be sure! If you had taken your cafes and criticize. You play sense of responsibility to the workcred so many new experiences in more pleasant. Thus Muenzenberg cause the social democratic leaders own words seriously, you would roles and do not even appear to ing class, whom he wanted to aid the course of the ever sharper class and yourselves have always been rejected struggle in principle and have known that they could not realize in what situation comrade with his individual action. Comrade struggie from which you not only able to hide behind the excuse that because our party had failed to fight. But you all set your "op. Torgier is appearing before the l'orgier can defend the Communist could have but should have learned Lord This or Lord That did not win over the majority of the workm order to evaluate them for the want this or that which is to the ing class by its sectarian attitude didn't you? Then why didn't you with your fitting gossip, achieving tive charge of burning the Reichpurpose of the organized struggle, interest of the working class and in the question of the united front, ever say: "We can only fight, if such brilliant results that Romain stag, but he cannot desend the For more than a year and a half above all-that it was not in the you had no right to leave the rev- the social democrats will make a Rolland and Barousse write in Communist party leaversnip perore there was not a single meeting of interest of the big business man olutionary army in the ditch with- beginning?" According to Heckert's Augustian and the working class. And that is the out a defensive plan. I was dis- apologetics, that would be the na- ter the first appearance of the de- reason why you are letting loose a Taus, according to the comrades, quieted, like all the revolutionary tural conclusion. But I am main- rendants, commending Dimitroff and minterland discussion about him and by word of mouth, because I despeaking at a meeting called by the does not trust us sufficiently", "it even prepare the defensive and that and not even mentioning Torgier. Tude before the fire—you who are sired the organizational construct Committee in London at the begin. is at least necessary to know where in the hour of danger you took For shame! Even if Muenzenberg Valuelorious in the nancemana and For months I have been making don of the united front and not ming of July, because I wanted, in we stand", "we can't just simply refuge in the bushes without as manded them the assignment, these make the work of other comrades only beautiful congresses, from one small sentence, to mention the allow ourselves to be slaughtered much as a word, that you sur- men must have shown what an in- impossible, finally rerord it altowhich the workers were turned back fact that there is an auxiliary or- off", "an order must come for the rendered the workers who waited suit to Torgier their attitude meant. gether as "great sequess", because empty-handed, because there was ganization in Germany whose mem-acking a sensible way of building bers risk their blood and, their said. It was not revolution, but After several of us, astonished decision of the German C. E. C., petition to the Muchzenberg Comup of the united front. The experi- lives, in order to be of help to the defense that the workers were that nothing had happened; that which passed a resolution in Paris mittee-treasury in the interests of written discussion. These attempts ences of the workers were not util- victims of Fascism, namely, the Red thinking about and they believed nothing had been done for the de- at the same time and published it the Red Aid and because it might were of no avail. My letters to ized for practical purposes. When Aid. I then refused to speak, so that in that the social democratic fensive—although you knew about in l'humanite, also comending only be of sid to the German anti-Base-Moscow have been concented for they did break through the bonds as to be able to protest against workers could be pulled along and the plans of the Fascists; that at comrade Dimitroff for his bravery, ists instead of Muenzenberg and the most part, conniscated or simply of the bureaucratic brace in which this opportunist line. Copies of the thus make a revolution possibe. which forced me to remain stient Pr G., spontaneously as was the case Moscow. In reality the lord did was inevitable instigated them to peared as a reply to the accusascattered because the organization- Muenzenberg and the line is: every did not prevent them, although you without guidance and in the face Torgier all the floods of political aimost all the European Commern Our last discussion, in which my al medium was lacking. Only the advancement of the Red Aid must never did have struggle in mind, of an unresisted destruction of the intrigue that issue forth from you sections. I found everywhere the pointical accusations were not taken press still boasted, long after the be subordinated in the interests of as little perhaps as Braun and party, did undertake something on and that they destroy him more senf-same incapability to evaluate up, has convinced me that I can event, of the great united front the Committee-treasury over which Severing. Now the workers must our own initiative to come to the with this means than with any of and utilize the political situation

out because of the party leader- etc., etc. ship. This leadership had deserted its army and fied to the bushes without issuing a single slogan or a single word of explanation to its army, when the enemy was on the of your catastrophic failure the

How can comrade Torgler de world have suffered a loss of conincreasingly sharper, your helpless- forces independent of Moscow's ness was cloaked in a mysterious Comintern and to the building up

the catastrophe lived through. The joy in the market place and tor-Maria Reese is "expelled" for her letter of Maria Reese calls them ment you to death in the indulgence and material maintenance by your

they have always boasted so, so many would never have known

ly going through all this. Do you There you gloated over the fear hind which is concealed most often left no trace on him? Why didn't soviet Union in order to sacrince your leadership have to pay for I came from Moscow in order to that your wild, but never seriously great egoism; we wno know that you heroes tell this to the workmy revolutionary work for a me your irresponsibility. I have al- bring the Red Aid to the Front. In meant, speeches aroused in the the workers want to fight but not ers beforehand? Why did you say to be sacrificed uselessiy; we who that the Bruening dictatorship was And because you did not take saw the whole pitifuiness of the open Fascism? Why did you, in

> And when I met a comrade from of the party, she said the same going on, and yet you did not prepare any defensive-only defensive

As late as February 27, Florin said helplessly waen i met him in anything and that for the moment the Reichstag, where he had come the only aid that could be turnish- for advice to comrade Torgier on crial: "If the workers won't fightetc." That was always the ters, perhaps we would remain deputies like in 1923. You were so neipiess and headless that you when the caple from Moscow lanrevolutionary movement or a country lacks independent leadership. .

Full of anger, disgust and despair conscious of his innocence, into

WHAT IS NECESSARY

After the German defeat I had occasion to become acquainted with and its possibilities for the rev-

The so-called political line is a colorful mishmash of ultra-Left adventurism and opportunism. Has it ever occurred to you that because communist parties all over the from the working class, but will ocratic control of the workers over the apparatus and its employees.

Only thus will the working class mission as the liberator of humanno longer exists, since-after the frightful defeat in Germany, which was a defeat for the whole world proletariat-the bankrupt leadernot compelled to abdicate. With such ever in common with the living, Bolshevik struggle.

out any plan of preventing it. And Amsterdam, Oct. 26, 1933.

Maria Reese and the Comintern

does some good to the victims of lessness and helplessness.