

Bulletin 1/92

Information for revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: October - December 1991

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, English, Russian and Spanish

In October 1991 "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
Nazis are doing the work of the CDU/SPD/FDP/the Greens, who have long proclaimend a policy of "deterrance": POGROMS!

The leaflet was distributed in many West German cities (Frankfurt, Goettingen, Cologne, Stuttgart) and begins with a list of murders (at least 15) carried out by neo-Nazis since December 1990, as well as attempted murders and pogrom-like attacks since September 17, 1991. The leaflet began:

"After state organs, media and all political parties in Bonn propagated a policy of "containment by deterrence" against asylum seekers, neo-Nazi forces in the FRG made arson attacks on over 100 asylum-seeker housing facilities in the last few weeks."

But in the town of Hoyerswerda it wasn't just that a new level of terror was reached in the scope of Nazi actions:

"For the first time, with the approval of the most reactionary portion of the populace, public housing facilities of asylum seekers and male and female workers from other countries were openly attacked by Nazi murder gangs for five days long...That can only truly be described by the word pogrom."

Other central points of the paper are:

*** Police on the side of the Nazis!**

Not only because they beat demonstrations of anti-Nazi forces with brutal violence. It is also important to see that

"...the German police daily deport entire families of asylum seekers without the least scruple - often directly into the torture cells of fascist secret police in countries like Ghana, Turkey, India, etc."

*** Fight state and neo-Nazi terror!**

"As much as Nazi pogroms are momentarily in the foreground, the primary form of terror against asylum seekers remains state terror...Beyond that, Nazi gangs don't act completely independent of the state apparatus of West/German imperialists: they are tolerated, nourished, promoted by them...The struggle against the Nazi gangs as well as the terror of the state apparatus must be conducted more energetically!"

*** Argue where possible, strike where necessary!**

"There's no room for discussions and persuasion against Nazis in action. These murderous gangs must be dealt with rigorously and without any pity. Self-help aganist Nazi terror must be organized with every strength, everywhere where Nazis appear."



A more comprehensive article on this subject appeared simultaneously in the October, 1991 issue of "Gegen die Strömung", No. 57 (24 pg):

"ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE IMMIGRATION OF PEOPLES, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO ASYLUM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM"

I. The imperialist world system is the cause of the "modern migration of peoples"

II. Prevent deportation and mass expulsion of politically persecuted refugees who claim their democratic right to asylum!

III. Fight against chauvinism and racism - Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Finally, the paper says:

"It is a question of making conscious that the 'modern migration of the peoples' is a consequence of the imperialistic exploitation of all peoples by a few imperialistic great powers. Above all it's a question of declaring war against this entire system based on exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and other working population...Workers of the World Unite!"

The November leaflet

The development of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) - A Part of the 'German misery'

dealt with the history and the development of this party:

"The history of the SED is of the highest significance for all revolutionary and communist forces. For the increasing wave of anti-communism can't be fought without complete clarity regarding the developmental stages of this party. It promised in 1945/46 to assume the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelman, the heritage of Frederic Engels and Carl Marx, and it ended with Honecker, Krenz, Modrow and Schalk-Golodkowski."

The leaflet begins by distancing itself from a false method of judging the history of the SED:

"We cannot simply judge developments by their results from our viewpoint today and simply condemn the SED lock, stock and barrel..."

With the difficult situation of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in 1945 in mind, the leaflet emphasizes:

"Those, who after 1945 set out to use the defeat of German imperialism to create a democratic, anti-fascist, peaceful Germany, to set out on the path of a socialistic Germany - those were the best women and men the German working class and working population had. All that cannot be forgotten, we respect all of that and we defend it. We won't let it be stamped into the dirt!...But to be just to the tradition of Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Thaelman, it's also necessary to practise an unsparing critique on all failures and mistakes made at that time."

Regarding the original situation in Germany after 1945, it continues:

"The resolutions of the Potsdam Agreement were decisive outlines for the creation of a democratic Germany in which the Nazis were justly to be oppressed... To do away with German militarism and Nazism it presented basic anti-fascist tasks in economic, political and ideological areas."

The situation of the communists in Germany was as follows:

"On the one hand a historic chance presented itself - participating in state power in the Soviet Occupation Zone - a rigorous anti-fascist and democratic struggle with the long-term goal of erecting the dictatorship of the proletariat and to lead the building up of socialism.

On the other hand, the situation was characterized by so many particularities, that a simple continuation of the line of the

of the KPD from before 1945 or even from 1933 wasn't possible. The danger in this way of revision of the principles of proletarian revolution was especially large.

The task of communists was then, in genuine struggle against both deviations - against schematism and against the revision of principles - to correctly apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions of Germany after 1945..."

In this observation of the development of the KPD or SED between 1945 and 1956, the leaflet highlighted in form of theses as essentially positive that

- * "... in the Soviet Occupation Zone the resolutions of the Potsdam Agreement were fulfilled in their basic points or were at least attempted..."
- * "...the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were published..."
- * "...sprouting seeds of socialistic democracy and economy became visible..."

The paper named as main critical points that

- * "...the KPD/SED abandoned itself to the sham that the majority of the people in the Soviet Occupation Zone - and later in the German Democratic Republic - already stood on their side. But in order to reach the reactionary incited masses, they made foul concessions to deep-rooted nationalistic ideology..."
- * "...as 'a consequence' the idea of the necessary and justified dictatorship over the Nazis was given up, resulting in the dilution of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat..."
- * "...thus neither a wide socialistic democracy nor critique and self-critique could be developed..."

The leaflet continues:

"A false line developed from initial mistakes and failures of the SED, which finally led to revisionistic betrayal".

The paper makes clear wherein one of the greatest crimes of the revisionists of the SED stood, namely:

"For decades they discredited socialistic and communistic ideals in that they presented their bungled copy of western imperialism as 'socialism'. Their lack of principles ended finally in the sell-out and the delivery of the GDR to West/German imperialism."

In conclusion the leaflet emphasizes the necessity of evaluating the experiences of the communist worker movement, including the experiences of the KPD and SED after 1946:

"Only through such an evaluation is it possible to proceed strengthened out of a defeat into the ideological struggle as well as to stand up against the imperialist anti-communists and their revisionist brothers. Only such an evaluation can illuminate our way to the proletarian revolution, to toppling West/German imperialism and to establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Gegen die Stromung" No. 59, 44 pg. appeared simultaneously with the following themes:
Report on an event organized in collaboration with female and male comrades of the "Westberliner Kommunist" and "Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Österreichs" regarding "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SED FROM 1946 TO 1956", at which the following topics were discussed:

- * The "Call of the Central Committee of the KPD of June, 1945"
- * The Potsdam Agreement
- * The Founding of the SED
- * The 'Special German Path' to Socialism
- * The Fight Against Nazi Ideology
- * Regarding the Character of State Power in the Soviet Occupation Zone/GDR
- * Living Conditions in the GDR
- * The 17th of July, 1953
- * A Deeper Struggle Against German Ideology
- II. Letters and Critiques from Readers in West Germany, West Berlin and the ex-GDR

In view of the tough, censor-like attitude of media reporting about neo-Nazi attacks, "Gegen die Strömung" published this leaflet in December, 1991:
"Spontaneously" the bourgeois lies are accepted:

Break through the power of the bourgeois media!

The issue begins by making clear that the West/German imperialist media:

"...is a solid component of a reactionary capitalist-imperialist system, serves it and has above all the function of securing this exploitative system..."

While the military...together with the police and justice system is responsible for the oppression of all those who defend themselves against this system, more than a hundred thousand editors, journalists and news agencies together with their almost technically perfect equipped apparatus are daily engaged in the forefront."

Further, concerning the different department of the West/German media army:

"They all are directed by ten to twelve large publishing houses, printed in their presses, provided by them with advertisements and distributed. That leads to, with remarkable agreement, really like upon command, that certain basic events in their core are presented absolutely the same and absolutely false."

A further core point is formulated in the paper:

*** Put an independant communist media up against the bourgeois media lies!**

"It's apparent in every country in the world how, in critical situations in the class struggle, television and radio media, newspaper editors and presses are the central points which are protected by the military - or occupied, when there's a power struggle between two ruling cliques - and immediately used. It's also apparent in every country in the world that in intensified class struggles, the communist press is forbidden by the ruling bourgeois class. The Communist Party then must and will find clever legal and illegal possibilities of exposing the bourgeois media and of explaining the tasks of revolution..."

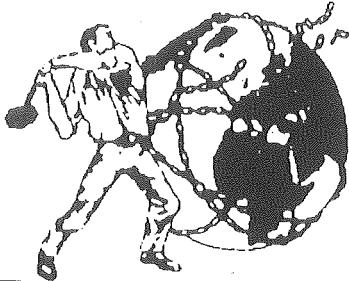
The working class in its struggles 'spontaneously' feels that this system isn't 'their' system at all, but will always 'spontaneously' be taken in by bourgeois ideology, for the simple reason that this ideology is more various and especially because it has a more widely branched and well organized network of distribution than communist ideology...

So that the working class is really made conscious of and organized for their very own cause, the socialist revolution, a gigantic battle is necessary against bourgeois ideology, against the bourgeois media and its influence on the minds of the workers...There must be a class struggle for the minds of the workers and other working peoples, a civil war on the battlefield of ideology."

Finally, the leaflet says that the Communist Party requires a well-equipped central organ in this battle, one that:

"carries a socialistic consciousness into the fighting working class, exposes the bourgeois media and declares war on them and the entire condemned to destruction imperialistic world system!"





Bulletin 2/92

Information for revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: january - march 1992

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, English, Russian and Spanish and Kurdish

In January, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
"Why West/German Imperialism Recognizes Croatia"

The leaflet begins by naming the actual reasons for the recognition of Croatia:

"The concern here is singly and solely *imperialistic power-politics, spheres of influence and the right to exploit the peoples of Yugoslavia*. Anything else is pretense and pure hypocrisy... The recognition of Croatia marks a decisive point in the policy of aggression of West/German imperialism."

And even if the outcome of the nationalistic slaughter can't yet be foreseen,

"the losers are already certain: the peoples of Yugoslavia."

A separate section documents the crimes of Nazi fascists in Yugoslavia: they murdered 10% of the Yugoslavian population until the Nazis were utterly defeated by the Yugoslavian People's Liberation Army, the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Red Army, who suffered great losses.

The leaflet continues:

"... The war in Yugoslavia was unquestionably desired and incited by West/German imperialism. It cleverly understands precisely in Yugoslavia how to exploit national prejudices and contradictions and how to incite national conflicts and discords exploiting them for its own purposes and to its own advantage."

In the section "The Fifth Column of West/German Imperialism", its methods are explained more precisely:

"West/German imperialism stirs up national conflicts, exacerbates them to national hatreds and observes with great satisfaction the breaking up of multiple-nationality states into "bite-size pieces". They often help themselves to the 'grandchildren' of collaborators with Nazi fascism and... reactionary portions of so-called or actual 'German minorities'..."

These groups, courted and financially supported by West/German imperialism, are frequently contaminated by a reactionary hyper-German body of thought and are intended to serve West/German imperialism as a base and reserve for its all-round advance towards the East..."

The leaflet documents atrocities of Ustasha Fasists in Croatia, who, supported by the Nazi fascists, founded the "Independent State of Croatia" on April 10, 1941. It was the only German-occupied country which carried out the murder of its Jewish population mainly under its own direction and in its own extermination camps. The leaflet continues:

"Two counter-revolutionary movements face each other in Yugoslavia today. The two main adversaries are the Greater Serbian chauvinists, after

the model of the monarcho-fascistic Chetniks, and the Croatian nationalists, who link onto the tradition of the Ustasha fascists...But indeed, these two forces don't stand alone. They are the playthings and implementing organs of imperialist great power interests."

The section "*Tasks and Perspectives*" concludes:

"It would be completely wrong, whether in Yugoslavia or any other East European country, to take sides with either reactionary opponent... The peoples of these countries will rise up violently against 'their' reactionary counter-revolutionary leaders sooner or later. They will band together in this fight...only in the struggle against nationalism, against the splitting of peoples, can the policies of imperialistic dismemberment be fought... The long-term plan of struggle can be nothing other than the revolutionary transformation of the entire hitherto existing social order..."

Our task will be to vigorously support all revolutionary forces in this country as in all others; to unrelentingly denounce the world-wide activities of West/German imperialism... and to develop the political force necessary to lead the struggle more massively than ever..."

The February Leaflet is entitled
The Wannsee Conference of 1942 - REMEMBER EVERYTHING!

By way of introduction the leaflet stated:

"50 years ago on January 20, 1942, Nazi-fascist executioners, the henchmen of German monopoly-capital, met in a Berlin villa to co-ordinate and perfect the already-begun genocide of the Jewish (and Sinti and Roma) populations of Europe. A historic world example should be and was made. The factory-like, industrial murder of entire peoples - that was the plan!"

There follows a description of the "normal" cruel terror of the Nazi fascists: prisons, concentration camps, pogroms, murder by firing squads, starvation and forced labor in countries occupied by Nazi fascists.

Nevertheless this kind of murder is different than the murder of Jewish and Sinti and Roma populations:

"It's the uniqueness of a genocide that was state-ordered, industrially organized, bureaucratically managed and cold-bloodedly carried out with a Prussian mentality."

*** A New Stage of Terror - The "Industrial" Murder of Entire Peoples!**

The leaflet expressly accentuates that:

"Nazi dictatorship is the open, terroristic dictatorship of financial capital."

At the same time, the leaflet stresses the necessity of fighting against the vulgarization of this absolutely correct conclusion of the Communist International:

"The system of arbitrariness and mass terror, as trademark of the Nazi fascist dictatorship in itself, shows that not every measure of the Nazi regime can be explained as resulting directly out of finance capital interests.

The over five million Jews from all occupied countries and additionally half a million Sinti and Roma, were not murdered just to break the

In March, 1991 appeared simultaneously "Gegen die Strömung" No.59, 44 pg. with the following themes:

- * A Document of the Struggle Against the Revisionist Counter-revolution: "Programmatic Declaration of the Revolutionary Communists of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) of 1966 (extracts)
- * Take the Socialist Soviet Union in Times of Lenin and Stalin as an Example!
- * Learn from Their Struggle Against Bureaucratism and Revisionism!
- * How Can We Explain the Khrushchev Revisionists' coming to power after the death of Stalin?

resistance put up by them...Sure that they were also killed in order to rob them of their money, possessions and property...

But neither pure economic profit interest nor concrete military needs can satisfactorily explain why... particularly in the years when the military defeat of the Nazi regime became ever clearer... why it was that the Nazi executioners continued to murder humans on a factory-like basis."

*** *Nazi Genocide - Also a Threat of German Imperialism for the future!***

The systematic policies of genocide took place in the deeper-lying and long-term interests of the actual power centers of the Nazi regime, in the interests of German monopoly capital, of German imperialism, which showed the peoples of the world what it's capable of doing...the system of Auschwitz as a monstrous product of the world system of imperialism, as self-creation of German imperialism, serves today more than ever as a threat to all peoples of the world.



For International Women's Day on March 8th
Clara Zetkin - For the Rights of Women of the Proletariat in the Fight For Communism

The leaflet introduction describes the worsening of living and working conditions of proletarian and working women in West Germany. It continues:

"On March 8th, precisely all those directly or indirectly responsible for the worsening situation of women hypocritically raise a hue and cry, proclaiming they are for the equality of women and against their being discriminated against: they are female politicians of bourgeois political parties, specialists of the labor unions, representatives of various so-called 'womens' organizations', etc... It's clearly no coincidence that one of the true pioneering fighters of women's equality, the firmly dedicated communist Clara Zetkin, is ignored. For Clara Zetkin proves that there is:

*** *No True Liberation of Proletarian Women Under Capitalism!***

The leaflet clarifies that even the most far-reaching demand for political equality

"does not abolish either private property of the means of production nor the class contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat; nor does it remove the causes of economic dependency and exploitation of the immense majority of women and men by the minority of women and men of property..." (C. Zetkin)

Even with the greatest successes in the struggle for a formal equality within capitalism, working women will be exploited and oppressed."

The leaflets expressly emphasizes that:

"The victory of the proletariat by means of revolutionary mass actions and civil war is impossible without the purposeful and unerring, ready for any sacrifice, fighting and dedicated participation of women from workaday peoples..."

But as long as women and men workers don't fight together against their common enemy, the imperialistic bourgeoisie, they'll never be able to achieve a decisive victory in this great struggle."

A separate section contains an excerpt from the "Documents of the First Party Conference of "Gegen den Stromung"
(4) - Report on the Discussion Regarding the Programmatic Resolutions of the First Party Conference":

* *"We must destroy the old "male standpoint" down to its last, finest roots - in the Party and in the masses." (Lenin in conversation with C. Zetkin)*

"This means female workers themselves must fight and overcome their lack of self-trust and their passivity, particularly in political work... Workers and especially communists must fight and discard their arrogance towards women... Our communistic work includes a large portion of educational work among men..." (C. Zetkin)

The leaflet continues:

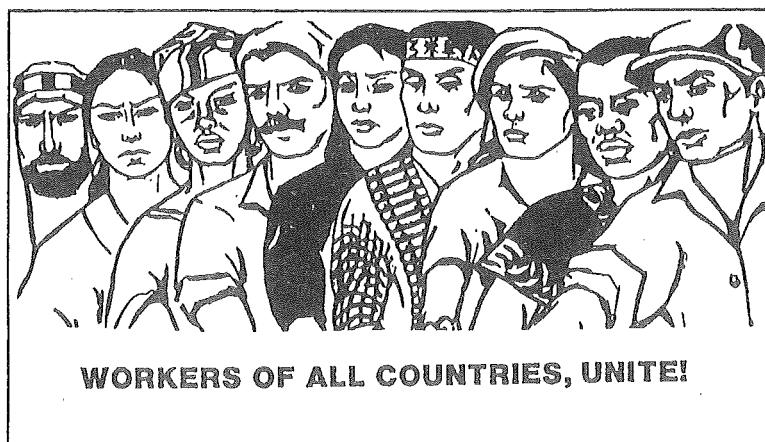
* *Only Communism Brings Real Liberation of Women!*

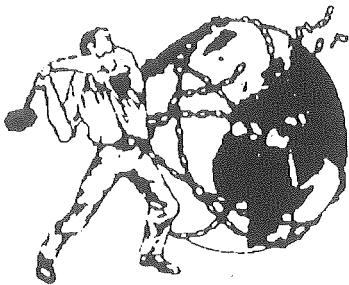
"The origin and development of oppression of women is closely linked with the origin of private property of the means of production, with the splitting of society into classes and with the origin of the state as tool of the ruling exploiter classes for holding down the oppressed classes.

All exploitative societies till now have been characterized by a special exploitation and oppression of women... Only with the overthrow of the imperialistic bourgeoisie in a proletarian revolution, with the violent demolition of the state apparatus and the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will preconditions be created to systematically fight and eliminate oppression and unequal treatment of women..."

And the leaflet concludes:

"First with communism, after the abolition of private property of the means of production, after the elimination of the exploiter classes and the disappearance of the remaining class contradictions, will the disadvantaging of women be completely eliminated."





Bulletin 3/92

*Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces
of all countries*

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: April - June 1992

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, English, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Kurdish

In April, the following leaflet was published by "Gegen die Strömung":
A Nazi criminal and his career: Nazi officer - Official of the revisionist SED
(Socialist Unity Party of Germany) - Top-level Social Democrat politician
What the "Just Case" shows us

The leaflet begins with the following:

"It had leaked out that Just was a volunteer in the Nazi-Wehrmacht when German imperialism attacked the Soviet Union; Gustav Just participated in the murder of Jewish prisoners, stately organized by the Nazis in the USSR. The circumstances of his resignation says a great deal about the way Nazi War Crimes are dealt with by the press of West/German imperialism: they systematically play them down or hush them up altogether. But these circumstances also tell us about the way the SED suppressed and hushed up the Nazi crimes in the Soviet Occupied Zone and the GDR."

A few examples illustrate the continuity of the personnel from Nazi fascism to the system of West/German imperialism:

"The representatives of German monopoly capital, Krupp, Abs, Flick and consorts - after 1945 they continued where they had left off before 1945...; Globke - co-author and commentator of the Nuremberg 'Race Laws' and later State Secretary under Adenauer and top-ranging CDU politician...; Kiesinger - head of the Nazi propaganda department and later West German Chancellor...; Filbinger - a Nazi judge and later Prime Minister of Baden-Wurttemberg...; Schleyer - an SS member and Heydrich's right hand in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, and later president of the West German 'Association of employers'...; H.J. Vogel - as a sergeant of the Nazi Wehrmacht in Northern Italy he hunted antifascist partisans and later was a.o. Federal Secretary of Justice and until recently chairman of the SPD...; Richard von Weizäcker - captain of the fascist German Wehrmacht and today president of the West German state..."

* The "Just case" - Also used as a ploy to divert attention from the rehabilitation of Nazi criminals in West Germany!

"It is intended to be hushed up that there was a qualitative difference in the way Denazification was carried out in the first years after 1945 in the Soviet Occupied Zone/GDR on the one hand and the Western Occupied Zones/FRG on the other."

Then, a separate paragraph entitled "*The SED and Denazification: Merits - Mistakes - Betrayals*" emphasizes that the great successes in Denazification achieved in the first years after 1945, under the control of the Red Army and with their crucial support, must be defended against all slander and lies.

Under the heading "*Expose the mistakes in Denazification in the GDR*", we document a declaration of the SED executive committee which, already in 1945, recommended to grant an amnesty to former members of the Nazi party with the exception of those serving sentences. Under the headline "*The SED betrayal of the Antifascist Struggle*" the leaflet states clearly that the efforts of high SED functionaries such as Pieck and Grotewohl for the release and pardoning of German war criminals imprisoned in the Sovietunion in 1956

"... was an outrageous lack of character and a milestone on the SED's path to a total loss of morals".

The taking over of the revisionist line of the 20th Party Conference of the CPSU by the SED

"... paved the way for a transformation of the SED into a revisionist party being completed in the 1960s. As a result, old Nazis were ever more unscrupulously appointed to important offices in the state apparatus and in the SED itself."

Further topics of the leaflet are:

* *In March alone three more murderd by neo-Nazi gangs! Don't underestimate the Nazi forces!*

* *Solidarity with the justified struggle of the Kurdish people!*

The May leaflet is entitled:

The working class in West Germany won't be ready to resign to the capitalist system!

The leaflet begins with a few highlights from the struggles of the proletariat and the other working population against the increasing worsening of their situation (a. o. the token strike of 50,000 steel workers for a wage hike at the end of 1991, the strike of 302 days of Bavarian granite workers against the reduction in piecework wages) - struggles which the bourgeois press eagerly tries to belittle.

The central points of the leaflet are:

* *The union apparatus of the DGB - an instrument of West/German imperialism*

* *The workers' aristocracy - shock troops of West/German imperialism*

* *Support the up-coming struggles in the factories! Let's participate and gain leadership! Denask the union apparatus and the opportunists!*

Another topic in the leaflet is "*The Role of the Working Class in the Revolution*":

* *Why is the proletariat the grave-digger of capitalism?*

"Since it does not own means of production and therefore has nothing to lose in the revolution except its chains. Thus, it is the only class which stands in steady and irreconcilable opposition to the bourgeoisie. It is connected with the large- scale production, the most progressive form of production, the basic form of production in socialism and communism. The concentration of the proletariat in factories facilitates its consciousness-raising, organisation and the creation of a conscious discipline among the members."

** Only the Communist Party is able to empower the proletariat, to lead the revolution to victory*

** The Marxist-Leninist Party must be built up mainly in the factories!*

"In the long run only then a real force can be set up to oppose West/German imperialism, i. e. the organised, communist-lead red mass terror of the majority of the working class against imperialist terror, its system of exploitation and oppression, its preparation for war!"

In June the following leaflet was published by "Gegen die Strömung":
To the declaration of the RAF of April 10, 1992:
Fight against taking the road to resignation!

The leaflet starts as follows:

"With great satisfaction the press of West/German imperialism commented on the declaration of the 'Red Army Fraction' to renounce violence for the time being... A declaration, in which an attempt is made to strike a 'deal' with the big-mouthed representatives of West/German imperialism, instead of, with a revolutionary basic attitude, correcting own mistakes critically or at least showing real readiness for discussion among all comrades."

Of the clear recognition of the RAF, i. e. that the present state of West/German imperialism cannot be reformed, that it is not a basically necessary institution with mistakes to be corrected, but the armed, murderous, unscrupulous machinery of West/German imperialism, which is to be fought without illusions, of this clear recognition, not much remains among the current leftovers of the RAF, instead

"various unmistakable signs for a capitulative, opportunistic line are beginning to surface..."

** No clear setting of goals in the revolutionary struggle*

"Precisely today, in a time when it is important to fight against resignation, when the difficult situation for all revolutionaries requires that above all the weak points of imperialism are analysed and made conscious, when it is important to show a clear line in the setting of goals in the revolutionary struggle and to hold out the perspective of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the perspective of communism, the RAF gives in to ideological and political pressure of West/German imperialism."

** The rotten theory of the "two fractions"*

"The construction of 'two fractions' of West/German imperialism is to be seen in contradiction to, even exactly in opposition to the policy of the RAF in the beginning years, i. e. a fraction of so-called 'agitators and ironbiters' and one which is said to stand for 'that in this state a really different attitude is starting to prevail'. This propagates nothing but illusions."

** Victory of modern revisionism*

"Whereas the majority of comrades in the beginning years of the RAF looked at the revisionist Soviet Union and other pseudo-socialist states in Eastern Europe as enemies of the revolutionary struggle, ... now there suddenly was talk of the 'socialist states'.

The increasing annexation of the GDR, the 'collapse of the socialist system of states' (as they called this distorted version of real socialism) - all this is the background for the capitulation of the RAF."

In the paragraph "*Our attitude towards the RAF*" the leaflet reflects about the catastrophic decline in the line of the RAF, the change to capitulation:

"First, a lot was unclear and wrong from the very beginning with the entire theoretical and programmatic work of the RAF. One of these things was the refusal of a real discourse among comrades.

Second, the core of their policy, i. e. to mobilize and succeed through the execution of important or leading personalities of imperialism, was wrong from the start.

Third, the struggle of the RAF has nevertheless taught us something; important experiences were gained for our ongoing revolutionary struggle..."

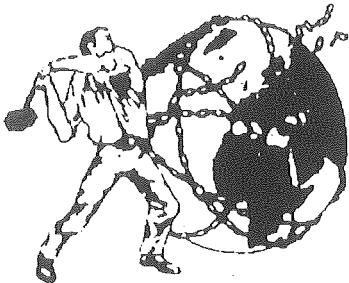
Additionally, the leaflet deals with the principal question of an armed struggle and individual terror. The following central points are stated:

** Common origin of "economism" and "terrorism": adoration of spontaneity*

"The followers of the spontaneous economic struggle and those of individual terror underestimate the activities of the masses and really have not realized the real task, i. e. *linking the revolutionary work with the working class in order to form a whole (Lenin)*."

** Not a moral, but a tactical question! For the red proletarian mass terror!*

"The communists do not condemn the use of terror as a whole. They ask the question of combining terror with the revolutionary mass movement, educating the masses to use revolutionary mass terror against their oppressors and exploiters... Red, proletarian mass terror against counter-revolution - that's what communists have to propagate towards the followers of individual terror!"



Bulletin 4/92

*Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces
of all countries*

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: July - September 1992

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Kurdish

In July, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
Against the appeasement policy of the DGB bosses, let's support the growing workers' movement with all our might!

The introduction of the leaflet states:

"In view of the planned introduction of a 'qualifying day', the indignation especially among the members of the IG Metall was so great that there have already been token strikes on a considerable scale. On their side, the capitalists are testing how far they can go. And the DGB bosses are playing the same game as they already did during the great öTV strike three months ago: gathering the lead of the movement in order to strangle any militant developments among the working women and men!"

Crucial points of the leaflet are:

* *Strike back the attacks of West/German imperialism against the living conditions of the working population!*

In the paragraph "*Lessons from the öTV strike*", the strike of the employees of the public service, with a temporary participation of more than 400.000 colleagues, is considered in closer detail: each stage in the betrayal of the union leadership is unmasked; at the same time, the paragraph shows how to wage the struggle in the correct manner.

* *The economic struggles of the working population - only a first step!*

"...While the strikes of spring dealt mainly with wage claims, the token strikes against the plans for the introduction of qualifying days are more and more political, directed, as they are, against the community of interest of the capitalists and their politicians. In these struggles, the ground can be prepared for the insight that the West/German state apparatus is not an institution standing above the classes, but that it is the executing instrument of the ruling imperialists."

* *The progressive youth movement and the workers' movement must fight together!*

"...The protest against the curtailment of democratic rights, against neo-nazi actions and racism, against police state and the Federal Army is stirring predominantly among the youths. Important and appropriate as all of these actions are, their political horizon is unfortunately all too often quite restricted: The task to unite themselves closely with the workers movement is often explicitly rejected. Many youths are lacking the insight into the strength and power of a progressive, a revolutionary worker's movement.

...On the other hand, progressive colleagues, female and male, are often lacking the readiness to practically connect their own struggle with the great political questions of the struggle against West/German imperialism."

*** Struggle in the factories and in the street! Death to West/German imperialism!**

"It is the task of the Communist forces, of the Communist Party, to propagate incessantly the union between the workers' movement and the progressive youth movement, to show that all particular questions of the fight cannot be solved otherwise than within the frame of the struggle for the proletarian revolution."

The August leaflet carries the title:

THE BUNDESWEHR - murderous war machine of West/German imperialism

By way of introduction, the text of the leaflet reads:

"After almost 40 years of intense preparations, the Bundeswehr gets closer and closer to its murderous operation plans. The Adria operation of the destroyer 'Bayern', air force operations even over the territory of Yugoslavia and a more and more massive attuning of the domestic population to the 'new role of Germany in the world' are characteristic of the present situation ... As soon as the first 'German soldier' has been killed in action, as soon as then finally the opportunity to 'shoot back' has arrived, domestic police terror will accordingly also move into high gear in order to stifle protests before they have really started. The conscious and organized struggle against this highly armed military machine requires of the revolutionary forces a profound confrontation with the history of German militarism and the politically and psychologically well considered campaign for the glorification of the Bundeswehr."

The leaflet makes clear that the war preparations of West/German imperialism do not consist in military preparation only:

*** Deceit - one of the most important weapons of imperialist war strategy**

"... One, if not the most important maneuver of them all consists in the juggling with 'humanitarian aid' ... For most of the so-called 'humanitarian actions' are, first, nothing else but military relief - hence, in the war in Yugoslavia relief for the Croatian Ustasha fascists favoured by West/German imperialism whose forces are that way less wound down by evacuation and relief for the wounded, ... second, they are, so to speak, 'advertising costs' of West/German imperialism to win over the Croatian as well as its 'own' domestic population to get a more solid support for later military operations."

*** The Bundeswehr - instrument of imperialist aggression and counterrevolution**

"... 40 years after the war conducted by the most barbarous means on the side of the nazis, West/German imperialism prepares once again for worldwide, imperialist and counterrevolutionary operations. A large part of its territory supposedly 'lost' in World War II is now being incorporated by West/German imperialism in the form of the former German Democratic Republic ... Economically, it is strengthened by the process ... Its army, the Bundeswehr, counts among the best-armed armies of the world ... In addition to all that it commands a propaganda apparatus that would make even Goebbels pale with envy."

In October 1992 appeared the 47-page number 60 of "Gegen die Strömung" with the title:

"The Bundeswehr - murderous war machine of West/German imperialism"

Treated are the following themes:

- ♦ Militarization in all realms of life
- ♦ Arms exports
- ♦ Operations abroad
- ♦ The Bundeswehr as civil war army
- ♦ Firing order of the Bundeswehr
- ♦ Unbroken tradition to the Naziwehrmacht
- ♦ The Bundeswehr and Karl Marx

Bundeswehr is undoubtedly such an army - can only be done by the *civil war army of the proletariat, in the armed insurrection...*"

In September, there appeared the leaflet with the following title:
Pogroms in Rostock and elsewhere orchestrated by West/German imperialism:
THERE'S A SYSTEM BEHIND IT!

The introduction of the leaflet reads like this:

"In West/German imperialism's power realm, nightly raids organized by neo-Nazi killers and murderers against accomodations of refugees or working women and men from other countries continue uninterruptedly. Daily there are murderous arson attacks - and this by no means only on the territory of the former GDR, but also in West Germany. Nevertheless, the events in Rostock or recently in Quedlinburg had their own special quality in several respects: More clearly than ever before, the police of West/German imperialism demonstrated that it is carrying out the business of the neo-Nazist criminals. But in Rostock, it also turned out that a refugees' accomodation could be bombarded by neo-Nazis with stones and Molotovcocktails for several days accompanied by the exultations and cheers of hundreds and even thousands of people who were unorganized but fanaticised by neo-Nazi propaganda."

Main points of the leaflet are:

*** No "understanding" for and no concessions whatever to worthy people and incendiaries!**

"... During the pogrom nights in Rostock and in the aftermath, a dirty flood of 'sympathetic journalism' was unleashed ... Not only the politicians of all the parties in Bonn declared their 'understanding' towards the 'population' of Rostock, the media literally teemed with so-called 'background analyses' about why everything supposedly had to come out this way, and that 'actually' everything was not the fault of the upright, hand-clapping citizens, but of the refugees themselves, their mere existence, their 'large number' and, in addition to that, their unGerman behaviour."

The pogroms in Rostock were targeted specifically against the Roma from Romania. For that reason, the systematic racist agitation in Nazi jargon against Roma from Romania that has continued for months is more closely dealt with in

*** The Bundeswehr and Karl Marx**

"...Marx and Engels knew that such armies like the Bundeswehr *do not disappear by themselves*,... that every really serious confrontation with this army, with this state, with the whole capitalist system means *civil war*. They showed the impossibility to overcome such an army simply by 'convincing' the soldiers, i.e. 'from the interior' only ... The most important work for the *crushing of the army* of an imperialist country - and the

the leaflet's paragraph "*Fight the agitation against the Roma!*", since especially for them and all Sinti and Roma our particular solidarity is meant.

** Without giving the neo-Nazis and their active supporters any quarter - let's fight first of all the politics of West/German imperialism! The brown plague flows from this state!*

"...The attacks ... of the neo-Nazis are a direct component of a concept of West/German imperialism: to agitate it's own population in a nationalistic and racist manner in order to distract from the international and 'German' crisis coming to a head, as well as from the continuing worsening of the living conditions etc."

** Capitalism and Nazis*

In consideration of the fact that statements like "Capitalism leads to fascism" are nowadays rarely expressed anymore, not to speak of a comprehensive explanation and foundation, the leaflet underlines that

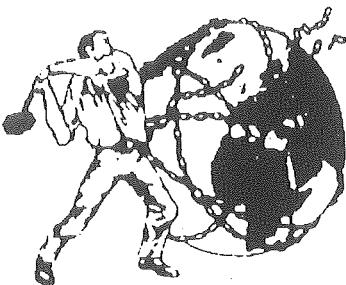
"... it is a primary task of the Communist forces to point out the inseparable connection between capitalism and fascism."

"Rostock is not located in West Germany", reads a statement in a separate paragraph: many antifascists have travelled to Rostock to demonstrate their active solidarity. That was the right thing to do, but it requires the insight on the side of the antifascist forces from Western Germany that the responsibility to lead the struggle against the Nazi-terror in their working region must rest primarily with the progressive and revolutionary forces of the former GDR, because

"...only on that base, mutual support is possible and does not lead to leadership claims of so-called 'leftists', trailing West/German imperialism in its politics of a more and more complete annexation of the former GDR."

** Enhance the active struggle against the Nazi criminals! Let's build a strong Communist Party with all our forces!*

"...The struggle has to be carried out more energetically than heretofore, not only against the Nazi gangs and the terror of the state apparatus but against West/German imperialism and its state apparatus themselves! We must prepare ourselves and others for a long fight with the predominant clear aim of a profound change, of the revolutionary change, of the struggle for the proletarian revolution, for the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, shoulder to shoulder with the working class of all countries, shoulder to shoulder with 'the wretched of the earth'!"



Bulletin 5/92

*Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces
of all countries*

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: October - December 1992

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Kurdish

In October "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

**The swindles of the Treuhand and the exploiters'
phrase-mongering of the West/German bourgeoisie**

From the introductory section of the leaflet:

"... At the same time as monstrous swindles are being perpetrated with the mentality of colonial exploiters and early-capitalist slavedrivers, through gigantic financial operations bringing in hundreds of millions of Marks, the West/German imperialists rub salt in the wound: in a professionally-produced stage act with carefully allocated roles, with constant references to the so-called 'costs of unification', a universal campaign against trade union rights and for harsher exploitation of the working masses is being prepared and carried out."

*** Ex-GDR factories: merely scrap and rubble?**

"The 'Treuhand' ['trustee'] is the decisive lever with which the allegedly 'people's own' factories, in the hands of the revisionist GDR-bourgeoisie, are being flogged off cheap to the West/German capitalist class. The West/German imperialists use the deliberately created lie of a 'totally washed-out ex-GDR' for this purpose."

The leaflet then explains the purpose of this propaganda lie, which is:

"to present the current plundering of the working population in the ex-GDR as an 'unavoidable kill-or-cure remedy', and to make the Treuhand's closing-down-sale with its bargain prices 'understandable'... This lie also serves to make the 'flattening' of factories, which are in principle capable of functioning, seem reasonable."

The leaflet makes it clear that there is a method to the sowing of confusion by the West/German bourgeoisie: First of all they sang hymns of praise to 'German unity' as a guarantor of economic upturn and secure jobs, now they are suddenly outdoing each other in their negative assessments of the situation,

"...in order to use so-called 'exemption' or 'relaxation' clauses *to cut wages drastically and to reduce social benefits and the democratic rights of trades unions.*"

To illustrate these processes the activities of the Treuhand and their consequences for working people are dealt with in more detail in a special section "*Treuhand trustee = Trusty hands of West/German capital*". The leaflet exposes the attempts of PDS politicians to put themselves at the forefront of the justified protests against the Treuhand, reminding us that:

"...it was precisely the SED/PDS that prepared the way for selling off the GDR economy; except that its barons had envisaged having one or two more positions in the Treuhand apparatus for themselves."

Following on from "*The West/German imperialists: scorn and derision for the working population of the ex-GDR*", the leaflet continues:

* *Three years of direct annexation of the ex-GDR*

The annexation of the GDR by West/German imperialism is in many respects well advanced. Given a lack of clear facts about the precise stage that this process has reached, it is hard to say which is the 'lesser lie' in the continually changing stream of propaganda lies coming from the West/German bourgeoisie: one moment there are just 'minor transition problems', the next we're told once again that the 'alignment of East and West' will take 10 or 25 years. It is however incontrovertible that in the ex-GDR

"...there is far too little mass struggle against the consequences of annexation, let alone against the annexation itself. It is also a fact that those struggles which nevertheless do take place have a greater significance and are therefore deliberately ... played down and hushed-up.

...The absence of a truly revolutionary, communist-oriented force in the ex-GDR, which would examine the burning issues from the point of view of the working class of the ex-GDR, and which would elaborate and propagate the fundamental questions of current politics and perspectives for the socialist revolution - not least in contrast to the experience of the revisionist GDR rulers -; the absence of a force that would openly seek to discuss all these questions with the revolutionary communist forces of all countries, is painfully obvious. *All forces in the ex-GDR that endeavour to fill this gap must receive our unconditional support and solidarity...*"

A further topic of the leaflet is an article on:

* *Revanchist provocation: Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the V2 rocket in Peenemünde.*

8 November 1992: Justified protests against the West/German imperialist politicians' propaganda show:

Resist the smear-tactic arguments against the rigorous anti-Nazis!

By way of introduction the leaflet says:

"On 8 November the political representatives of West/German imperialism organised a large-scale state show, held of course in 'Greater-Berlin' of all places. But their hypocritical show, planned above all for the foreign media, didn't pass off without one or two blemishes. Many of the 300,000 demonstrators hadn't come to demonstrate for Kohl, Vogel and Weizsäcker, but against the Nazi excesses of recent years, months and weeks. And many were also demonstrating against the state's deportation policy and against abolishing the right of asylum..."

* *How the rigorous anti-Nazis were declared to be public enemy No. 1*

"It was blatant provocation when all the Kohls, Vogels and Weizsäckers, who as pupils of Goebbels stir up feelings against the refugees, ... announced that one must give in in the face of the Nazi-pogroms and regulate the 'stream of refugees' ... In doing so they desecrated the memory of the nearly 100 Jews who were murdered during the Nazi-pogroms in November 1938, of the over 20,000 who were thrown into Nazi

concentration camps and maltreated, and of the more than 200 synagogues and houses of prayer that were destroyed.

The same people who welcomed and signed the treaties for deporting survivors of the genocide on the Sinti and Roma to Romania suddenly began making hypocritical noises about 'loving thy neighbour' and the 'dignity of the individual'. The fact that this was too much for the real anti-Nazis, that they took action against this repulsive hypocrisy, was sufficient reason for a vile orgy of beatings ... The No. 1 enemy had been identified, a propaganda offensive against the consistent anti-Nazis filled the pages of every newspaper."

The leaflet goes on to expose and comprehensively refute the propaganda against the rigorous anti-Nazis:

Smear-argument 1: "Everyone, from Kohl through to the Left, must stand together against the Nazis"

Smear-argument 2: "The protests against Mr. Kohl only help the Right"

Smear-argument 3: "Violence is violence, so the Left are like the Nazis!"

The leaflet continues:

"What the West/German imperialist politicians and the Nazis really fear is a mobilisation of the truly progressive revolutionary and communist forces that have already been declared extinct!"

In addition the leaflet has a brief statement on:

** Solidarity with the revolutionary Kurdish liberation struggle!
Solidarity with revolutionary comrades in Peru!*

In December "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Hundreds of thousands demonstrate against the Nazi murderers
No confidence in this state that produces the brown plague!

"It's a contradictory situation: hundreds of thousands demonstrate against the Nazi murderers, among them above all young people. And those behind the brown plague, the representatives of this state, rub their hands and convert the demos into 'demonstrations against inaccurate reporting abroad', against the alleged 'foreign atrocity propaganda', as it used to be called.

It will be of crucial importance in combatting this unscrupulous manipulation of the justified outrage against the increase of Nazi murders to direct the outrage ... quite clearly against this state and its lies. Because it is from this state that the brown plague comes; the state only moves against the Nazis when it is put under pressure by actions of the real anti-Nazis, by international publicity (arising from very varied motives) and by the peoples of the world who will never forget the Nazi crimes...

At the same time as the state, acting under all the constraints and pressures caused by these factors, tries to create the impression of genuinely being against the Nazis, it also presses ahead with further limitations of democratic rights; prepares to apply emergency laws; plans ever more directly and openly to deploy the federal army all over the world; and prepares for the biggest deportation action against asylum-seekers that Germany has ever seen..."

As a contribution to the debate over why this is happening and what the links are between Nazi-fascism and capitalism, between the democratic struggle against the Nazis and the necessary preparation of the socialist revolution, there follow "Theses for discussion":

The dictatorship of the West/German bourgeoisie, behind the parliamentary veil, is intensifying political oppression

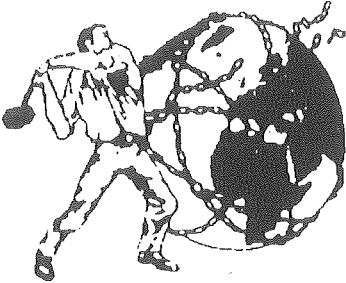
- * *Parliamentarism: a cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*
- * *Special features of the Bonn parliamentary republic*
- * *The neatly allocated roles of the Bonn parties in concealing the dictatorship of West/German imperialism*
- * *State 'fascistification' and Nazi-parties/Nazi-gangs*
- * *The struggle for democratic rights and preparing for the socialist revolution*

"Imperialism: it's reaction all the way down the line. The forms of struggle that are legally available to the working class and other working people are being constantly reduced ... West/German imperialism will go further and further down this road. The struggle against each and every such reduction of democratic rights, in each individual case and in the widest context, is absolutely essential, so that - without giving rise to illusions as to the nature of this state apparatus, this parliamentarily-concealed dictatorship - above all the forces of proletarian revolution can be brought together and organised.

A decisive factor in this process will be to use these struggles, like all other short-term struggles, to develop the consciousness of the working class about the situation and about the tasks of a revolutionary workers' movement. In other words, to create socialist consciousness and in practical terms, wherever possible, to take mass struggles beyond the narrow limits of legalism and pacifism. The struggle to defend democratic rights against state 'fascistification' and Nazi-gangs and Nazi-parties must be ordered and subordinated as part of the struggle to prepare and carry out the socialist revolution to overthrow the present social system." (The theses presented here are taken, largely unaltered, from GDS No. 48 "Documents of the 1st Party Conference - Death to West/German Imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism!")

Further topics of the leaflet are:

- * *Attempts to 'blot out' the Nazi-murders of Silvio, Vahide, Yeliz and Ayse*
- * *Fifty years ago: the defeat of the Nazi-Wehrmacht at Stalingrad!*



Bulletin 1/93

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: January - March 1993

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Kurdish

In January "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
60 years ago, on 30 January 1933, German finance-capital entrusted the Nazi-fascists with the political representation of its interests

Against falsification and simplification:

Understand the significant characteristics of Nazi-fascism!

"On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Adolf Hitler's appointment as Reichskanzler there seem to be almost no limits to the idiocies being propagated about the 30 January 1933, about the Nazis, about fascism and its origins and history."

On the one hand there's the 'argumentation' of West/German imperialism's open propagandists: through a 'distancing' from Hitler they attempt to hush up the fact that Nazi-fascism was inseparably allied with German imperialism and the capitalist system. At the same time there are vast numbers of pseudo-marxist characters who only appear to act in opposition to these imperialist ideologues and who:

"... with their stupid simplifications discredit correct theses and arguments by presenting them as absolute, and thus function as cue-givers for other varieties of anti-communism."

The leaflet makes it clear that these simplifications, in the final analysis, serve but one purpose, namely:

"to move German chauvinism and the unique features of Nazi-fascism out of the firing line of criticism."

*** Open terrorist dictatorship by finance-capital and the shared responsibility of the German people**

The leaflet counters the suggestion that drawing attention to the German people's share of guilt allegedly takes finance-capital out of the firing line:

"... It is the task of communist forces - today as much as then - to make clear, in contrast to the imperialist ideologues and others who falsify the facts,

that, as has been proved, German finance-capital as a whole handed over its political affairs to the Nazi-fascists, and

that at the same time a significant characteristic of Nazi-fascism was that it was able to create - through the use of terror and chauvinistic rabble-rousing, through flattery and through the SS concentration camp system - a hitherto unprecedented mass foundation among the German people for German imperialism for the smashing of the labour movement, for the campaign of hatred against the Jewish population, for wars of conquest and genocide."

*** Not only the smashing of the German labour movement ...**

Countering the one-sided and simplistic theses that it was the only aim of the Nazi fascist dictatorship to smash the German labour movement, the leaflet emphasizes:

"... Nazi-fascism simply cannot be reduced to a single aspect... It was not only a war of conquest against the peoples of Europe and the socialist Soviet Union, but also a substantial element in the international counter-revolution to defeat the forces of international revolution."

*** The profit motive and industrially-organised genocide**

Prisons, concentration camps, forced labour, starving people out, pogroms, systematic executions, mass murder - the 'everyday work' of the Nazi executioners. And yet this kind of murder is different from the murder of the Jewish population and of the Sinti and Roma:

"The point here is the uniqueness of this genocide, state-ordained and industrially organised, bureaucratically regulated and carried out in cold blood with a Prussian mentality..."

In contrast to vulgar marxist positions, which reduce every measure of the Nazi-fascists to an immediate economic interest and thus play down the particularly aggressive nature of German imperialism, the leaflet explains:

"Of course Nazi-fascism didn't mean that the supreme law of imperialism, the quest for profit, ceased to apply ... But the economic interests of the German capitalists are not enough to explain Auschwitz ... The point was rather to set an example, worldwide and for '1,000 years', of brutality and cruelty such as had never before occurred in the history of the world. This occurred in accordance with deeper, long term interests of Germany monopoly capitalism, of German imperialism, which thus showed peoples everywhere what it is capable of."

"*Why discuss Nazi-fascism now?*" - is a question many anti-fascists ask. In a special section the leaflet answers:

"Anyone who wants to conduct a really consistent fight against today's neo-nazis, a radical fight which goes to the root of the problem, must also fight West/German imperialism itself and its ideology, ... namely the *Nazi ideology*, which is basically just the ideology of the German bourgeoisie taken to its extreme: *German chauvinism, nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism!*"

The February leaflet is titled:
More important than ever:

Study Marx and Engels' "Manifesto of the Communist Party!"

By way of introduction the leaflet says:

"Things are starting to move in the working class ... Tens of thousands of steelworkers and their families take to the streets in the Ruhr area to protest against the planned liquidation of their jobs. In the ex-GDR ... workers are coming together in a defensive struggle against the politics of robbery practised by the West/German imperialists ... At the moment these struggles are still just locally or regionally limited and have an economic defensive character. In order to give these struggles a wider perspective, to bring them together to a class struggle of the proletariat against its

In January 1993 the editorial bodies of "Rote Fahne" (central organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria), "Westberliner Kommunist" and "Gegen die Strömung" published a joint position paper, 64 pages in length, the third part of the analysis of the Communist International

The contemporary relevance of the theses of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International

ON THE AGRICULTURAL QUESTION

Also contains:

The successes of the revolution in the rural areas of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and the devastating consequences of the betrayal by the Krushchev revisionists

arch-enemy the bourgeoisie, a great deal more is necessary. For this reason we believe that a study of the 'original text' of all communists throughout the world, of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' by K. Marx and F. Engels, is more important than ever."

The leaflet emphasises the following key points from the "Manifesto of the Communist Party":

* *Workers of all countries, unite!*

* *The proletariat: grave-diggers of capitalism*

* *The most radical rupture of all, in two senses*

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." (Marx/Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party")

In conclusion, from the section headed "*Let us learn from the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'*":

"The 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' is, however, not only a scientific analysis of the laws of motion which govern human society and of capitalism in particular, an analysis and evaluation of the position of the various classes in relation to one another, it is above all also a *political programme, a guide to revolutionary action!...*"

A further topic of the leaflet is a topical contribution on the way the West/German imperialist media is "*Covering-up Nazi and police murders*" and their background.

In March "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Stalin and chauvinism are incompatible!

"... The bourgeois media are foaming at the mouth: portraits of Stalin alongside the Pamyat placards of Great-Russian nationalists on one and the same demonstration! And in reality: people demonstrated in Moscow and other cities of the ex-Soviet Union with pictures of Stalin. At the same time, though, the murderous generals were demonstrating, their defeat in Afghanistan still undigested, the Great-Russian chauvinists and the Tsarist forces. Anti-Semitic filth was washed up, incompatible and conflicting positions appeared to coexist alongside one another... In truth, however, Great-Russian chauvinism is incompatible with Stalin..."

The leaflet makes it clear that the defence of Comrade Stalin's positions plays a central role in the coming ideological struggle against the many-layered ideologies of the exploiters, especially

"in a country like imperialist West/Germany, which has never got over the defeat of Nazi-fascist Germany, brought about by the socialist Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership, and never will get over it."

Alongside a separate section "*Stalin was an unshakeable enemy of anti-Semitism!*" the leaflet also includes an appeal from 'Gegen die Strömung' "*To the true communist forces in the formerly socialist Soviet Union!*" which exposes what lay behind the phrases about "state socialist property" and "socialist democracy" etc. after the 20th Party Congress of modern revisionism in 1956, namely the repressive exploitative system of the revisionist bourgeoisie. The appeal makes it clear that the point must be

"... not merely to wave pictures of Lenin and Stalin, but to understand the weapon of Lenin and Stalin, their central ideas as a weapon, as a guide to action, as the starting point for a truly principled political and ideological platform ..."

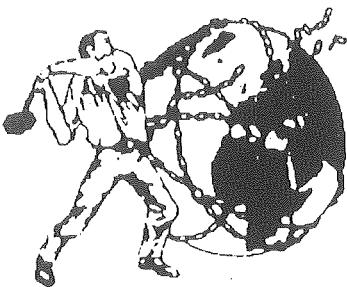
* *Stalin's nationalities policy*

"In the course of solving the national question in the socialist USSR, in the struggle against Great-Russian chauvinism and also against nationalism and chauvinism in other regions, the communists in the USSR were often faced with very complicated situations and, no doubt, some mistakes were made in practice. The basic line of the nationalities policy worked out by Lenin and Stalin gave them a correct orientation, however, in order to tackle these questions in the right way on the whole, and in order to combat and correct deviations and practical mistakes from a correct basic position..."

The leaflet explains how this correct nationalities policy was revised from top to bottom after the rise to power of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionists, as expressed for example in their continual attempts to introduce Russian as the official language in all Republics of the Soviet Union or in their demotion to cheap raw material producers for Russia.

* *Stalin - defender of proletarian internationalism*

"The victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front; the formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country', for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations' (Engels)." (J. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, Peking 1979, page 77)



Bulletin 2/93

**Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces
of all countries**

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: April - June 1993

Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Kurdish

On the occasion of the 1th of May, the international fighting day of the proletariat, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Resistance Will Develop Out of The Enterprises Themselves!

West/German imperialism is advancing in all areas: internationally, it promotes the looting of the oppressed peoples, especially in the Eastern European countries it takes advantage from the incitement of nationalist bellicose conflicts, the worldwide military operations of the Federal Army (Bundeswehr) are propagated and extended more and more, in West Germany itself and on the area of the former GDR, state terror, deportations and arrests of refugees are the order of the day, and the Nazi murders continue. In the meantime, as the leaflet stresses,

"... the social conditions of the broad masses of the working people are also worsening, while their exploitation is enhanced."

The struggles of the last months in the enterprises, documented in a special section, make clear that justified resistance against this is developing, but that it is for the time being primarily directed against rationalisation and the closure of enterprises, like at Krupp-Hoesch in Rheinhausen, Siegen and Hagen.

* *The appeasement politics of the union bosses*

The bosses of the DGB (German Federation of Trade Unions) play a decisive role in the combat against and the sabotage of these resistance actions. Apart from fulfilling the task of "justifying" to the working people the worsening of their living conditions with German nationalistic arguments, they time and again succeed, by their enormous union apparatus,

"... by their financial means, their connections and their network of professional union leaders, in putting themselves at the forefront of the labour struggles and switch them off like pushing a button at their will ... This 'little game' serves, on the one hand, 'to release steam'... But much more important and lasting is the demoralizing effect. A feeling of powerlessness and disappointment is spread!"

* *The class consciousness of the working men and women doesn't arise spontaneously*

The experiences gathered in these fights are indispensable for the further development of the struggles in West Germany; in these struggles

"... arises the germ form of the consciousness about the possibilities and tasks ... of the proletariat - no more, but also no less. Because spontaneously, the ruling ideology, the ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie gains time and again the upper hand ... 'For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is, from its provenance, much older than the socialist one, because it is developed more multifariously, because it disposes of incomparably more means of dissemination' (Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", 1902)."

Precisely the West/German bourgeoisie, which counts among the most experienced in the world in the ideological subjugation of the working people, succeeds over and over again in canalizing the

struggles of the working women and men and in using them for its own ends. For that reason, the experiences of the spontaneous struggles are not sufficient to get to the roots of the evil, to overturn West/German imperialism. For this, proletarian class consciousness is required:

"The political class consciousness can be given to the worker only from the outside, from a realm outside of the economic struggle ... The area out of which alone this knowledge can be derived consists in the relations of all classes and strata to the state and to the government, consists in the mutual relationships between all classes' (Lenin, "What Is To Be Done", 1902)."

Proletarian class consciousness is not only derived from the assessment of the international relations of the classes, the knowledge of the international entanglements of the forces of revolution and counterrevolution.

"The rich treasure in experience of the struggles of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples ... are also an indispensable source of the proletarian consciousness. And what finally counts is not only the experiences and struggles of today but also the struggles of generations of working women and men, their victories and defeats ... Proletarian class consciousness rests precisely on the knowledge of Marxism Leninism, ... which has evaluated and generalized the totality of the experiences of the class struggles."

*** First of May - fighting day of the working women and men of the whole world!**

Today, where the imperialists are on the advance, where they succeed everywhere in inciting the peoples against each other and in dealing heavy blows to the revolutionary movement against world imperialism,

"... it is all the more important to comprehend that it's not only the reactionary exploiters of one's own country who are part of an international counterrevolutionary imperialist force. On the contrary, it is also necessary to stress and propagate that, on the other hand, every single revolutionary struggle in the whole world is part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction, ... Workers of all countries, unite!"

A further topic of the leaflet is an article titled: *"Fight against the further expansion of the revanchist Federal Army!"*:

*** Let's fight against the military operations of the Federal Army in Ex-Yugoslavia and Somalia! Combat the preparations for war!**

In May, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

The Rule of Financial Capital and The Rising "National Debts"

In the introduction, it says:

"In every respect and at every opportunity, not only the real wages of large portions of the working population are reduced, but the social contributions by the state are also cut ... As accompanying music, a big hullabaloo is staged by the capitalists, their associations and speakers, their rented hacks ... and their politicians about the 'urgent necessity' of all this, because, after all, the 'German economy' is lying deep down lowly, the debts are driving the state into bankruptcy etc. In short, they want to drill the ideology of 'saving' into the heads of the people, to awaken the readiness for sacrifices in the 'the national interest' and, by means of a mixture of half truths and lies to paralyse and break the fighting will of the broad masses of the working people in town and countryside."

*** National debts - in the direct interest of financial capital!**

When somebody has debts, he's got to lend money from somebody who has more than enough of it. The fact that the West/German state has billions of marks of debts and is paying billions in interest for

In May 1993, no. 62 of "Gegen die Störmung" was published, containing 120 pages, on the matter

On The Resistance in The Concentration- and Extermination Camps of Nazi-Fascism

From the content:

- * The Concentration- and extermination camps in the system of Nazi-fascism
- * The armed insurrections in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka and Sobibor

and the real crisis

The leaflet makes plain that with its "wailing about crisis", the West/German bourgeoisie is pursuing the aim

"...in economic terms, to 'justify' the enhanced looting of the mass of the working people, especially the working class, with respect to politics, to enforce the rising militarisation and fascistisation of the state apparatus for reason of 'security' (for their power), and ideologically, of an intensified use of the poison of German chauvinism as supposed answer to the 'crisis of sense'."

At the same time it is impossible to overlook that the imperialist world system is stuck in a crisis: unimaginable poverty and hunger of the peoples of the world exploited and oppressed by imperialism, excess production, unemployment, shop closures in the imperialist countries - manifestations of crisis everywhere. In difference from, for example, the world economic crisis of 1929, especially the West/German imperialism manages

"... to make use for profitable capital investments ... of the national bankruptcy of the formerly revisionist countries Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union etc., to expand its realm of influence and to draw billions over billions out of these countries and areas."

Especially the annexation and looting of the former GDR shows with striking clarity that the unfolding crisis is not yet an immediate danger for the billions of profits of West/German imperialism, because hidden behind their bewailing of the "costs of unity," there is

"... an enormous increase in production sites and capital for West/German financial capital."

**** Economic crisis and revolutionary struggles***

"Every crisis that is serious to some degree and really threatening to imperialism will never be a 'purely economic' crisis, but at the same time it will always be the result of massive and extensive revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world and the revolutionary oriented class struggles of the working class in one's own country."

The leaflet points out that, contrary to the situation in 1929, today, with no strong Communist movement worldwide or in its own country leading the struggle against it, West/German imperialism has achieved a certain stability, a "regulation" of the working class, despite important and necessary labour struggles during the last years.

**** No illusions in West/German imperialism***

them only shows that there is enough money there, that the banks, that West/German financial capital are only too eager to lend the required billions.

"So the fact of the subordination of the whole state apparatus to ... financial capital can be proven clearly: The banks and combines dictate the basic traits ... of the policy of West/German imperialism, ... because, not least, the state apparatus is firmly in their hands also and especially in financial terms..."

In a particular section, the leaflet deals more closely with the questions *"Who profits from the national debts?"* and *"How do national debts actually emerge?"*. Further down, it talks about

**** The hullabaloo about the crisis***

In the face of the worldwide increase in power for West/German imperialism, short-sighted prognoses about an end or even a "collapse" of Western German imperialism are certainly unrealistic.

"On the contrary! It is towards long struggles, to be organized in long terms, striking deep roots and lasting for a long time, against world imperialism and against West/German imperialism that all revolutionary forces oriented on Communism must prepare themselves."

The leaflet published by "Gegen die Strömung" in June was entitled:
Murdered by Nazis: Saime Genç, Huelya Genç, Hatice Genç, Guelsuem Ince, Guelistan Oeztuerk!

Strike Back Doubly and Threefoldly!

"Saime Genç (4 years old), Huelya Genç (9 years old), Hatice Genç (18 years) Guelsuem Ince (28 years) and 13-year-old Guelistan Oeztuerk ... fell victim to the murderous Nazi attack in Solingen. This racist crime was a new climax of a long chain of assaults, arsonist attacks and murders directed against fellow workers, men and women, from other countries, refugees, Cinti and Roma, against the Jewish population and other 'minorities' like homeless and handicapped people etc., singled out as enemies by the Nazis."

* The arsonists are sitting in Bonn!

"The politicians in Bonn had given, with their so-called 'asylum compromise', the starting shot for all this, after having prepared the way for months on end by their racist campaign against anything 'foreign', and after having served as cue-givers for the Nazi gangs organized all over the country."

* Organize the defence and resistance against the Neonazis!

"Within the protest movement against the spreading Nazi plague it becomes clearer and clearer that all trust in the politicians and state organs is a dangerous illusion ... In order to act effectively against the Nazis, it is necessary to organize antifascist self-help! We must not let ourselves be intimidated by the campaigning of the bourgeois lyer's press which announces loudly: 'Violence is Violence!' and 'Left = Right!' etc."

* Against the attempts at division!

According to the motto "divide and rule," the smear propaganda of the West/German imperialists is trying

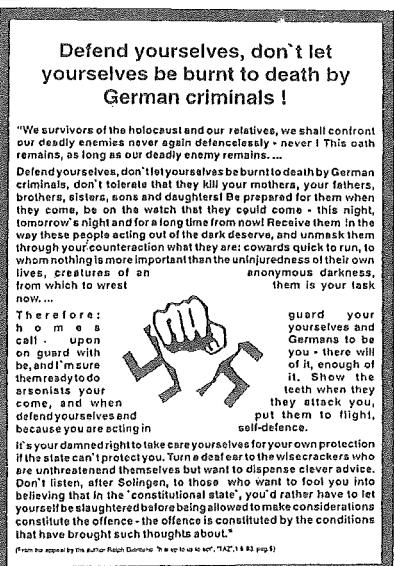
"... - not without success in its cooperation with the fascist Turkish state and its representatives - to take advantage of the fact that Turkish fascists are also active in the current protest movement. These are undertaking the attempt to catch the lead of the movement and to score points for themselves."

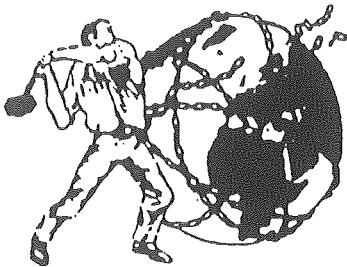
The bourgeois press is making good use of this to divert from the assaults of the Nazi-fascists and to defame the justified protest movement, but:

"The honest forces that are actually fighting against the Nazis and all other fascists - be they Turks, Kurds, Germans or of other nationality - will thwart the plans of the West/German imperialists! Struggle against nationalism, racism and chauvinism! Long live proletarian internationalism!"

You can get that poster in different languages at:

Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff, Koblenzer
Str. 4, 60327 Frankfurt/Main, West
Germany





Bulletin 3/93

**Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces
of all countries**

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: July - September 1993

Appears quarterly in Turkish, Kurdish, Farsi, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian

In July, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
Achieve proletarian internationalism by fighting against modern revisionism!

For the unity of the Communist forces the world over!

"Without or even against the worldwide revolutionary forces oriented on Communism, without intensive exchange of information, without tough but solidary discussion and mutual criticism, without practical solidarity in fighting against imperialism and revisionism/opportunism of all shades, there can and will be no progress in the struggle against imperialism, and especially no progress in building the Communist Party in one's own country! This cannot be emphasized enough in a time when the revolutionary forces in West/Germany are confronted with a large variety of tasks and problems ... In view of the abundance of tasks and the restrictedness of one's own forces, one can quickly submit to the dangerous tendency of seeing hardly anything but one's own narrowly limited realm of tasks, of placing an absolute value in one's own section of the struggle and of considering it as the 'navel of the world'."

*** The struggle of the proletariat is international! - For the international cooperation of the Communist Parties!**

Following the two sections under this headline which points out that proletarian internationalism, the international organisation of the Communist forces on a principled basis and with clear-cut aims has always been the essential idea in the history of the workers' movement - from the first "International Workers' Association" of 1864 to the "Communist International" founded in 1919 to the "Communist Bureau of Information" -, the leaflet continues:

*** Revisionism isn't dead, but remains, under the new conditions of today, the main danger in the struggle for the unity of all Communist forces of the whole world!**

In the section "*Why the study of the history of the struggle led by the Marxists-Leninists against Khrushchev-revisionism is of the utmost topicality*", the leaflet moves on to a closer inspection of an important document in the anti-revisionist struggle, of its promising aspects and also its mistakes: the "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" published by the Communist Party of China in June 1963:

"The study of the documents of the debate initiated in public in 1963 by the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and other Communist Parties in the struggle against Khrushchev-revisionism is rewarding, it is even essential for the struggle for the unity of the Communist forces of the whole world today. Especially the critique of the mistakes of the Communist Party of China and the other revolutionary forces ... is also essential for a real comprehension of why the first effort for a new beginning in the struggle against revisionism did not go deep enough, why the Communist forces that were then forming anew, working together internationally, did not withstand the pressure of imperialism and revisionism and have largely fallen apart."

Between 1979 and 1988, there appeared a sequence of *Joint Declarations* issued by the "Rote Fahne" of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, "Westberliner Kommunist" and "Gegen die Strömung" that were dealing critically with the "Proposal" submitted by the Communist Party of China

in 1963

* *The revisionists are deploying their counterrevolutionary activity within the revolutionary movement worldwide and in West/Germany as well*

"... Everywhere where the flames of revolutionary mass struggles are spreading, international revisionism has peak prosperity, is needed and used as appeaser ... The evaluation of the struggles of the revolutionary forces of all these countries against the treachery of revisionism, against the ideology of modern revisionism even within their 'own' ranks shows very quickly that the influence of the revisionist stooges grows faster where there has not been and is not being carried through a struggle against these revisionists in the basic questions of Communist theory and practice. Where

there are revolutionary mass struggles in progress, it will be of decisive importance to find ways for a real debate among the revolutionary forces on all levels."

* *Clear programmatic aims, scientific-communist methods, revolutionary unity of theory and practice!*

For the evaluation of the experiences of the Marxists-Leninists in the struggle against modern revisionism, the leaflet emphasizes three points:

"Without clear content, without clear programmatic objectives based on scientific Communism, an international unity is not a real unity; apparent but only temporary successes would only herald further catastrophic setbacks and defeats. Every solidarity, regardless how practical, would finally be in vain..

Indispensable are scientific methods, methos for the evaluation of the rich experiences of the international workers' movement, as well as consciously fixed methods for an altercation of the Marxists-Leninists among themselves, for discussion, critique and auto-critique, for an open and public debate.

For the success of our common struggle it is first of all crucial, starting from the correct theory, to translate this theory into practice and to develop a correct, principled, practical revolutionary activity of international cooperation!"

The August leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" was entitled:

Support the struggle of the colleagues, male and female, in Bischofferode in the former GDR!

"The up to now most furious and long-lasting labour struggle against the quasi-colonial methods of the West/German imperialists is characterized by the fact that it is not under the direction of the reactionary DGB trade union leadership. On the contrary - the 'responsible' bosses of the Industrial Union of Mining and Chemistry (IGBE) has fallen on the back of the colleagues and has spoken out directly against this struggle! The escalating forms of the struggle such as the occupation of the factory or hunger strike, which have already left the frame of the usual forms of protest, signal the great importance of the struggle. Finally, the call of the fighting colleagues of Bischofferode for

support by actions in other enterprises is signalling to the West/German imperialists, too, that more is at stake - and that still more can be at stake - than the fighting aim immediately envisaged, the maintenance of the jobs in the potash pit in Bischofferode..."

Following the section "*The politics of elimination the 'competitors'*" which demonstrates that the chemistry giant and IG-Farben successor BASF simply wanted to get bothersome competition off its necks by the closing down of the potash pit in Bischofferode, the leaflet goes on:

*** *Tricks and methods of the West/German imperialists***

The feigned 'sympathy' of the media in the beginning, all too soon to be replaced by a smear-campaign and a propaganda of lies, the splitting maneuvers by 'compromise offers', and not least the direct bribery of often up to then acknowledged leaders of the struggles - all this belongs to the arsenal of tricks and methods by which the West/German imperialists and their accomplices in politics, unions and media succeed time and again strangling the struggles of the working women and men.

"The knowledge about these methods of struggle used by the West/German imperialists - depending on the situation, combined with brutal police force - is necessary in order to more successfully execute the present and future struggles."

*** *The necessary struggle for the maintenance of the jobs and the perspective of the further struggle***

The struggles in Bischofferode are daily struggles, economic struggles for the immediate defense against the attacks on the living situation of the working women and men; it is obvious that they are necessary, but, at the same time, they demonstrate the necessity of a larger perspective of the struggle: a struggle that is directed against the capitalist system itself. But not only this, as these struggles are directed not only against the consequences of the annexation of the former GDR by West/German imperialism, but objectively also against the annexation itself.

"The development of the next months and weeks will show whether these struggles can develop into an ignition spark of general discontent in the former GDR, whether even struggles unfold that carry the struggle against the annexation of the former GDR consciously on their flag."

Especially in view of capitalism restored "under socialist cover" in the Eastern European countries by the revisionists, the leaflet poses the question: *Fighting for a reform or for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism?*

"... The aim cannot be the return to the mendacious conditions of the revisionist GDR under the leadership of the SED which has - after some hopeful years in the beginning - stopped practicing socialism in anything but words. What was practiced in reality was capitalism in disguise. There was no socialist democracy whatsoever, no dictatorship of the proletariat; the activities of the state did not lie in the hands of the working class. Our aims are the genuine ideals of the workers' movement of all countries ... The struggle in Bischofferode, as well as the struggles to come during the next years, will confront these questions time and again, and will also put the question about the building of a scientifically working Communist Party with clear-cut aims which is worth the name more and more vehemently on the agenda ..."

Another topical contribution under the title "*The soldiers of West/German imperialism in Africa on bloody trails!*" is directed against the intervention of Bundeswehr troops in Somalia.

In September, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

**What does the murderous massacre of the UN-troops in Somalia
show?**

"... Indiscriminately, without any immediate military purpose, calculated on the intimidating effect of a massacre, the UN-troops in Somalia shoot down more than 100 women and children, unarmed

demonstrators. The fascist-cynical justification for the massacre of the UN-troops was: it was necessary to destroy the 'human rampart'!"

* **The tradition of war crimes under UN-flag**

Whether the military intervention in Korea 1950, the war against the national liberation movement in the then "Belgian-Congo" in 1960 or the mass bombardment of the civil population of Iraq -

"... the UN-flag has always served as an ideological and psychological protective shield to cover and cloak the responsibility for these criminal wars."

* **The Bundeswehr - standing in the tradition of the nazifascist Wehrmacht - under UN-flag**

"This tradition of covering-up and cloaking is used more and more by the revisionist and militarist army of West/German imperialism, too. The Bundeswehr, which has been active in a more or less limited frame under flag of the NATO or also the UN in various military operations in diverse countries, now wants to show (UN)-flag ... The fact that the soldiers of the Bundeswehr belong to the same UN contingent that is at the moment engaged in the massacres in Somalia must be stressed all the more, since German generals and officers are posing demonstratively as innocent bystanders. In this, the aspect of rivalry with US-imperialism plays a role that is not to be underestimated. For in the arguments about different tactics, it is not more or less 'humanity' that is at stake. The concern is the neocolonialist aim of winning certain cliques of the local military and exploiting classes for one's own side when it comes to building a 'new order' in Somalia and of playing the first violin if possible."

* **Reasons of the criminal war action in Somalia**

The fight against hunger which is presented as an alibi for the use of UN-troops by the big imperialist powers is nothing but hypocrisy, because they themselves are producing this very same hunger in order to enlarge their maximum profits even more. We see that something else is behind it:

"...Direct economic interests in the considerable raw material deposits present at the horn of Africa are interwoven with geographic and military-strategic considerations in view of a political development in Eritrea and Ethiopia whose outcome is currently still impossible to assess. What is more, the purpose of the action is to show in advance to the ever more rising peoples of Africa - driven by hunger and poverty and determined to strike back - what they have to expect in the case of an armed uprising against the rule of the imperialists and their carefully groomed local cliques."

* **The war in Somalia - prelude to new and larger military actions of the Bundeswehr!**

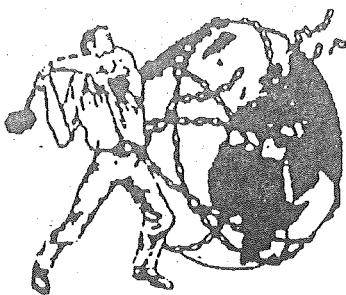
"... This action is not only a further big military step of the Bundeswehr towards an open worldwide military expansion, but also a large-scale maneuver of psychological warfare. The West/German imperialists intend to attune their own population to permanent Bundeswehr military actions in local wars..."

"*Somalia - GSG 9 - Grams: A new stage of militarization and fascistization!*" is the title of a separate section. For as early as 1977, West/German troops had already landed for a military action in Mogadishu - the infamous GSG 9-unit which stormed the hijacked Lufthansa airliner and killed the kidnappers.

"It's the same unit which has introduced a new stage of fascistization in the interior by openly executing Wolfgang Grams ... The GSG 9 - elite unit of West/German imperialism. By then advance troop for foreign military operations, today pacemaker of the accelerating process of fascistization in the interior!"

* **A challenge to all revolutionary forces**

"The new stage of fascistization in the interior introduced by openly executing Wolfgang Grams, as well as the new stage of military expansion by West/German imperialism reached through the intervention of the Bundeswehr in Somalia are a challenge to all revolutionary forces!"



Bulletin 4/93

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: October - December 1993

Appears quarterly in Turkish, Kurdish, Persian, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian

In October, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:
"The Hamburg Insurrection is not a 'matter of history' but a rehearsal for the future" (Ernst Thaelmann)

The Hamburg Insurrection of 1923

"Exactly 70 years ago, in October 1923, workers of both sexes oriented on Communism and organized in the Party associations - guided and supported by the comrades of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) - took up armed struggle against the capitalist system and for the ideals of genuine socialism. The Hamburg Insurrection was a fight at the barricades, it was an armed insurrection and also an organized retreat. The workers, male and female, proved in practise that and how an armed insurrection in a highly industrialized country can be conducted. The Hamburg Insurrection which was limited in terms of locality and time and did not become a signal for armed insurrection in other parts of Germany; it did not lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Nevertheless, the study of all the circumstances that triggered it, of the history preceding it and its essential features is an indispensable task confronting all forces who are taking the struggle against this imperialist system really seriously."

* The Course of the Hamburg Insurrection

"...During the three days of the Hamburg Insurrection, a relatively small number of 300 armed workers, guided by the KPD and practically supported by several thousand residents, succeeded in holding the field against a superior force twenty times as strong of an extremely well equipped police and army."

Because of the lacking support of the October struggles in Hamburg, however, the insurrection had to be aborted. The exact planning and execution of the organized retreat is one of the special characteristics of the Hamburg Insurrection:

"The insurgents had to bemoan only a minimum of losses, the wounded revolutionaries were brought into safe shelters, the captured weapons were rescued and brought into hiding. The insurgent masses had suffered a defeat for the time being, but were already preparing for the next battle at the same time."

* The Background History of the Hamburg Insurrection

The Socialist October Revolution of 1917 in Russia had rocked imperialism in its foundations. After the November Revolution, the intensification of the class struggles spread to Germany, too: strikes, manifestations, demonstrations and hunger revolts were the order of the day, there were even downright armed confrontations. In the year 1923, the rule of the German bourgeoisie was not all safe because of the economic crisis and the prevailing lack of political stability.

"The Communist Party, the KPD, founded only four years before, seized the possibility and dared the attempt of an armed insurrection, even when victory was not safe out-and-out."

* *The Lessons of the Hamburg Insurrection*

The reasons for the defeat of the Hamburg Insurrection was subjected to an exact analysis by the KPD and Ernst Thaelmann: the mistakes within the Party, concerning the mobilization of the reserves and the Party's tactics. Comrade Thaelmann said, in his concluding statement concerning the investigation of the lessons of the Hamburg Insurrection:

"... Thus, in autumn 1923 the revolution failed because of the lack of one of its most important preconditions: the existence of a Bolshevik Party (Ernst Thaelmann, "The Lessons of the Hamburg Insurrection," 1925)."

In a separate section, "*The Hamburg Insurrection and the Necessary Analysis of the KPD from 1918 to 1933*," the leaflet posed the task of a brotherly and critical analysis of the revolutionary KPD, not only during the Hamburg Insurrection but generally:

"For the inexorable question still stands, and also concerning the further development of the KPD between 1923 and 1933, why the KPD didn't succeed in mobilizing the majority of the working class, if not for the proletarian revolution, so at least for the armed defense battle against nazifascism."

But to analyse the lessons of the armed struggle at the Hamburg Insurrection also means to integrate these experiences into the totality of the experiences gained during this time about armed struggle: the armed struggle of the male and female workers of Vienna against austrofascism, of the peoples of Spain against francafascism and the troops of Nazi-Germany and Mussolini, of the Communist fighters of both sexes in France, Italy, the Netherlands, in Czechoslovakia and other countries against nazifascism.

"Only the analysis of all these armed struggles ... can create the preconditions to draw the lessons for the battles to come, taking into account the conditions prevailing today in the most exact manner."

The following leaflet appeared in November:

West/German imperialism Acts in the Pose of Victor of World War III!

"Now it has been consecrated, the 'Neue Wache' as 'national memorial' of West/German imperialism - with great hoolabaloo and in accord with the maxim to really 'draw a final stroke beneath the past' now ... The background to this is that, by concluding the 'Two-plus-Four-Treaty,' formerly defeated German imperialism succeeded in evading a just peace treaty including all the justified demands connected with it..." "

* *Obsequies for Murderers and Murdered?*

"What was presented now by Kohl, Weizsaecker and Suessmuth, namely, the inauguration of this 'monument for the victims of war and tyranny', is but a further step in a long-termed plan to rehabilitate the nazi-Wehrmacht in all realms of society..."

In its core, all of this is of course by no means new, but the logical continuation of the honouring of the graves of the "Waffen-SS" in Bitburg in 1985. But the particular fashion, the loudness and audacity with which such historical lies are trumpeted by the representatives of West/German imperialism can serve as a barometer not only for the dangers of the process of consolidation - brought under way since the third October of 1989 - of an "all-German" imperialism making the two German states and West-Berlin uniform more and more, but also:

"... as barometer for the mounting success of the ideologues of this consolidating imperialism in anchoring the mentality of the 'final stroke' in large parts of the population on the basis of imperialism's revanchist policy, in cementing it juridically in treaties and enforcing it worldwide in real politics."

* Why West/German imperialism has Successfully Sabotaged the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty for Decades

"... It's hard to believe, but true: up to the present day, no peace treaty exists between Germany and the states of the Anti-Hitler Coalition ... Up to now, the West/German imperialists used to point to the so-called 'peacetreaty proviso' - i.e., the conclusion of a peace traty sabotaged by them - when it came to the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border as a just Western border of Poland, to the recognition of the expulsion and resettlement of Germans from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia as a necessary and correct step and to the recognition and fulfillment of the demands of the victims of nazifascism - especially in Eastern Europe, but also in other countries for indemnification and reparation."

Rather, so the leaflet stresses, West/German imperialism succeeded in escaping every responsibility in connection with the nazi regime by the 'Two-plus-Four-Treaty' concluded between the four victor nations, the GDR and West Germany. Of additional importance is the fact that

"... the signals emmited at the negotiations about the 'Two-plus-Four-Treaty'" also showed that West/German imperialism did not only recover from it's defeat in World War II, but has also entered with special aggressiveness the scene as an economic, political and military factor of worldwide importance - as imperialist big power, that is."

* Death to West/German imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism!

"In sum: The West/German imperialists didn't accept a peace treaty, they trample the rights of the people under their feet and prepare a new imperialist war, the rupture of the state of peace that existed anyway only as 'an end to the state of war.' This is directed against the imperialist competitors. This is directed indirectly against the peoples living in the sphere of infuence of these imperialist rivals. This is likewise directed as counterrevolutionary war against every progressive and revolutionary movement in the world!..."

On the occasion of the ban on nearly 40 Kurdish organizations and worker's associations by West/German imperialism, the leaflet contains a topical contribution with the title "**Fight Against the Ban on the Kurdish Organizations!"**



The december leaflet carries the title:

**"Everything Reactionary is the Same:
If You Don't Hit It, It Won't Fall!"**

"100 years ago, Mao Tse-tung was born. Since 1963 at the latest, his name stands for the open polemics against the treachery of the phony Communists, the revisionists in the states of the Warsaw Pact and in the Soviet Union. His name stands for the continuation of the revolution, for the construction of socialism in China, for the worldwide struggle for Communism - Red China challenged imperialism and revisionism. The Cultural Revolution begun in 1966 inspired and mobilized the revolutionary male and female proletarians of all countries and spurred struggle of the revolutionary youth against all exploiting authorities. After Mao's death, however, Red China also changed colour, the revisionist bourgeoisie, after having assumed power executed the restauration of capitalism and threw the doors wide open for world imperialism. If today, on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Mao Tse-tung, both the evil slanders of the bourgeoisie and the hypocritical praise of the opportunist experience a peak, they are nevertheless pursuing, albeit by different means, a common goal: to eradicate the unforgettable and exemplary work of Mao Tse-tung in the struggle for Communism!"

The editorial staffs of "Rote Fahne" of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, of "Westberliner Kommunist" and of "Gegen die Strömung" have published two extensive analyses of the teachings and the work of Mao Tse-tung as a Common Statement



"The main thing is to understand to learn!" - that is the title of a separate section that wants to encourage the study of the writings of Mao Tse-tung. Further, we can read:

* Did Mao Tse-tung Commit No Mistakes?

"... The essential and greatest world-historical accomplishment of Mao Tse-tung consists in that he has led the the 600-million people of China to victory in the democratic stage of the revolution, shoulder to shoulder with all other forces of the proletarian revolution and supported by Stalin's Soviet Union ... This required the principled application of Marxism-Leninism on the conditions of China, especially of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. Mao Tse-tung has solved this task masterfully. A thoroughgoing study of the history of the Chinese Revolution and the history of the Communist Party of China is an indispensable precondition for forming a well-founded opinion about the work of Mao Tse-tung."

The leaflet stresses the necessity of an approach in the assessment of the work of Mao Tse-tung both critical and in solidarity and states:

"... In the spirit of such a critique carried out in solidarity, our opinion is that Mao Tse-tung also committed mistakes, and very serious mistakes at that. At times, he has held positions that represented a concession to right-wing opportunism and to the Chinese bourgeoisie and had clear deviations from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the construction of socialism as a consequence."

After this, some of the basic thoughts of the writings of Mao Tse-tung are elaborated and explained in closer terms. They are of the highest importance especially today:

* **"Everything Reactionary is the Same: If You Don't Hit It, It Won't Fall!"**

* **"Every Communist Must Grasp The Truth, 'Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun'"**

* **"Revisionism's Assumption of Power Is the Assumption of Power by the Bourgeoisie"**

* **"If You Want the Revolution, You Must Have a Revolutionary Party"**

"The main thing is to understand to learn!"

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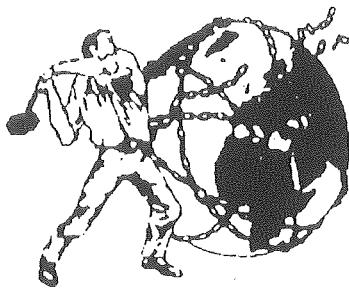
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Bulletin 1/94

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: January - March 1994

Appears quarterly in Turkish, Persian, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian

In January "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Enhance the cooperation of the democratic and revolutionary organizations of all nationalities!

**Organize the Struggle Against the Ban
of the KWP and Other Kurdish Organizations,
Against State Fascistisation and Nazi Gangs!**

"It is an indispensable task posed for all organizations with a democratic and revolutionary claim to fight against the ban on the Kurdish Workers' Party KWP and other Kurdish organizations on the territory of West Germany, West Berlin and the former GDR and, additionally, to support the Kurdish comrades in their struggle as effectively as possible.

For it's primarily a requirement of solidarity, a moral obligation, to lend maximal support to all oppressed peoples and, accordingly, also to the part of the Kurdish people living on the present official territory of Turkey in their just struggle for their right to secession from the Turkish state, their right to create a state of their own."

Further, the leaflet makes clear that this support is a direct obligation for all West/German organizations in the fight against their "own" imperialism. It would be totally false to present the latter one merely as "accomplice" that tolerates the fascist regime in Turkey, for,

"on the contrary, West/German imperialism is an imperialist big power, if not the decisive imperialist big power, that has the strings in its hands, that supports the fascist regime in

Turkey, counsels and finances it, supplies it with weapons and is keeping it at the same time in the status of a half-colony."

What is more, the Kurdish comrades play an outstanding role in the struggle against the state fascistisation. They resolutely mobilize their forces against the ban on the Kurdish organizations and are - in this respect - in the forefront of the struggle against West/German imperialism.

"To leave the Kurdish comrades to themselves in this struggle would simply be treachery of proletarian internationalism and of the struggle against West/German imperialism."

After the ban of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in 1956, the ban on GUPS and GUPA (organizations of Palestinian students and workers) in 1974 and the ban on DEV SOL and HALK DER (workers' organizations in Turkey) in 1983, the ban on the Kurdish organizations is a new leap in the progressing curtailment of the remaining democratic rights in West/Germany.

"For that reason, every democratic and revolutionary organization must realize that it is threatened by being banned at any time. On the other hand, it would be a victory also for their work, if common struggle succeeded in undoing the ban on the Kurdish organizations."

○ Reasons for the lacking cooperation of democratic and revolutionary organizations

The worldwide decline of revolutionary, of Communist organizations, and connected with it, the nearly total abandonment of the cooperation of Communist forces on the basis of proletarian internationalism is certainly one important reason for this. But this argument alone doesn't reach far enough. The deeper reason lies in the often underestimated influence of revisionist forces with their theory and practice geared to reformism and nationalism.

"The missing atmosphere of a criticism and self-criticism in a spirit of solidarity, of a public polemic about all essential questions of principle and of current affairs prepared the ground for a situation where existing weaknesses and mistakes, small ones as well as important ones, were not removed but cultivated."

By this, the stage was set for a development where the imperialist and reactionary forces of the whole world could push through their long-known tactics of "divide and rule" - especially by means of the poison of nationalism... The fact of the matter is that only strong Communist organizations, really Communist Parties can uncompromisingly withstand the terror of reaction, the poison of revisionism and the plague of nationalism."

○ Mutual support and public criticism do not exclude each other!

"Even today it is possible and necessary for the revolutionary forces to support each other practically and to cooperate ... But this cooperation must be combined with a public discussion on the existing ideological and political contradictions."

To all those who defame - under the pretext of "struggling in the hail of bullets of the enemy" - every criticism as the work of the enemy, the leaflet retorts:

"People who try to strangle criticism in this manner are taking the skewed road of bureaucratism and revisionist officialdom and will inevitably paralyse the revolutionary initiative even of their own comrades..."

○ The Nazi-murders of Moelln and Solingen

"The slander campaign practised by West/German imperialism, among others against asylum-seeking persons and other people of a variety of nationalities living and working here has created an atmosphere in which neo-Nazi organizations could execute dozens of murders."

It's not surprising that also agents of West/German imperialism and other reactionary forces of various countries, for example Turkish fascists, tried to creep into the protest movement forming itself against the Nazi-murders in Moelln and Solingen of Turkish women and girls, and to grab for the leadership of the movement.

"That is why it was phenomenal that Spanish, Iranian and Kurdish youths demonstrated together with Turkish and German youths against the Nazi-murders of Moelln and Solingen...."

In our view it is entirely right and appropriate that Kurdish comrades took part in these anti-Nazi struggles, precisely and especially against the 'Turkish flag'... With this, they didn't only fight against the Nazis in West/Germany, but they also created, in a really internationalist manner, the germ form of a common stand and struggle of the youths of all nationalities here. For only in the common struggle - this is shown by the historical experience of the worker's movement and the revolutionary movement of all countries - can debates in the spirit of solidarity, can productive debates about nationalism and the dividing policies of imperialism be carried out."

Finally, the leaflet deals with the perspective of a closer cooperation between the democratic and revolutionary forces of the most various nationalities in West/Germany:

"The indispensable precondition for such a cooperation are in our view consciously fixed methods of discussion, of public debate, criticism and self-criticism. The hushing up of the existing ideological and political contradictions can be no base for this necessary common struggle. Of primary importance will be to establish regular connections, to enter into discussions and to give mutual support as a first step on the way to an organized cooperation."

The leaflet contains the enclosure “*The declaration of the ERNK (National Liberation Front of Kurdistan) concerning the Nazi-murders in Solingen does*

damage to the antifascist forces fighting in West/Germany.”



In February, the leaflet appeared:

INFORMERS!

“The police nark Klaus Steinmetz from Wiesbaden leads the command unit of the GSG 9 (“antiterrorism” unit of West/German imperialism which killed Wolfgang Grams) to the site of the execution. In Tübingen, in Freiburg and in Frankfurt/Main, police informers were unmasked. Narks, undercover agents... Since more than 150 years, the counter-revolutionary classes are sending informers into the ranks of the worker’s movement, into the ranks of the revolution. But that’s not all: another, and still more effective method consists in the enlistment of informers who are recruited from amongst former revolutionaries who have grown tired and got under pressure, who have become vulnerable to blackmail or are blackmailed.

The German bourgeoisie has been, and still is, worldwide among the leading bourgeoisies in this respect, if it is not actually the leading one. The term GESTAPO, Secret State Police, in connection with a whole system of Gestapo narks and informers has become the embodiment of counterrevolution in all of the world...

The correct approach to the problem of the informers and the adoption of the right counter-measures in the ideological, political and organizational realm is of very great importance for all authentically revolutionary and uncompromisingly democratic forces.”

○ Simple rules with large effect

Among the successful counter-measures taken by the KPD of Thaelmann in its struggle against the sinister activities of the informers were the following:

“*Don’t tell anything to anyone who can know*

it, tell it only to the one who must know it” - this and similarly simple rules had to become habitual, their transgression (for example to ask an illegal comrade where he lives) had to be excluded, had to be made impossible by the whole atmosphere of the work...

Further, it was of huge importance that the KPD had a military apparatus of professionals, of professional revolutionaries which evaluated systematically all reports on informers and police methods, on arrests, behaviour under torture and the situation in the prisons...

The regular examination of all important life circumstances of the cadre was also an important means in the struggle against police spies ... Only if the whole biography of a comrade is known to the maximally possible degree and if his or her present circumstances of life and capabilities and emotions in the revolutionary struggle have been scrutinized, the best protection against infiltration of informers can be guaranteed. Therefore, a struggle on two fronts was necessary: On the one hand, the struggle against gullibility, on the other hand, the struggle against the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust.”

The leaflet closes with the words:

“The system of the centralized democratic Communist Party is not immune against spies. But it is the most effective system if and when the correct line contributes ideologically and politically to an atmosphere within the Communist Party that enables it to work with scientific methods in the organizational realm, too. And then the spies will have a difficult, a very difficult life before them.”

The march leaflet carried the title:

Cambodia, Somalia, Bosnia...

The West/German Imperialists at Work!

"After Cambodia and Somalia, the West/German militarists take the next step in their plans of conquest. German soldier's boots are to march once again on areas which have already been devastated by German soldiers of the Nazi Wehrmacht! The war in Yugoslavia fanned especially by West/German imperialists offers itself as an excellent training, not only for the German Nazis in the pay of the Ustacha fascists, but also for the Bundeswehr (federal army), and on a large scale!"

○ German arrogance and "bravery" - warmongering

The respective countries where the Bundeswehr will enter the scene in the future, here more massively, there more cautiously, may not be fixed in detail, pretexts and realizations of the martial conflicts may still have to be concocted:

"One thing is clear: there is not one conflict in the world, not a single one, in which West/German imperialism is not involved or collects informations, and prepares for a possible intervention."

○ Not only short-term profits

It's not primarily the short-term profits of the arms dealers and profiteers that are most important. Such "projects" can often cost West/German imperialists more than they are able to collect in direct profits for the moment.

"These are costs for training "close to practice" that are paid willingly, given the far-reaching plans in the accelerating crisis for the preparation even for worldwide military conflicts."

That profits of a totally different dimension are at stake is shown by the leaflet by taking as an example the war in ex-Yugoslavia which was fanned and forced by West/German imperialism through the

"recognition" of Croatia, through intense arms dealing and finally by military interventions under "humanitarian" cloak.

"As soon as the whole country will be largely destroyed and not only hotels and factories, but also the whole infrastructure can be bought at dumping prices, the great moment of West/German imperialism will come. Investments in a size of dozens of billions - dubbed of course as 'help' - are to make the country a safe zone of influence for West/German imperialism in its competition with the other imperialist big powers."

Other crucial points of the leaflet are:

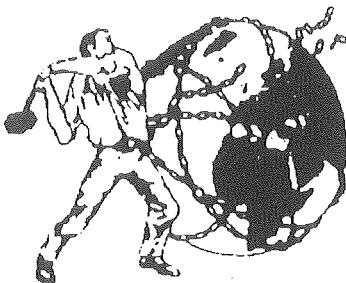
○ Be aware of the interventionist propaganda of the imperialists!

○ No illusions about West/German imperialism, revanchism and militarism!

As it has occurred so many times since 1945, the just anti-fascist struggle of the peoples of the world against Nazi-Germany is used by West/German imperialism to justify one imperialist and reactionary war today and another one tomorrow.

"The arsonists are playing the role of the innocent burghers, the same people who contributed heavily to this conflict, who took part in its organization and made it possible are now posing as humanitarians and helpers..."

"It is the task of the Communist forces to destroy the illusions about West/German imperialism, especially in the heads of the revolutionaries, to demonstrate the methodicalness and lawlike regularity in the struggle of West/German imperialism for world power in terms of principle as well as in as concretely as possible, to spread full consciousness about it and to lead and organize the active struggle against it."



Bulletin 2/94

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: April - June 1994

Appears quarterly in Turkish, Persian, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italien

In April "Gegen die Strömung" published - in the course of a closer cooperation together with "Westberliner Kommunist" - the leaflet:

Stop the slander campaign against our Kurdish comrades!

Smash the Dirty Arguments

Against the Kurdish Liberation Movement!

The leaflet begins with the words:

"During the last weeks, the Turkish state apparatus intensified its military and ideological fight against the Kurdish liberation movements and the Kurdish population. The arrest of Kurdish parliamentarians, the murder of editorial staff members of Kurdish newspapers, massacres of the Kurdish population - the Turkish state shows more and more openly the grimace of naked military dictatorship lurking behind the mask of 'parliamentarianism' and 'reforms'. In the process, West/German imperialism takes more and more upon the role of the leader of the politics of the Turkish state, but also the role of the 'advertising manager'. The ban on the Kurdish Worker's Party (KWP) and other Kurdish organisations in West Germany, West Berlin and the former GDR is accompanied by a shrill concert of dirty arguments against the Kurdish liberation movement."

In the following, the leaflet disproves some of the most central lies that are spread by the various departments of West/German imperialism against the Kurdish liberation struggle:

- **Destroy the slander "The Kurdish organisations are part of international terrorism"**
- **Destroy the campaign "The Kurds are guests, if they don't behave properly, they**

have to be expelled, no matter what is at stake"

- **Destroy the lie "The cause of the Kurds is justified, but the conflict has nothing to do with Germany"**
- **Destroy the hypocrisy "The form of the protest is only doing damage to the Kurdish cause and only provoking the police"**
- **Destroy the infamy "In the solidarity work, one must separate the 'good' democratic organisations of the Kurds from the 'bad' PWK"**

Another issue of the leaflet is the current-events contribution "*The Nazi Arsonist Attack on the Synagogue in Lubeck*". The leaflet comments:

"...That nothing else is to be expected from the Nazis and other criminals is only one side of the matter. The other side of the coin is that they can count on mounting assent for these actions, that the whole atmosphere is changing in one certain direction, that, seen from the Nazis' point of view, for reasons of 'public relations work' not only houses of asylum seeking persons are set on fire, but also synagogues. All of this shows how the gentlemen politicians and professors, that means, large parts of the public, have paved and prepared the way in such a manner that these

attacks on synagogues only meet with thin protest and are even regarded more or less as ‘normal’... The necessary radical struggle against anti-Semitism is always connected with an ideological

struggle against German chauvinism and West/German imperialism’s policy striving for world domination!”



In Mai/June the following leaflet was published by “Gegen die Strömung” and “Westberliner Kommunist” in the course of a closer collaboration:

Long Live the Revolution in Mexico!

The introduction of the leaflet reads:

“The uprising in Chiapas in the south of Mexico early this year came like a ray of hope for revolutionaries all over the world, at a time when it appears as if international imperialism were on an unstoppable offensive on a broad front and as if the revolutionaries were beaten. The revolutionary struggles in Mexico give people courage and prove yet again that the contradictions of the imperialist system cannot be solved by itself, that the struggles of the peoples will breakout with renewed strength to resolve these contradictions in a revolutionary way, i.e. through the overthrow and destruction of the imperialist system.”

Representatives of “Spartakus” (Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party in Turkey) and of “Gegen die Strömung” had the opportunity to meet in Barcelona with comrade P., a representative of the “Movimento Revolucionario de México”, and to conduct with him a thoroughgoing discussion published in the leaflet in extracts.

○ The Uprising in Chiapas

The Mexican comrade describes the beginning and course of the Chiapas uprising as follows:

“In the night of December 31st to January 1st five towns in Chiapas were occupied simultaneously in the early hours of the morning Three of these towns have more than 100,000 inhabitants. We have been asked again and again whether the uprising in Chiapas was also linked with the implementation of the NAFTA-treaty on the 1st of January. Answering this question in an interview Marcos explained that in such an action surprise is the

most important factor, and so they chose December 31st to start the uprising, because most of the soldiers and police get drunk on New Year’s Eve. And so it was; so that troops from Mexico City could not be sent so quickly and it was only on January 2nd that units of the army could be despatched.

We chose the federal state of Chiapas and those cities to unleash the insurrection, because one of our most important aims was to reveal to the whole world the conditions in which we, the people, have to live, and to do this we had to direct such a powerful blow at the state authorities that they would be unable to hush it up.

In addition, many Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) from Europe and the USA work in Chiapas. San Cristóbal is an important tourist attraction and hundreds of tourists were present in the town when it was taken. It was for this reason that the Mexican state was unable to conceal the news of the uprising. The long-term occupation of the cities, however, was never a part of the plan. The EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) wanted to strike a blow at the Mexican state in a glare of publicity and then withdraw...

In the course of the first five days we succeeded in killing 300 soldiers and taking 280 prisoners. We also captured about 1,000 weapons, such as pistols, rifles and machine guns as well as 1,400 kilos of dynamite. We brought down 3 helicopters and 3 aeroplanes and succeeded in releasing all the prisoners from three jails. At the moment in the Lacandon jungle there is a liberated area of 30,000 square kilometres ... On January 8th the other

politico-military organisations carried out actions to express their solidarity with the uprising in Chiapas and also as a sign of condemnation of the massacre that the Mexican state had committed against the civilian population.”

Concerning the so-called “peace negotiations”, the comrade said:

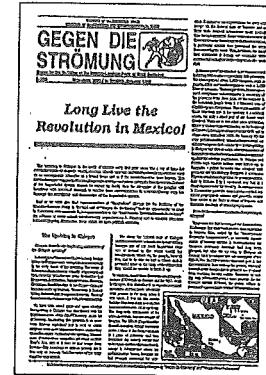
“We believe that three factors induced the Mexican government to begin the so-called “negotiations” and to stop bombing the civilian population. First of all the Mexican government realised that contrary to their initial assumptions they were unable to crush the insurrection in a surprise coup. This was compounded by their fear on the 8th of January that the uprising might spread across the entire country. And finally there was the huge sympathy that the uprising had aroused among the population as a whole... All these factors were decisive in changing the tactics of the Mexican government. They had to gain time in order to isolate the EZLN and to present the situation to the rest of the world as if the struggle of the EZLN were quite unjustifiable, so that they could polish up their own image in order to crush the insurrection afterwards... ”

As regards the “negotiations” I must say that in reality no proper negotiations ever took place. The EZLN put forward forty demands in the cathedral of San Cristobal and the Mexican government made forty replies in return. But this was in no way a negotiation. It is clear on both sides that the problems of Mexico cannot be solved at the negotiating table. The Mexican government wants some sort of “dialogue”.

Other points of the interview were:

- **Democratic struggle is necessary, but the revolution in Mexico will be a socialist one!**
- **West/German imperialism in Mexico**
- **On international contacts, on relationships to the revolutionary movement in the world**
- **On the revolutionary organisations in**

You can get the leaflet documented here in extracts "Long Live the Revolution in Mexico" (8 DIN A4 pages, DM 1.-) in German, Turkish, French, English and Spanish through **Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff**.



Other themes are: Some facts about the population and economy of Mexico; Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa - two leaders of the Mexican revolution from 1910 - 1919; on the situation of the comrades imprisoned in Mexico, etc.

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Mexico and the question of the Communist Party

The “Movimiento Revolucionario de México” represented by comrade P.

“... is an amalgamation of all the revolutionary organisations engaged in an armed struggle in Mexico. There are seven: the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), the Revolutionary Clandestine Workers’ Party - People’s Union (PROCUP), the Party of the Poor (P.D.L.P.), the Armed Vanguard of the People (V.A.P.), the Che Guevara Brigade (B.C.G.), the Simon Bolivar Brigade (B.S.B.), the Revolutionary Armed People’s Organisation (O.R.A.P.). ”

“...The aims of our struggle are: the seizure of power, the smashing of the Mexican state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to build socialism. Obviously, and I need not mention this explicitly, socialism is the first step on the road to communism.”

“As a basic programme we study the “Communist Manifesto” by Marx and Engels, then “What is to be done?”, “One Step forward,

two steps back”, “Two tactics of social democracy in the democratic revolution” and “State and revolution” by Lenin and the “History of the C.P.S.U. (B) - Short course” by Stalin ... And of course, military writings are very important for us...”

Answering the question why the seven organisations of the “MRM” do not unite and merge into one Communist Party, given their consent in questions of principle, comrade P. elucidated the line of the Mexican comrades on the building of the Party:

“When one looks at history one can see that there are three types of vanguard. First of all there is the revolutionary vanguard to which all the revolutionary organisations belong, but they are scattered across the whole country and when they do have links with one another this is a fairly loose coordination. A revolutionary organisation consists of a core of professional revolutionaries; they have worked out a correct political line and strategy based on Marxism-Leninism; they train their cadres not only in revolutionary determination in the face of the enemy, but also in the adoption of a revolutionary attitude towards one's comrades, towards the masses and to life in general. - for example the necessity of criticism and self-criticism - the basic form of struggle being the armed struggle. Then there is the vanguard of the stage; this will be only one of the revolutionary organisations, which becomes in practice the vanguard for a certain stage of the struggle. They stand out because of their maturity and ability; they lead an ideological struggle against the mistakes and deviations of the other revolutionary organisations; they determine the correct line and guide the other revolutionary organisations, just as Lenin with Iskra secured the political and ideological leadership of the Bolsheviks. Then there is the historically determined vanguard, the Communist Party. This is the most conscious vanguard of the working class, which leads and organises the oppressed and exploited masses in the struggle for the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This develops during the struggle and arises out of the unity of the revolutionary vanguards.”

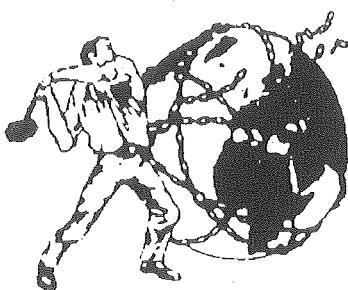
At the end, the representative of “Gegen die Strömung” declared:

“Finally we would like to say that for us it was important to understand that our way of thinking and the world in which we live is very different from the world you and your comrades come from, the world of the armed uprising, in which many of the ideological questions do not have the importance they might have for us here. We do not mean that contradictions should be hushed up. - we will discuss them. We merely want to stress that direct participation in the revolution and within this framework carrying out ideological debate is a correct procedure. We cannot sit here in our privileged situation, where we are able to arrange meetings or conferences to discuss problems and then approach revolutionary movements in other countries from above. Quite the reverse; we should attempt primarily to learn from the experiences and difficulties of the revolutionary movements and in this process of learning discuss our positions on basic questions such as the communist party or the dictatorship of the proletariat. We do not want to set such questions aside, but in West/Germany we do want to consider as one of our basic tasks to do all we can with practical propaganda in support of the revolution in Mexico. We will seek constantly to be informed on the revolutionary process in Mexico and on the armed struggle, so that public opinion around the world will be aware of the importance of your struggle and give all the support possible.”

And the Mexican comrade added:

“I bring greetings to you from all our fighters. Our struggle did not begin on January 1st 1994, but thirty years ago. It will continue for a very long time, for the enemy we are dealing with is economically and politically powerful. However we are sure - otherwise we would not have embarked on this struggle in the first place - that sooner or later we will be victorious. VENCE-REMOS!”

The leaflet contains another topical contribution on the “Cooperation of Nazis and Police” during the pogrom-like hunt of people from other countries through the streets of Magdeburg in the former GDR.



Bulletin 3/94

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

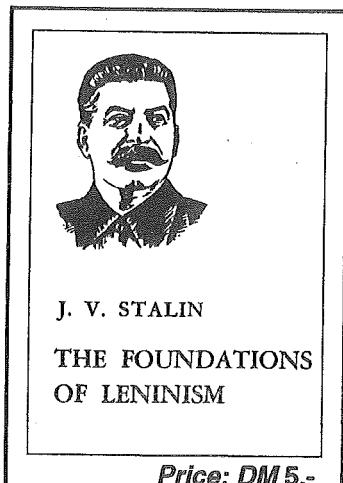
Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: July - September 1994

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In the frame of the closer cooperation between the two organizations, "Gegen die Strömung" and "Westberliner Kommunist" published, in July, the following leaflet with identical texts:

Why study the work "The Foundations of Leninism"?

"70 years ago, comrade Stalin wrote the work 'The Foundations of Leninism'. This work, written on the occasion of the death of comrade Lenin, contains with its thematic and logical structure no more, but also no less than a basic introduction and orientation for the study of the theory of scientific Communism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The ideological struggle for the defense of this work of Stalin directed against the pseudo-marxist currents of his time is separating the truly Communist forces from the revisionists and reformists even today ... Many young comrades have never read a work by Stalin himself, but then probably all the more about him - and what that was is all too evident. But actually it should be equally evident that true revolutionaries should not blindly parrot anticommunist slander but should obtain an own picture for themselves about what and how Stalin has written..."



Price: DM 5.-

After an elucidation of the inner logic and systematics of the structure of this work, the leaflet turns to two central questions from "The Foundations of Leninism" that are dealt with there in order to enhance understanding:

○ "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution"

Three essential aspects of this definition of Leninism are elucidated here: firstly, Leninism as Marxism of the

era of imperialism, whose historical roots are to be found mainly in an internationally new situation. Secondly, the organic connection between the *teachings of Marx and Engels* and Leninism as an epochal further development of Marxism. Finally, the *international character* of Leninism, the validity of its core statements for all countries notwithstanding the fact that it includes "Russian particularities" and had to take into account the concrete conditions of Russia at the time in question.

○ "The fundamental question in Leninism, its point of departure is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat"

Here, the leaflet deals with three essential traits of the dictatorship of the proletariat: it is an *instrument of the proletarian revolution*, it is the violent, *dictatorial oppression of the exploiters and reactionaries* on the one hand and at the same time, the highest form of democracy, the *socialist democracy* for the majority of the toiling masses, the formerly exploited.

A separate section deals with the "*Necessity of criticism and self-criticism and of the struggle against opportunism*." It was not by accident that Stalin places the chapter "The Method" before dealing with the theory of Leninism in his work, for

"even the best theory is good for nothing if it is not in accord with practice, if the politics of the Communist Party is not in accordance with its line, if it is not ready to learn from its mistakes"

in order to revolutionize and develop itself further by the uncovering of the problems, mistakes and contradictions ... The possibly most important passage for the Communist forces in the chapter 'The Method' concerns the merciless denunciation of all efforts to stifle criticism and to prevent self-criticism, to present it as a matter of the 'silent chamber'... The revolutionary approach to criticism and self-criticism - frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the circumstances which gave rise to it and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it (see Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," 1924, Peking 1965, p. 19) - is the deci-

ve means to enhance the consciousness of our comrades, but also of the masses outside of the party, in order to make the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat invincible."

Additionally, the leaflet contained a topical contribution and a poster about the *Murder of Halim Dener*:

"On July 1th, 1994, the 16-year-old Kurdish revolutionary Halim Dener was shot in the back at point-blank range by the West/German police while he was placarding! Fight the state fascification! Forgive nothing, forget nothing!"



The August-leaflet - in the frame of a closer cooperation between "Gegen die Strömung" and "Westberliner Kommunist," published with identical texts by both organizations - carried the title:

Solidarity with the Comrades of ANTIFA (M) in Goettingen!

"The police of West/German imperialism has been terrorizing the male and female comrades of the 'Autonomous Antifa (M)' in Goettingen more and more by house searches, criminal identification, threats with detention and the damocles' sword of the persecution as a 'criminal association' during the last weeks. This police terror is part of a heightened persecution during the last months of all those forces that are consistently fighting back against the nazi terror and the state fascification as well. It has been generally the case since the FRG started to exist that the nazis were treated gently and the anti-nazis were persecuted. The peculiarity of the situation of these last years is that in view of the nazi murders, the so-called 'reputation of Germany' has suffered on the international plane, so that hypocritical declaration after hypocritical declaration about the 'necessary civil courage' dripped from the lips of the politicians, while photo troupes and action commandos of the police protected the nazi meetings and -manifestations against the anti-nazi forces that were in turn persecuted, beaten up and even killed!"

In the it's further text, the leaflet treats the question of why it is especially the comrades of the Antifa (M) who have presently become the target of persecution and criminalization by the state; politically, the Antifa (M)

propagates the inseparable relation between fascism and imperialism, between the nazi gangs and the state fascification, organizationally, it advocates a binding principle of organization and furthers the cooperation of the anti-fascist forces; in the practical realm, it has become, not least by meetings, leaflets etc. and also by successful actions and militant demonstrations, an important center in the practical fight against the nazi gangs and the fascification of the state.

"These are the reasons for the intensified police terror and, at the same time, for the necessity of a strengthened solidarity with the comrades of the Antifa (M) Goettingen."

In a special section "*Some Points of Discussion Concerning the Conception of the Antifa (M)*", some our most central points of criticism of the political line of the Antifa (M) are presented. And here, at once a problem emerges: on the one hand, the Antifa (M) has no clearly formulated Communist claim, at least publicly, on the other hand, it breaks by itself out of the frame of the anti-fascist struggle and broaches also questions of socialism:

"We think that our critique about such points - (among others, it's assessment - wrong in our view - of the socialist Soviet Union at the times of Lenin and Stalin, it's stand concerning the

dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of the Communist Party, note of author) - cannot be directed at its address as an antifascist organization. But if the Antifa (M) propagates positions beyond this frame, it has also to accept criticism that goes well beyond the immediate frame of the anti-fascist democratic struggle."

○ Our position on the relation between democratic and communist struggle

"... According to our view, the democratic struggle in all its forms is no purpose in itself, but is to serve the development of consciousness and the organization especially of the struggle for the preparation and realization of the socialist revolution!..."

"It is difficult here to determine correctly the interrelationship and priorities between the unavoidable tasks in the democratic struggle in all its aspects and, at the same time, the necessity of the intensification of Communist propaganda and of the primary investment of our forces into the building of the Communist Party ... But

under the pretext of 'caring only for the socialist revolution' can precisely be sabotaged and obstructed the indispensable democratic struggle against nationalism and racism, against the special features of West/German imperialism."

"Therefore, it is very important to point the democratic struggle onto the special features of one's own imperialism, to really pull down the phony-democratic mask of the main enemy of the socialist revolution. In this sense, the advancing democratic struggle is a lever for the preparation of the socialist revolution, without it, a socialist revolution worth the name is even unthinkable.

For this reason, we strive, especially in the democratic realm, for the cooperation with other forces, for this reason, we direct the attention on the revolutionary comrades in the plants and enterprises. The co-operation with other forces presupposes solidarity, but also readiness for discussion and mutual criticism, for only that way, a long-term and fruitful co-operation can develop!"



In the frame of their closer cooperation, "Gegen die Strömung" and "Westberliner Kommunist" published in September the following leaflets with identical texts:

"The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which member of the ruling class is to misrepresent them in parliament" (Karl Marx)

Why Parliamentarianism Is an Antidemocratic System

"... Whatever the outcome of the parliamentary elections will be - whether Kohl 'stays' or Scharping 'comes' -, it is a matter of no importance for more and more people because they feel that nothing essential will change. But the fact that the election theatre attracts ever less attention, that the clique of the Bonn politicians has less and less authority and profile must not dupe the revolutionary forces: the influence of the ruling class on the great mass of the working people is still enormous, and those who turn away in disgust from the parliamentary fraud don't transform themselves automatically into revolutionaries nor even consistent democrats by that..."

The parliamentary system protects the dictatorship of capital

The leaflet poses the question why, in the face of the historical and daily experiences with "democracy" and their "democratic rights" in West/Germany, so many people believe in the illusion of parliamentarianism with nearly unshakable steadfastness.

"Well, on the one hand, the fact of the matter is that bourgeois parliamentarism is the most secure and refined system for the deception of the working masses, for the veiling of the capitalist relations of exploitation. Along with this comes, especially in West/Germany, an almost superstitious reverence for the state and its organizations that approaches superstition."

"It is the task of the revolutionary Communist forces to prove why the whole parliamentary system has absolutely nothing to do with de-

mocracy; they must prove why it is nothing but a disguise for the dictatorship of the capital, a disguise which more and more wears through in the course of state fascistification and which 'in case of emergency', i.e. if capitalism is being threatened, will be thrown away like an old piece of cloth and being replaced by a bloody military and police dictatorship."

○ Consequences from the realization that this system is not at all democratic

"Only when there is full clarity about the essence of the capitalist state, its political garment, but also its main instruments, military and police, only then will the working and exploited masses be able to realize that a reformist, 'parliamentary' abolition of this state apparatus is impossible. Mainly here lies the special danger emanating from the PDS (revisionist "Party of Democratic Socialism") which assumes the role of the reformist opposition in order to paralyze the revolutionary forces.

...The victory of the revolutionary forces can be achieved only in armed struggle directed by the party of the proletariat... Only after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its state apparatus can a new state be built on the basis of socialist democracy. After the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, its resistance doesn't stop, however. On the contrary, the more the power of the proletariat consolidates itself, the more embittered the resistance of the bourgeoisie will grow. Because of this, the durable liberation from exploitation and oppression, the liquidation of the bourgeoisie as a class, the creation of socialist relations of production and also the socialist democracy are quite impossible without dictatorship of the proletariat. And: democracy for the mass of the working people and the dictatorship of the proletariat over reactionaries and former exploiters don't exclude each other, but are on the contrary preconditions of each other...

What's also necessary is clarity about the aims after a socialist revolution -irrespective of how far this revolution might seem away... A main point of this new proletarian democracy is the steady raising of the activity of the broad masses of the working people, their control and criticism, their active and organized participation in the execution of state power."

Especially in the face of the revisionist change of colour of the formerly socialist countries in the fifties and sixties, resp. later in China and Albania, especially in the face of these historical experiences, it is all the more important to make conscious and to defend the importance of socialist democracy put into practice in the socialist Soviet Union at the time of Lenin and Stalin for the first time. Further, the text reads:

"The experiences of the struggles of the first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, have already shown that there are three essential measures to safeguard and consolidate the socialist democracy, its execution and strengthening: (1) the elected representatives can be recalled at any time. (2) The elected body of representatives has to be legislative and executive at the same time. (3) Communist forces entrusted with state or administration tasks get worker's salary."

○ Our perspective

"To put the destruction of the old reactionary state apparatus in the civil war by the majority of the working class and its allies and the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat into action, one must not think in too short terms. This necessitates a long-term, consciously executed struggle against West/German imperialism that is envisaged to last for years. The preparation and execution of the civil war can only be realized by a revolutionary Communist Party which carries socialist consciousness into the working class and plans, organizes and directs its struggle in all areas. The construction of such a party is what we see as our main task of today..."!

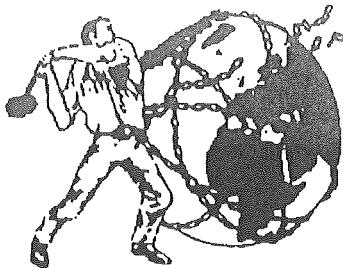
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Bulletin 4/94

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: October- December 1994

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In October, "Gegen die Strömung" presented the following draft resolution in the form of a leaflet to promote the discussions preceding the Second Party Conference:

Five Years of Annexation of the GDR - Five Years of Robbery and Deceit of West/German Imperialism

"Five years after the 'Opening of the Wall' by the bankrupt revisionist-capitalist SED regime on November 9th, West/German imperialism has completed the annexation of the GDR into its realm of dominance in military terms, too. The exclusive supremacy, including the military, of the FRG was now also enforced in West Berlin which had been incorporated de facto and had been treated as eleventh Federal Country of the FRG already for a long time."

○ **The policy of annexation by West/German imperialism and its consequences**

"With the beginning of the direct annexation of the GDR on November 9th, 1989, West/German imperialism, revanchism and militarism has reached an important milestone on its way lasting now already for more than 40 years and designed to undo all results of its historical defeat in World War II.

With the accomplishment of this goal, the complete annexation of the GDR and West Berlin, the West/German bourgeoisie is now once again able to exercise its dictatorship over all of Germany and has additionally gained enormously in strength in the political, economic, military and ideological realm for the imperialist rivalry for international spheres of influence.

German imperialism, militarism and revanchism wants more. The core points are: to

resurrect the 'German Reich' within the frontiers of 1937/38 and even to extend it, to gain the official power over nuclear weapons, to become the unchallenged Number One in Europe and, finally, to militarily enforce its world dominance against all major imperialist powers.

Since at present - and at first glance - West/German - or today, we can again call it German imperialism is able to expand by purely 'peaceful' means, the impression arises that military action is not at all necessary for it, that peace has become 'safer' by now. By this tremendous stage victory, by its grown strength, German imperialism is presently by no means satisfied and has not by any means become less dangerous. The history of rapacious German imperialism is an example for how the annexation of other areas only enhances the appetite of the imperialists. Its great successes have made German imperialism even more aggressive and eager for booty."

The leaflet goes on to show how German imperialism was able to strengthen itself politically, economically, militarily and ideologically by the annexation of the GDR. Treated are, among other things, the quite smooth dissolution and integration of the state apparatus of the former GDR into the structures of order and hierarchy of the West/German state apparatus. True, some top positions were subjected to a purification of personnel, but the whole 'middle level' could be taken over without too many problems.

"This lack of character - an important aspect for the annexation - has to be explained as a consequence of the revisionist SED education which has never really struggled against the typically German worship of the state and the concomitant dull belief in authority, but has, quite to the contrary, even cultivated them in many respects. Apart from this, the annexation took place so smoothly and without problems because what was at stake was not a 'change of system' as is constantly being drilled into our heads, but the annexation of one capitalist system by another one."

○ The further struggle against the consequences of the annexation and the perspectives of the proletarian revolution against German imperialism

"... The struggle against the consequences of the annexation is not over, it has to be continued and supported with all strength. Such day-to-day struggles are directed against the real worsening of the living conditions of the working people in the former GDR, the patronizing and the universal 'pocketing' by the state apparatus of the German imperialists ... It's not only a question of the consequences of the annexation but of the whole policy of annexation of German imperialism. Even when we say that the German imperialists presently have the former GDR firmly in their claws, this does not mean that the annexation has not to be struggled against anymore. We must support the struggles against the annexation independently of their prospects of success, because they are objectively struggles against ongoing injustice, against the revanchist advance of German imperialism.

Our task is to use the struggles that are directed against the annexation and its consequences as point of departure for the unmasking of the German imperialists and especially as a lever for the propagation and preparation of the proletarian revolution ... Only the destruction of German imperialism by the proletarian revolution can really foil its criminal plans, not only to regain all lost territories, but also to conquer new territories and spheres of influence and to strive for world dominance by means of an imperialist war against the other big imperialist powers..."

○ Our stand towards the Communist Party

The building of a joint Communist Party with the aim of the proletarian revolution in all of Germany cannot simply consist of the admission of Marxist-Leninist forces from the former GDR and West Berlin into the West German organization but has to be a process in the spirit of solidarity of discussion and ideological argument everywhere where there are preliminary stages of Communist organizing.

"Against possible dangers of tutelage or annexation, a debate on equal terms has to unfold with the revolutionary, Communism-oriented and Communist forces of the former GDR and West Berlin. This debate has to be about the line of the revolution, about the ideological tasks of the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism and other opportunist currents, about the peculiarities of history and the tasks in the respective realms of work. This is the way to achieve organizational unity via ideological unity and thus maximally contribute in each respective realm to the construction of the Communist Party in Germany."

The leaflet contained the annex *"Third October 1994: combative demonstration in Bremen against the revanchist 'national holiday.'"*



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In November, the following leaflet appeared, a draft resolution for the second Party conference of "Gegen die Strömung," carrying the title "Proletarian Internationalism and the Proletarian World Revolution:

Points of departure and aspects in the struggle for the analysis of the international situation

Against the Poison of a "Purely German" Perspective!

"The reasons for the application of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and starting from this, for the analysis of the international situation can and must be explained and propagated in a threefold manner in Germany:

○ **Proletarian internationalism and the aim of Communism**

"Chauvinism, the purported unity of interest with one's own exploiters, the arrogance against the 'rest of the world', is a deadly poison that renders impossible any revolutionary development, also and especially within the ranks of the working class.

The call of Marx and Engels: 'Workers of All Countries, Unite!' is expression of the deeply international character of Communism. This call means in no way to neglect the peculiarities of one's own country or to deny one's own historically grown struggle scene in one's own country. Quite to the contrary, this call encompasses the practical consequence that - all national peculiarities notwithstanding - capitalism has become a world system that can be destroyed worldwide once and for all only in joint action by the proletariat of all countries, achieving the victory of world communism thereby ..."

○ **Proletarian internationalism and the struggle against European chauvinism**

"In Germany as well as in the other European countries, European chauvinism is a form of big power chauvinism. Fanned by the imperialists of all countries of Europe, it has its main expression in the superiority delusions with respect to the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonial and dependent countries that are very deep-seated in the working class, especially

in the European countries..."

Each department of the world revolution must make its own - in a certain sense - 'decisive' contribution to the progress of the world revolution: the proletariat of the capitalist countries as fighters at the inner front of imperialism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples at the outer front of imperialism.

"Without the formation and strengthening of a joint front, the victory of the working class in the imperialist countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism is impossible. This is expressed in the slogan 'Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!'

This alliance, the leaflet makes clear, can only be forged on the basis of a proletarian-internationalist education, on the one hand, of the Communists of an oppressor nation against big power chauvinism, and of the Communists of an oppressed nation against 'national narrow-mindedness' on the other hand.

○ **Proletarian internationalism and the struggle against German chauvinism**

"... German imperialism is an imperialist big power, it has instigated two imperialist wars of robbery and has committed crimes in dimensions hitherto unknown during the time of nazi-fascism. The tradition of German arrogance, drilled into the minds a million times - for example, with slogan saying that the German character is the one and only that is able to 'heal the defects of the world' - and that culminated in the nazi-ideology, is being fanned day upon day. Under circumstances like these, a 'purely German' perspective is not only narrow-minded, but first of all a reflection of the German-imperialistic ideology of 'the German master race'. The 'German ideology', the all-German chauvinism in the heads of the working class has to be utterly destroyed in Germany..."

○ *The epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution and aspects of the current international situation*

The proletarian revolution in Germany has to be considered first of all as a result of the development of the contradictions in the world system of imperialism. For this reason, knowledge of the basic traits of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, its three basic contradictions, its regularities and peculiarities, knowledge of the forces of international counter-revolution as well as of the forces of the proletarian revolution constitute the basis for the correct judgement

about the peculiarities of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Therefore, the leaflet then deals extensively with the following questions:

- *On the forces of international counter-revolution*
- *On the forces of the proletarian world revolution*
- *The tearing of the chain of imperialism at its weakest spot*



In December, the following leaflet appeared - in the process of a closer cooperation with "Westberliner Kommunist" with the same text as there-

Every physical conflict with nazi cadre is a matter of life and death! Who denies this is lying!

The Organizer of the Nazi Murders Kaindl Will Not Be the Last One Who Remains Dead on the Street!

The introduction of the leaflet reads:

"The organizers of the Nazi murders in Germany still mostly enjoy their freedom. For one of them, this is no longer true: the nazi cadre Kaindl can no longer plan and organize any murders, he cannot utter racist and nationalist slogans of murder anymore, because some stabs with a knife ended his brown nazi life.

There already exist elements of a civil war in Germany: more than 80 nazi murders, innumerable murders attempted by the nazis, hunts and assaults on colleagues from other countries, asylum seekers and antifascists, male and female, on jewesses and jews, on Cinti and Roma people - all this will inevitably lead the people affected by the persecutions and threatened by murder and manslaughter to resort to self-help and to arm themselves. It will inexorably lead them to try forestall the murder plans of the nazi murderers whenever they know definitely that they are encountering nazi cadre. And it's not just a few nazi cadre who more or less still get away with it. Kaindl will not be the last nazi cadre who remains dead on the street in the more and more civil war-like conflicts, by knife, blows or whatever means."

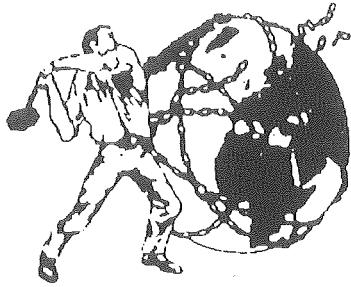
The leaflet goes on to elaborate the line of "Gegen die

Strömung" concerning spontaneous militant struggles of democratic and revolutionary forces:

"... Exactly because we advocate the planned, organized, scientifically prepared struggle against the imperialist world system, against German imperialism and all its underlings - also the nazis, of course - , exactly for this reason it is all the more important to intervene with clarity and solidarity into the spontaneously developing militant struggles, also against the nazi murderers.

No really revolutionary organization can and will say to its comrades: 'In case of a militant confrontation with nazis on the street or in the pub or wherever, don't meddle in, first ask the Central Comitee which line we're following in the case in question!' No, the line is completely clear and reads like this:

Intervene, take part in the struggle, be an example in militance, calmness and self-control, react on the basis of your revolutionary education in situations which could not be 'to planned' beforehand, react in the best way also for the maximal protection of the struggling comrades!



Bulletin

1/95

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" - Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: January - March 1995

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In January, "Gegen die Strömung" published the following leaflet, due to the process of closer cooperation identical in text to the "Westberliner Kommunist":

36.000 "unwanted foreigners" deported, 3.500 permanently in deportation imprisonment

The Murderous Terror of Deportation Imprisonment and Deportations!

The introduction of the leaflet reads:

"Deportation imprisonment of the German state, that's murderous terror in a threefold manner. First, the sword of Damocles of deportation imprisonment and deportation is poised over a large part of the so-called 'foreigners' living in Germany, intimidates and creates a fear of this state that is by no means unfounded. Second, the particular situation in deportation imprisonment is still more inhuman than the situation in the other prisons in the FRG. But third, and this is the crucial point, the deportation of prisoners to other deeply undemocratic states often means the calculated and planned deportation directly into the prisons of these states, means torture, even murder!"

Essential points of the leaflet are:

- *The Everyday Charakter of Deportation and the "Habituation Effect"*
- *The Murderous Terror of Deportation Imprisonment is an Important Means of Intimidation*
- *The Deportation Policy of German Imperialism Directly Furthers the Imprisonment of the Deportees in Their Native Countries*

In a separate section, the leaflet deals with actions of resistance of deportation prisoners during the last years, especially with the revolt of 40 deportation prisoners in Kassel on July 29, 1994. In the section "*Right of political asylum for those persecuted by imperialism and reaction*", there follows an excerpt from a draft of the resolution "Death to German imperialism, revanchism and militarism" for the second Party Conference of "Gegen die Strömung". This draft resolution makes, among other things, the following comments concerning the demagoguery of the German imperialists which maintains that only those who are politically organized or have been politically active should be considered as "politically persecuted":

"In reality, the notion of political persecutee implies that people are persecuted out of political calculation, their explicit political activity not being the only reason for their persecution, but, much to the contrary, racist, national and other considerations also giving rise to it. The reactionary maneuver of mixing the question of the right of asylum with the problem of the modern migration of the peoples, in order to simultaneously abolish the right of asylum and reject the right of seeking work in Germany for working people from other countries, has to be smashed by our offensive defense of both the right of search for work for the 'wretched of the earth' and the right of asylum as a democratically defined basic right."

Concluding, the leaflet points out, in the section “Our tasks”, that German imperialism is on the level of torturers and murderers, that

“the German state apparatus is in reality a well-organized organ of German imperialism that has never flinched from murder and torture in order to safeguard its interests.

Our immediate task beyond educational work is to put ‘a stoke in the wheel’ by practical actions, acts of direct solidarity wherever possible. Especially where deportation is directly connected with torture and murder, it is of primary importance to rescue deportation

prisoners from the murder machine, to include and support people with whom we work together in a narrower and broader sense in such actions. Today, this immediate democratic matter of course is not a matter of course. As long as no progress has been made in this respect, a really proletarian-internationalist revolutionary movement on a broad scale is not even thinkable in whatever way.”

As a supplement the leaflet contains a poster with the title “*Victims of the murderous policy of deportation - Fight against the deportation terror by the state!*”



The six-page leaflet of February/March of “Gegen die Strömung” and “Westberliner Kommunist” carried the title:

50 years bombardment of Dresden: A touchstone for the correct stand against Nazism and nationalism

Why the Nazi Fortress Dresden Had to Be Destroyed!

“After a media bustle around the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz that was disgraceful for the surviving Nazi victims, there ‘finally’ followed - well in time - the outcry of the ‘German soul’. Federal President Herzog, who did not have anything to say on Auschwitz, rose to speak in order to accuse the alleged war crime against Dresden and to equate the war against Nazi Germany with the war of the Nazis and to condemn both of them alike. And there was still more he had to say: ‘We Germans’ are generous, ‘we’ relinquish the persecution of the ‘war criminals’ who have destroyed Dresden, he announced, not without a glance to the allegedly so ‘vengeful Jews’ who are still not ready to pardon the Germans for Auschwitz, instead of finally dropping the mutual charges!!...”

On the other hand, the endeavour of a broad alliance of protest of the movement considering itself as ‘revolutionary’ broke down already in the forefield of the ‘official commemorations’ and before actions of protest against them had begun, due to two equally absurd positions, only apparently in extreme mutual opposition: one grouping made an ‘antinational

stance’ towards the liberation struggle in Turkey or towards the likewise nationally motivated liberation struggle in Mexico a precondition for the unity of action, the other position put ‘the bombardment of Dresden, the evacuation of the Germans and the rape of German women by allied soldiers’ up for discussion in one breath. The leaflet, however, expounds some essential standpoints concerning the discussion about the bombardment of Dresden:

(1). “The bombardment of Dresden is not by accident topic no. 1 in the denunciation of the war of the states of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition against Nazi Germany as a war crime. That is to say, essential questions are bundled up in this complex of questions...

Basic clarity about German imperialism, Nazi Fascism and the course of World War II, as well as about the peculiarities and problems of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition are a precondition for the ability to fight the aggressive campaign of deceit of the German imperialists...”

In order to take a correct and well-founded stance on this complex of questions, clarity about the history

of this question has to be established first:

"... These questions had been made the center of Nazi propaganda by Goebbels since the beginning of the air raids against Germany, especially during the last years and months of war ..."

(2). "*... Because of the reactionary inciting, pigheadedness and lack of character on an unprecedented scale in world history, the large majority ... of the German people was incapable to end the war on its own part and to overthrow the Nazi leadership."*

(3). "*After the war ending in 1945, the topic bombardment of Dresden' was taken loving care of without any real interruption up to the present day ... With this, one goal is primarily pursued: With the ideology of 'but-the-others-have-done-the-same-thing', the legitimacy of the liberation war of the states of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition is denied in general ... The disgrace - unprecedented in world history - of the 'hanging on' of the German population on the line of the Nazi propaganda literally up to the last minute is to be diminished or even justified."*

(4). "*... That was the background of the further-reaching war aims of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition: a real termination of the war on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany after the crushing of the Nazi state and especially the Nazi army..."*

(6). "*Only those who acknowledge the aim of the complete occupation of Nazi Germany as justified have any possibility to understand and accept why the systematic bombardment of all big towns and regional centres of Germany was a justified - by various reasons - and important form of conduct of war of the air force of the USA and England..."*

(7). "*... It was one of the very aims of the conduct of war of the Anti-Hitler Coalition to destroy the myth of invincibility of the German air force by means of the air war, to smash, bomb by bomb, the faith in the 'infallibility' of the Nazi leaders ... This was especially true for the large majority for whom categories like 'guilt for Guernica,' moral responsibility for*

concentration camps and extermination camps were anyway of no importance whatsoever..."

(8) "*... There were clear military necessities to react to the Nazi tactics of the 'conversion of big towns into fortresses', to destroy supply and infrastructure as well as industry, to enforce the evacuation of the civil population, in order to stop the Nazi machine of annihilation..."*

After this, the leaflet deals with the results of the allied air war, including the one against Dresden: The German bigmouthedness of the 'annihilation of the Soviet Union and England' had had to give way to the defensive Nazi wailing about the 'destruction of Germany.' The war was lost, the allied powers were more powerful - that was something which even parts of the Nazi supporters began to realize. German war material was tied down in the bombed big towns and could not be used at the front. Industry, housing space, supply routes were destroyed.

(11). "*On the basis of this considerations, it is possible to speak about the sort of 'arguments' that are produced against the bombardment of Dresden since 1945, time and again, without interruption and always with the same lack of standard..."*

(12). "*The fivefold credo of the 'Dresden ideologues' runs as follows:*

a) '*But the war was already decided.' Would the bombardment thus have been justified 2 years earlier? ... That the war was already 'decided' is only a half-truth..., because up to May 8, the Red Army had to fight in Berlin a house-to-house battle and the losses especially of the Red Army took large dimensions during the last months of World War II...*

b) '*But Dresden had no military importance, its bombardment was therefore senseless', many say. The Nazis - systematically developing Dresden into a 'fortress' - had a different view of this...*

c) '*But Dresden opened its doors to thousands of refugees,' they say ... But the real problem was that the movement of the refugees was advantageous to the Red Army. The cordoning off, administrative supply and military recruitment of the refugees, however, only*

served the stabilization of the collapsing Nazi regimes ... Additionally, one should not forget that an not insignificant part of these 'refugees' were Nazi criminals who, not without justification, feared their punishment by the Red Army...

d) Perhaps most disgusting is the wailing about the 'destroyed culture' ... It was especially the revisionist SED that distinguished itself in this matter ... Those who didn't want the destruction of culture had to dare to rise up against the Nazi regime instead of taking part up to the end in the Nazi war!...

e) Certainly the most demagogic 'argument' is the claim that the destruction of 60 % of the houses of Dresden was in reality directed against the advance of the Red Army. This sort of argument (which is by no means advanced by the SED revisionists only) overlooks that the Nazis have practised a policy of 'scorched earth' one way or another during their retreat..."

The separate section "The analysis of the position of the SED of 1950 on the bombardment yields the result: German chauvinism!" contains these remarks:

"Due to the lack of principle typical for revisionism and opportunism, the programmatically correct statements in the Call of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) of June 11, 1945 on the just war of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition and the joint responsibility of the German people for the Nazi crimes were relatively soon put aside whenever this was necessary to fawn upon the broad masses of the population influenced by the Nazi ideology. This was practised in a particularly gross manner with the example of Dresden."

Now the leaflet refers more detailed to the declaration of the CC of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) of August 24, 1950 "Against bomb carpets of the US-barbarians in Korea" in which the attempt is made to mobilize the population of the GDR with the rotten nationalist trick that equates the bombardment of Germany during the Nazi time with the bombardment of the Korean people fighting for liberation!

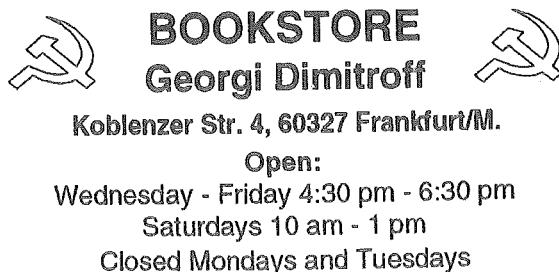
"This declaration of the CC of the SED discloses basic mistakes of in the raising to consciousness and education of the working class of the GDR ... In an extremely undialectical manner, the Anti-Hitler-Coalition dominated by the anti-Nazi forces is cut up with hindsight, in the face of the imperialist terror of the US after 1945, for example in Korea, as if the conduct of war of the US and England against Germany had been 'unjust'.

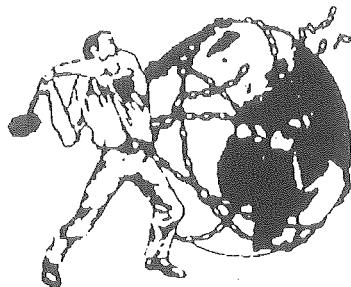
In this, the national desire for self-justification that the 'German people had not been that bad at all' mingles with phony anti-imperialist reasoning into a repugnant tangle..."

In conclusion, the leaflet explains: The correct stance on Dresden is not some special question for university-bred military men or would-be 'military specialists.' At a closer look, the ideologues of German imperialism are not all that much interested in the 'Dresden question' but

it's all about the justification of the war efforts of the Nazis as 'defence,' about the defamation of the states of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition, it's about the rehabilitation of Nazi-Fascism step by step - and the steps are growing larger every day.

It is the imperative task of all Communist forces, even if all of this is 'only' about democratic questions to be clarified in a consequent manner, to be in the vanguard in the enlightenment about these questions, to disseminate informations, materials and documents in order to help the authentic anti-Nazi documents to a breakthrough in the face of the falsifiers of history."





Bulletin 2/95

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: April - June 1995

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In April, "Gegen die Strömung" published the following 10-page leaflet - in the process of a closer cooperation with "Westberliner Kommunist" with the same text as there:

Defend the resistance of the 11 Communist Parties in Buchenwald, especially against anticommunists, but also against German-chauvinist SED-falsifications!
50 years oath of Buchenwald:

**"The Annihilation of Nazism
Together With Its Roots Is Our Slogan!"**

In the introduction, the leaflet deals with the threefold symbolism of Buchenwald: For the German imperialists, it is the catchword for their reactionary equation of the Nazi-KZs with the necessary and justified anti-Nazi internment camps after 1945, for the SED/PDS revisionists, it is an opportunity for the propagation of their German-chauvinist conception of the world. For the Communist forces, however, Buchenwald is

"...a symbol by which it is possible to explain and clarify very, very much about the Nazi crimes and their main authors, the stance of the German people during the Nazi time, the role of the KPD and, later, SED after 1945, the role of the armies of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition and the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of the oath of Buchenwald in Germany after 1945."

○ Nazi terror in the KZ Buchenwald

"All those who were carried off to Buchenwald were - just like in the other Nazi-KZs - subjected to murderous conditions of life: hunger, the worst diseases like typhoid fever or dysentery, systematic deprivation of sleep, daily terror and continuous chicanery by the SS, accompanied by brutal slave work in the factories of German imperialism in accord with the Nazi program 'extermination by work' - all this determined the 'everyday life' for the prisoners."

In the KZ Buchenwald, mass murders of Jews, of Cinti and Roma people were carried out, Soviet pris-

ners of war were systematically annihilated, and a special death camp was built for the Polish prisoners.

"For nearly eight years, until the liberation on April 11th, 1945, the Nazi beast had been on rampage and committed terrible crimes on prisoners from more than 30 nations. More than 250,000 prisoners had been detained in the KZ Buchenwald during this time, 70,000 to 80,000 were murdered by the Nazis, only 21,000 survived this hell..."

"Because of an hitherto in world history unprecedented extent of lack of character of the overwhelming majority of the German people who followed the Nazis literally until the last minute of the war, the German people was not capable of ending the war on its own part and to overthrow the Nazi leadership."

○ The reason why anti-Nazi internment camps after 1945 were necessary

"...On May 8th, the military defeat of the Nazis was a matter of fact. But Nazi-fascism was by no means completely smashed and destroyed by that time."

Nazi cadres were sitting in all parts of the state apparatus, there were, to mention only these, 12 million NSDAP members, 500,000 SS murderers, 60,000 Gestapo henchmen, dispersed military Nazi units still represented a danger to be reckoned with for the allied armies. But first of all, the roots of Nazi-fascism were

not eliminated. A central part of the Potsdam Agreement forming the basis for denazification were the anti-Nazi internment camps, among them Buchenwald, for:

"Without dictatorial violence against Nazis and Nazi criminals, without their maximal suppression and internment, without trialing them as efficiently as possible, the denazification after 1945 was impossible to execute; at that time, just like in our days, the slogan 'democracy for all' is useful, in the struggle against the Nazis, only to the Nazis themselves."

In the separate section "*The 'MLPD' in the track of the Nazis: The lie about the 'systematic extermination' of German prisoners of war in US camps*" the leaflet unmasks a chauvinist, German-nationalist concoction of the worst sort: the pamphlet "*The Truth About the German Prisoners of War*" (Rote Fahne - series of the "MLPD" no. 2/85). The leaflet further reads:

O Defend the Communist resistance in the KZ Buchenwald!

● Struggle against the Nazi system of "divide and rule" and for proletarian internationalism

"Organizing an international resistance organization required a tenacious struggle for proletarian internationalism. For the system of the Nazis aimed at stirring the national conflicts between the prisoners ... Thus, German and Austrian prisoners were accorded certain privileges; the Slavic peoples considered as a 'subhuman race', the Jews, the Cinti and Roma people were treated in an especially barbaric manner stood at the lowest level of all. In all of this, the Nazis made use of the whole variety of chauvinist prejudices held by the prisoners in order to play them off against each other; especially, they exploited anti-Semitism and racism against the so-called gypsies which had had deep roots in Germany even before 1933..."

"Only by means of successful union in the struggle against hunger, diseases, the brutal conditions of life that led to a deep demoralization of the prisoners, the overcoming of the conflicts was really possible, at least to a large extent. For trust especially into the German anti-Nazi prisoners could be created only if

these could materially prove that the struggle against the Nazis meant for them to display maximal solidarity with the prisoners of other nationalities..."

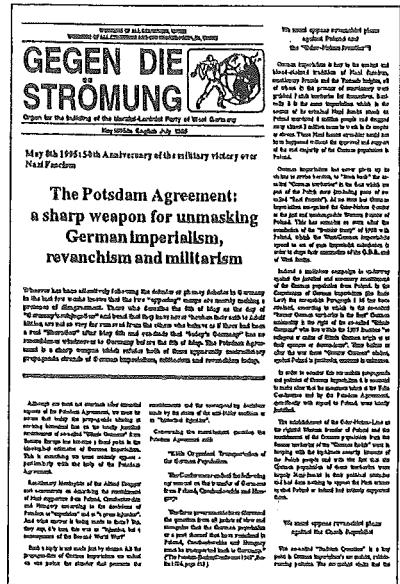
The resistance created an illegal network of connections and organized an international resistance front. The various national resistance organizations united in 1942/43 in the form of the "International Military Organization"; the "International Camp Committee" - consisting of representatives of communist resistance groups of the most diverse countries - was founded in 1943. It was the acknowledged political and ideological leading center of the anti-Nazi struggle.

"Under the leadership of the ICC and the IMO, a struggle was waged under conditions scarcely imaginable today that can only be described as heroic. Legal and illegal struggle against the barbaric Nazi system in the KZ Buchenwald were combined, for the improvement of the chances of survival of the prisoners, against informers and attempts at splitting undertaken by the Nazis, for the development of sabotage in the armament plants near Buchenwald, for the creation of armed groups and the preparation of the armed insurrection."

● Not a mainly "German" resistance!

From the presentations in the various revisionist SED standard works about the resistance in the KZ Buchenwald, the intention to exaggerate the role of the German Communists is clearly visible:

"Whoever knows that among 12 members of the ICC, there were only 3 German Communists, whoever knows that of the 900 military fighters only 115 were German prisoners, whoever knows that the radio specialist who built the transmitter with whose help contact with the US army was established was a Polish prisoner, whoever knows all this would never dream of falsifying history and painting the resistance in Buchenwald which was in fact international in character and leadership as a resistance of primarily German character - at least if the intention is an honest interest in defending the resistance against anticomunist attacks. In reality, such a stance discredits the international resistance by its exaggerations and, additionally, calumniates the outstanding internationalist contribution of the German Communists. Through this overrating of the 'German merits,' German nationalism and chauvinism in the German Communist and workers' movement are also strengthened and promoted..."



The May leaflet documented here in extracts is available in English from:

BOOKSTORE
Georgi
Dimitroff
Koblenzer
Str.4, 60327
Frankfurt/M.
Fax:
069/ 738972

After a refutation of the myth propagated by the SED/DKP revisionists about a “piece of self-liberated Germany” for the “vindication of the German nation,” the leaflet says:

O Analyze the deep meaning of the oath of Buchenwald!

In the “oath of Buchenwald” worked out under leading participation of the Communist forces, printed in full in the leaflet, this statement is made: “The *annihilation* of Nazism together with its *roots* is our slogan!” The leaflet shows that this slogan is still a programmatic task for the Communist forces in Germany, even today: To destroy the ‘roots’ of Nazi-fascism means the destruction of imperialism by the proletarian revolution. The formulation ‘annihilation’ is a clear challenge to reformist and revisionist ideas of merely imposing restraints on Nazism. The term Nazism, finally, emphasizes the peculiarities of German Nazi-fascism:

“Destroying the roots of Nazism - this means, among other things, especially the destruction of the criminal ‘German’ ideology, for the successfull execution and continuation of the socialist revolution on this road and in this struggle.”



● Struggle for the preparation of the armed insurrection in the KZ Buchenwald

● Why the thesis of the SED/DKP revisionists about the “self-liberation” of the KZ defames the resistance in Buchenwald

In May, “Gegen die Strömung” published the following leaflet, together with “Westberliner Kommunist”:

8th of May 1995: 50 years military victory over Nazi-fascism!

The Potsdam Agreement - a Sharp Weapon for Unmasking German Imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism

“Whoever has been carefully following the debates or phony debates in Germany in the last few weeks knows that the two ‘opposing’ camps are merely making a pretence of disagreement. Those who describe the 8th of May as the day of ‘Germany’s subjugation’ and boast that they have ‘never broken their oath to Adolph Hitler’, are not so very far removed from the others who behave as if there had been a real ‘liberation’ after 8th of May and conclude that ‘today’s Germany’ has no resemblance whatsoever to Germany before the May 8th. The Potsdam Agreement is a sharp weapon which refutes both of these apparently contradictory propaganda strands of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism today.”

● We must oppose the revanchist plans against Poland and the ‘Oder-Neisse frontier’!

● We must oppose the revanchist plans against the Czech Republic!

● The Potsdam Agreement and the struggle for the proletarian revolution

“The terms of past treaties, the Potsdam Agreement or drafts for a peace treaty, can of course today as a whole no longer be seen as a basis for political solutions to the problems that have arisen as a result of the Second World War. They are however essential weapons in the struggle for historical truth, and many specific points in

these documents powerfully underline the extent of the tasks facing us today on many fronts in our struggle against German imperialism, militarism and revanchism (recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier line, recognition of the independence of Austria, acknowledgment of compensation and reparations, recognition of the measures taken for the resettlement of sections of the German population of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union who were infected by Nazi-fascist ideology as just measures etc.)

...Debates about 'socialism or communism' turn out to be absurd and reactionary, if even the

simplest and most essential democratic principles, as laid down in the Potsdam Agreement are not taken into consideration, are not accepted or even attacked

...The important thing is that for example on a day like May 1st, the day of struggle for the international working class, we should embark upon discussion of the basic question of socialist democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principles of socialism and communism and the questions of building the Communist Party..."

In June, this leaflet appeared:

Police assault on Vietnamese workers in Berlin!

Solidarity With the Vietnamese Workers in the Struggle Against Media Smear Campaigns, Police- and Deportation Terror!

"After the 'breakthrough' at the German-Vietnamese negotiations, the Berlin senator of the interior issued a declaration saying that there was now 'freeway' for the deportation of 'Vietnamese illegally living in Germany.' The rulers did what was needed to ensure a new 'normalcy' in the German-Vietnamese relations and the practice of the deportation to Vietnam by buying a so-called 'repatriation agreement' by means of a bribe of 100 million DM.

The planned mass deportations will be directed in their core against the group of the Vietnamese contract workers who numbered 16,000 in the former GDR. In the interior, a well timed chain of lies, police measures and police terror prepared the ground for these plans. A climax is the police assault on a house in Berlin inhabited by Vietnamese workers..."

- The struggle of Vietnamese workers against the police assault**

- Systematic official lies, maltreatment and terror against Vietnamese**

The chauvinist and racist reporting practised for months on end by the bourgeois media and poster walls

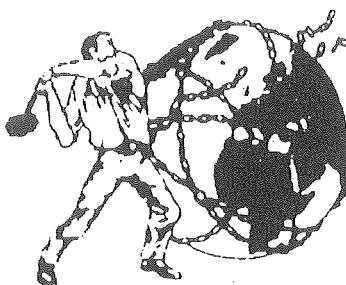
on the territory of the former GDR and Berlin is designed to

"..still more implant the ideology of a 'German-European master race' and to justify the massive police terror and the planned deportations."

The police assault of the fifth of May is only the tip of the iceberg. After an enumeration of the examples of maltreatment, attacks and even deliberate shots at Vietnamese that have become known recently, the leaflet further reads:

"The Vietnamese workers living in Germany are not only completely refused their most natural civil rights - even most elementary human rights are withheld from them. Maltreatments and deliberate attempts at murder by the German police are no 'slips,' but are of a systematic character and are threatening the life of the Vietnamese in Germany on a daily basis."

Further, the leaflet reports the *search of the Georgi Dimitroff bookstore* by the police on June 21th on the occasion of the distribution of the poster "Fight against the ban on the Kurdish Workers' Party and other Kurdish organizations!"



Bulletin 3/95

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"-Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: July - Sept./Oct. 1995

★ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian

★ Price: DM 0,50.-



In July, the following leaflet appeared:

The hypocrisy of the representatives and media of German imperialism:

The Capitalist Hunt for Profits

is the Cause for the So-Called "Pollution of the Environment"!

"April 1995: The German imperialists enforce the first Castor transport with highly radioactive nuclear waste against a broad and partly militant resistance under use of one of the largest mobilizations of police forces in the post-war history of the FRG, and with the support of a broad consensus of the bourgeois politicians. In June/July 1995 a totally different picture is emerging: Against the plan of the British-Dutch oil corporation Shell for the sinking of the oil platform 'Brent-Spar' in the North Sea and the announcement of the French Government of nuclear arms tests in its colonial area, the Mururoa atoll, all of a sudden 'all are in unison.' 'All are in the same boat' - whether in the boycott of Shell gas stations or of French wine - with the blessing of an alliance of Süssmuth, Waigel, Fischer, Gysi and consorts."

○ Thoroughly evaluate the experiences of the militant protest movement against the Castor transport!

○ Fight against German imperialism's preparations for nuclear war!

"The immediate aim of the protests was to stop the Castor transport, but this struggle was objectively also directed against the nuclear policy of German imperialism, which can't be separated from its imperialist policy of war ... German imperialism possesses factual power of disposition over nuclear weapons. This is not altered by the fact that this is not officially admitted because that would not be politically opportune. To become official 'nuclear power' remains the aim of German imperialism..."

○ Fight the "German ideology" and the politics of class conciliation in the "environmental question"!

"In the various environmental protest movements, time and again the following problem arises: Here, 'all can pull together,' pushing the same issue ... The common ground is placed into the foreground, because in the 'environmental question,' allegedly 'all' have the same interests..."

Against all varieties of the politics of class reconciliation ... it needs to be stressed that, although the consequences of the ruinous capitalist exploitation of nature will in the long run also affect the rich..., but they have much more possibilities to protect themselves from havoc. This is one side of the problem. A graver consequence, however, is the fact that such an ideology generates illusions about German imperialism within the protest movements. Class contradictions are pasted over and, with the help of the propaganda 'we are all sitting on the same branch', it happens all too often that German nationalism, the 'cohesion of the Germans for the preservation of the German forest, of the German homeland', are fanned and supported."

○ Only the destruction of the capitalist system can put an end to the ruthless exploitation of nature!

In a separate section, the leaflet deals with the *stance of the Communists concerning nature*, especially under the conditions of socialism and communism with the help of comments by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for the

purpose. After this, the leaflet underscores that the fact that the formerly revisionist-capitalist countries have imitated, in part even surpassed the capitalist countries of the West in their plunder and robbery of nature is eagerly being seized upon by the bourgeois ideologues, according to the maxim: "Whether socialism or capitalism, the environment is destroyed in both cases."

"... In this regard it must be stated clearly that these allegedly socialist countries were nothing but capitalist countries under revisionist camouflage. The reason of the ruinous plunder of nature common to both cases was the profit principle: In either case, the ruling revisionist-capitalist or openly capitalist class does not show any consideration for the working people. And in reality, whether there or here, the working people did not

have - despite all clichés and assertions - and do not have any say in the important matters.

This only once more testifies to the fact that the capitalist ruinous exploitation of the natural resources, the destruction of the general conditions of life of the working masses by the capitalist system can only be eliminated, if this system itself is abolished. This is not possible by spectacular individual actions, but only by the civil war of the exploited millions under the leadership of the working class, which succeeds in the struggle for the destruction of the reactionary state apparatus of German imperialism, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat..."



The August leaflet carried the title:

Kurdish hunger strikers thrashed and dispersed by SEK crews on July 27, 1995 in Frankfurt/Main!

Police Terror Against Kurds!

"During the last weeks, state terror against the Kurdish population in Germany was massively enhanced. The just Kurdish resistance, demonstrations, hunger strikes, occupations, directed directly against the German state, against its role as massive supporter and wire-puller of the politics of the Turkish military dictatorship - all this served as the pretext for the actions of the German state.

Paramilitary police actions of the most brutal sort by masked SEK teams, employment of water guns, orgies of clubbing and dozens of maltreatments, racist controls in the manner of the police state, hundreds of arrests - this is the 'balance-sheet' of the police terror against the Kurdish resistance during just a few days, accompanied by massive anti-Kurdish agitation by the bourgeois media...."

○ Racist face controls

○ The police terror was an attack, not only against the PKK, but against the whole Kurdish population living in Germany

○ Don't leave the Kurdish working people unassisted in their exemplary struggle against the German state apparatus!

Following the separate section "*Gülnaz Baghistani died from the consequences of the march of the hunger-striking Kurds in Berlin enforced by the police!*," the text of the separate section "*Don't underestimate the Nazi terror against the Turkish and Kurdish population!*" reads:

"...The Nazis' tactics is to 'hop on the bandwagon'; they breed fear and terror among the population from Turkey, too. The bourgeois media cloak the Nazi terror in order to play down the Nazi peague. The struggle for the internationalist support of the Kurdish liberation struggle cannot really be carried out, if it is not combined with the struggle against Nazi terror, which is also and especially directed against the Kurdish and Turkish population."

In a special section, the declaration of "Gegen die Strömung": "*Fight the warfare of the Bundeswehr in ex-Yugoslavia!*" is reprinted.

In September/October, the leaflet appeared:

On September 1, 1995, the anniversary of the Nazi assault on Poland:

War Action of German Imperialism in Bosnia!

"...The date is characteristic and was certainly not chosen by chance: Exactly on September 1, 56 years ago, the topmost watch-dog of German imperialism, Hitler, declared: 'From forty-five past five, fire will be returned.'... This next to unrivaled provocation amounts to a conscious demonstration that the German imperialists can apparently once again 'afford' to do whatever they like - and this of all things exactly on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia where the German imperialists committed monstrous crimes and carried out their genocidal politics during World War II..."

○ A reactionary and imperialist war against the interest of all peoples of Yugoslavia

The reactionary nationalist Croat and Pan-Serbian forces prove to be the main opponents in the war in ex Yugoslavia. But:

"The Croat reactionaries, the Serbian reactionaries and all the other reactionary forces do not, however, stand alone. They are first of all executive organs of the interests of the imperialist big powers whose rivalries in their struggle for a new partition of the world combine with the real problems of the peoples of Yugoslavia, rooted in part in history... It is, however, already certain who the losers are: the peoples of Yugoslavia."

○ The partisanship of German imperialism for Croatia necessitates a particular unmasking of the Croat Ustasha criminals without "flattering" the Serbian side

In a separate section, the leaflet unmasks the war-mongering demagoguery of the Green Party. The leaflet further reads:

○ The historical problems of the peoples of Yugoslavia do not under any circumstances justify the mass slaughter!

Knowledge of important historical facts and correlations is indispensable for an understanding of the present situation, since the reactionary nationalist Croat and Pan-Serbian forces especially invoke history ("Ustasha" and "Cetniks," respectively). The foundation of Yugoslavia in

1918 with its largely preponderant Pan-Serbian chauvinism, the attack of German imperialism on Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941 and the founding of the Ustasha state Croatia under its patronage, a state that expelled and murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs as well as tens of thousands of Jews and Roma, are important stages in this history.

"Only after the victory of the partisan armies aligned with the Red Army over the Nazi fascists, there was a short span of time with a glimmering of hope for the peoples of Yugoslavia to be able, on the road to socialism, to abolish national oppression and reach a peaceful, voluntary living together of the different nations and nationalities."

But the Yugoslavian revisionists headed by Tito took the road of treason, the road of chumming up to the imperialists.

"All of this inevitably also meant that the alliance of the peoples of Yugoslavia created in the struggle against the fascist occupiers was undermined: Where naked profit interest is the only economic rule, there can be no peaceful living together in a federation of nations and nationalities with equal rights... From then on, furious national strife and national oppression were the rule in Yugoslavia..."

○ The real war mongers and instigators of war are the imperialist big powers

Nevertheless, the revolutionary forces in Germany must first of all unmask and fight their 'own' main enemy, that is, German imperialism, without, however, ignoring or underestimating the role of the other imperialist big powers:

○ The war in ex Yugoslavia was desired and fanned especially by German imperialism

"...German imperialism pushed hardest - and not for the first time - for the violent, and also military, destruction of Yugoslavia, in order to promote and bring about its expansionist and revanchist aims..."

With this, German imperialism does not only pursue the enhancement of its political and economic influence and the military safeguarding of this influence by stationing German soldiers:

○ The importance of the Bundeswehr intervention in the concept of German imperialism with respect to world power

“...With the direct and open commitment for war of the Bundeswehr in Bosnia, German imperialism has made another great step on the road to the enforcement of its aspirations for world power... This is about getting the population used to direct war actions, about training one's own army in real 'cases of emergency', about the preparation of local, independently led imperialist wars of German imperialism, directed against imperialist rivals and especially also against the liberation struggles of the peoples in all parts of the world, and about the long-term preparation of worldwide imperialist wars for the repartition of the world against the other imperialist big powers.”

In the separate section “*The Bundeswehr: An army in the tradition of the Nazi Wehrmacht and of German militarism and revanchism*”, the leaflet treats the personal and ideological continuity from the Nazi Wehrmacht to the Bundeswehr. Additionally, the *Crimes of the Nazi fascists in Yugoslavia* are documented in a separated section: the genocide of the Jewish population and the Roma people, the mass murder of Serbs and the atrocities of the Nazi occupiers against the anti-Nazi forces. The leaflet further reads:

○ The Bundeswehr - murderous war machine of German imperialism

○ Tasks and perspectives of the struggle and of international solidarity against the warfare of the Bundeswehr

“...It would be totally wrong to identify with one of the reactionary sides. Neither the chauvinist leaders of the Serbs nor the utterly reactionary leaders of the Croats or the reactionary Bosnian leadership represent the interest of their peoples... The perspective of struggle can only be the revolutionary upheaval of the whole hitherto existing order of society, the war against the interfe-

rence of the imperialist big powers and against the domestic reactionary forces...

The fact that the war being waged on the territory of ex Yugoslavia is unjust and reactionary on all sides does not at all mean that there is no room for international solidarity and support. Our solidarity is directed to the murdered peoples of Yugoslavia and especially to all those forces who pit themselves against the activities of reaction, against the chauvinist politics of vituperation, hatred and division.

It is our task to resolutely support all revolutionary forces in ex Yugoslavia in their hard struggle, to untiringly denounce German imperialism and to make clear that it is enforcing the politics of destruction and of internal war in these countries in order to buy up the destroyed country even more - and for dumping prices - and to be able to 'sanitize' it under its own dominance and in its own interests.

Against the war action of the Bundeswehr, against all forms of military action and stationing of Bundeswehr troops in ex Yugoslavia, and against the Bundeswehr in general, propaganda and agitation have to be strengthened. We must support antimilitaristic actions against war actions as forcefully as we can and connect them wherever possible with the long-term perspective of the struggle against German imperialism...”

On the occasion of the revanchist “day of reunification” and the demonstrations against it, the leaflet contains the supplement: *October 3, 1995 - no reason for celebration, a cause for struggle!* (Supplement: 5 years of incorporation of the GDR).



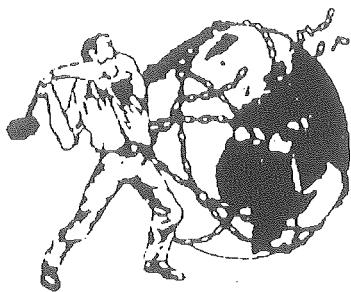
BOOKSTORE Georgi Dimitroff

Koblenzer Str. 4, 60327 Frankfurt/M.

Fax 069 / 73 09 20

Open:
Wednesday - Friday 4:30 pm - 6:30 pm
Saturdays 10 am - 1 pm
Closed Mondays and Tuesdays

The leaflets cited were published by “Gegen die Strömung” as well as by “Westberliner Kommunist”, and in the process of their closer cooperation with identical texts.



Bulletin

4/95

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany: November - Dezember 1995

☆ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ☆ Price: DM 0,50.- ☆

In November 1995, the following leaflet appeared:

The Struggle Within and Without of the Bundeswehr

"The German imperialists celebrate with 'helmets off for prayer' and 'big curfew' the fortieth anniversary of the war-mongering Federal Army. Hundreds of 'ceremonial acts' and 'recruit's swearing-ins' are being organized throughout the whole country. Quite consciously and provocatively, the whole arsenal of the tradition of German militarism is put into action. Although the whistles of the participants in the demonstrations who are threatened and intimidated by the terror of the police are right and necessary: The present and future struggle within and outside of the Bundeswehr has to set aims for itself that go much farther, has to take forms of a much farther scope."

As first realm of such a struggle, the leaflet mentions, as a task still largely on the democratic level, a raising of consciousness concerning the *historical continuity* of the Bundeswehr with German militarism:

"Pre-eminent in this is educational work on the multifarious continuity of the Bundeswehr with the Nazi Wehrmacht ... The falsification of history through transfiguration of Prussian militarism in the wars around 1812, the homages to the Prussian spirit of subservience and slavish obedience, the cover-up of the murderous policy of the German military against the oppressed peoples in the colonial wars in Africa and its criminal role in World War I are also indispensable realms of education against German militarism..."

A second realm concerns the somewhat more difficult but at the same time still more necessary task of enlightenment, in as concrete a manner as possible, concerning the presently executed

interventions, under 'humanistic' cover, of the Bundeswehr as an instrument of German imperialism from Somalia and Cambodia up to the war action in ex-Yugoslavia...

But all this educational work notwithstanding, necessary as it is as a means of struggle for the unmasking of the Bundeswehr as a murderous instrument of German imperialism, the 'weapon of critique cannot substitute the critique of the weapons', as Marx wrote.".

○ On the necessity of the struggle within the Bundeswehr

The leaflet then further describes the tasks of Communist cadres within the Bundeswehr. Apart from the acquisition of knowledge on military operations, these tasks also include the mobilization of ordinary soldiers against the crimes of the Bundeswehr:

"Communist agitation and propaganda, actions within the imperialist army are necessary and important and are of a significance not to be underestimated, also and especially keeping in mind the superiority of the enemy in terms of personnel and technics. And last not least the degree of stability of the state apparatus also depends on the degree of stability of the army and its general state. In this we have to fight the very special illusion of possible success in the neutralization or even the 'winning-over' of the essential core realm consisting of elite troops and officer corps. The imperialist class has enough means and possibilities to rally around itself a very effective, truly devoted, blindly obedient pack of corrupt murderers and to concentrate them in the core realm of the army ..."

Less than ever it is possible to really deeply penetrate this core area and to make an imperialist army unusable 'from within' or to neutralize it."

O The struggle outside the Bundeswehr against the Bundeswehr

The leaflet makes clear that all necessity of the struggle within the Bundeswehr notwithstanding, the main part of the work for the destruction of the imperialist army can only be performed by the armed formations of the proletariat. For the Communist Party, this does not only mean the task of the evaluation of the experiences of armed struggles of the international proletariat and of the proletariat in one's own country, but also the necessity of addressing the task of the education of own militarily trained cadres. Especially today, in a time of decline of militant actions of the revolutionary forces and the seemingly unhindered advance of German imperialism, the leaflet calls to mind the words of Engels, who formulated the basic principles for the armed uprising as an art:

"First, one must not play with the uprising, if one is not determined to bear all the consequences of the game. The uprising is a calculation with extremely indeterminate factors whose values can change every day; the forces of the adversary have all advantages of organization, of discipline and of traditional authority on their side; if one cannot confront them with strong superiority, one is beaten and destroyed. Secondly, once one has taken the road of uprising, one has to act

with greatest determination and to pick the offensive. Defensive is the death of every armed uprising; it is lost even before it has confronted the enemy. Surprise your adversary, as long as his forces are scattered, take care, everyday, for new successes no matter how small; preserve your moral preponderance furnished to you by the preliminary success of the revolt; pull, in this manner, the wavering element who always follow the strongest drive and always take sides with the stronger party to your own side; force your enemies into retreat, even before they can rally their forces against you; to speak with the words of Danton, the greatest master in revolutionary tactics known so far: de l'audace, de l'audace, de l'audace! (audacity, audacity, audacity!)." (Engels, "The Uprising," 1852, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 8, p.95)

Concluding, the leaflet says:

"Independently of the multifarious modifications that this basic rule has undergone in various historical situations, it still in many respects remains a beacon light and a guiding line in the struggle, for the final rallying of radical-democratic forces within and outside of the Bundeswehr, and for the transition to the true task of the Communist Party in the civil war of the proletariat: the execution of the profound socialist revolution in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the socialist democracy, in the struggle for Communism shoulder to shoulder with the working class of all countries."



The December leaflet carried the title:

On the 100th anniversary of the death of F. Engels

Friedrich Engels - Revolutionary Fighter for Communism

"100 years ago, Friedrich Engels died. If things had gone according to his wishes, there would be much less need for us to emphasize the topicality of the lessons on the preparation of the armed uprising of the proletariat - the matter would be settled by now. If he had had his way, we could study his writings and those of his comrade-in-arms Karl Marx with a different emphasis, in connection with the practice of the construction of socialism and Communism. But history 'did not give him his way'. It has its own

laws, turns and bends and does not conform to the wishes of particular persons, as was stressed particularly by Friedrich Engels himself.

The hundred-year history since the death of Friedrich Engels is a history of big defeats, enormous successes, further defeats, further successes and defeats. Without doubt we find ourselves since decades in a period of an extreme decay of the really Communist forces worldwide. Especially this historical reality makes it

all the more urgent, primarily for the systematic work of the construction of the Communist Party against diverse varieties of opportunism and modern revisionism, to stress Engels' outstanding revolutionary accomplishment in the elaboration of scientific Communism."

Introducing first the core feature of the life and work of Friedrich Engels under the heading "*Firmly on the Side of the Working Class*", the leaflet makes clear that Engels was the first one to state that it is the historical mission of the proletariat to be the champion of the socialist revolution. In this, he took a critical stance vis à vis the proletariat, especially under the circumstances prevailing in Germany, with class struggle not yet being very developed there at that time:

"It is not a question about what this or that proletarian or even the whole proletariat imagines as its goal for the time being. It is the question of what it is and of what it will be forced to do in accordance with this condition."

(Engels/Marx, "The German Ideology," 1845, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 2, p. 38, emphasis in the original).

○ *Proletarian internationalist*

As proletarian internationalist, Engels stated that only the proletariat, in the struggle for communism, can do away with all nationalism, national quarrel and strife between the peoples, but this was, for him, no automatic result of the struggles and revolutions; rather, he stressed that enormous efforts have to be undertaken for this. For the proletariat of an oppressor nation, he formulated the following important conclusion:

"A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."

(Engels, "Speech on Poland," 1847, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 4, p.417).

Still unconditionally valid and, considering the complicity of the German people in the crimes of Nazi fascism, all the more worth stressing is what Engels stated in this respect with concern to Germany:

"A nation that has been willing to be used as tool of oppression against all other nations during the whole of its past, such a nation first of all has to prove that it is really revolutionized."

(Engels, "The Prague Uprising," 1848, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 5, p.81).

As task of the proletariat after the proletarian revolution, he formulated:

"But by now, behind official Germany, socialist

Germany is already there, the party to which the future, the near future of the country belongs. As soon as this party comes to power, it can neither execute nor keep this very power without redressing the injustices committed by its predecessors in office against other nations."

(Engels, "Socialism in Germany," 1891-92, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 22, p.253).

Engels knew that nationalism and chauvinism will ruin every proletarian movement if these poisons are not mercilessly fought. Therefore, he stressed:

"What matters above all is to keep the true internationalist spirit that does not suffer patriotic chauvinism, and that greets every new step in the proletarian movement with joy, regardless from which nation it emanates."

(Engels, Preliminary Note to "The German Peasant War," 1874, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 18, p.517).

Finally, during his last years in life Engels was also confronted with the rising anti-Semitism which even threatened to get a foothold within the socialist worker's movement. He categorically opposed all attempts to extenuate the anti-Semitic "anticapitalist" phraseology as sort of a bridge to a true anticapitalist stance. Anti-Semitism, in the words of Engels against this position, serves

"only reactionary purposes under feigned socialist cover ... and with this, we can't have any dealings."

(Engels, "On Anti-Semitism," 1890, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 22, p.50).

○ *Proletarian revolutionary and specialist of the proletariat for the armed uprising*

Engels, who immediately took part in the armed struggles against reaction during the revolution of 1848, authored a host of important works in military theory and -strategy. Armed struggle is a special, the highest form of revolutionary struggle. It is subject to special laws to be carefully thought through. In this sense, Engels wrote that the armed uprising of the proletariat is an "art," just as war is one. Engels heaped devastating sarcasm on all those prattlers who disregard the military questions of uprising in the liberation struggle of the proletariat and do not see them in a basic connection with the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"Have these gentlemen never seen a revolution? A revolution is for certain the most authoritarian thing that exists; it is the act

whereby one part of the population enforces its will onto the other by means of guns, bayonets and cannons, that is, with the most authoritarian means thinkable; and the victorious party must bestow permanence to this rule through the terror instilled in the reactionaries by its weapons if it wants to avoid having fought in vain."

(Engels, "About Authority," 1872/73, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 18, p.308).

O On the central question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle against revisionism in the building of the party of the working class

Four years before his death, in consideration of the opportunism mounting within the SPD, Engels insisted on the publication of Marx' work "Critique of the Gotha Program." It was due to him that success was reached, against massive resistance within the SPD party leadership, in the dissemination of this harsh critique of the cover-up of the contradictions of capitalism and in making public the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here are his powerful words, in the introduction to "The Civil War in France," directed against the revisionists:

"The social democratic Philistine has recently once again got into salutary terror in the face of the word: dictatorship of the proletariat. Well, gentlemen, do you want to know how this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat,"

(Engels' introduction to Marx' work "The Civil War in France," 1890, German, Verlag für Fremdsprachige Literatur, Peking 1972, p.17f.).

In his "Critique of the Erfurt Program" of 1891, published only in 1901 by the leadership of German social democracy, Engels aptly characterized one essential feature of opportunism:

"This forgetting of the great main factors because of the current interests of the day, this wrestling and striving after the short-lived success without concern for the later consequences, this abandonment of the future of the movement for the sake of the present may be meant 'honestly', but it is and remains opportunism, and 'honest' opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all."

(Engels, "Criticizing the Social Democratic Program Draft 1891," Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 22, p.234f.).

As further core points of the life and work of Friedrich

Engels, the leaflet elaborates:

O Guarantor for the safeguarding of the scientific lifework of Karl Marx and its systematic dissemination

O "Engels was not infallible ... but this has to be addressed altogether differently." (Lenin)

O Engels - example for revolutionary Communists today

Concluding, the leaflet says:

"Hundred years after the death of Friedrich Engels, the capitalist resp. imperialist system of exploitation still prevails world-wide. After the big victories that were attained, first of all, , the victory of the socialist October Revolution in Russia 1917, the Communist world movement had to suffer immense defeats because of the revisionist treachery of the once glorious communist parties of the Soviet union, but also of China, Albania etc. The bourgeoisie pours scorn and derision over Engels and Marx, allegedly theoretically and practically disproved by all of this.

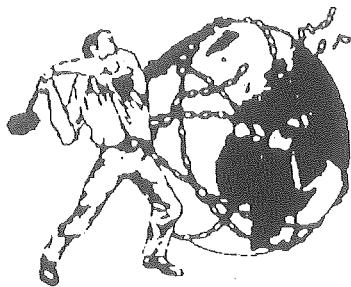
But everybody who, for example, studies Engels' work "The Development of Socialism from Utopian Idea to Science" will recognize without difficulty that literally everything he wrote on the inherent laws and insoluble contradictions of capitalism proves true, totally and in mounting degree, in the reality of today; and that therefore all his conclusions on the necessity of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, of socialism and Communism are also undiminishedly valid. As Engels writes there, in a certain sense man leaves the realm of the animal kingdom only then and with this, and enters from animal conditions of existence into truly human ones.

"To carry out this world-liberating deed is the historical mission of the proletariat."

(Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopian Idea to Science," 1880, Marx/Engels Works, German edition, volume 19, p.228).

The leaflet contains the poster **"Solidarity with the Fighting Workers in France!"** as supplement.

The leaflets cited were published by "Gegen die Strömung" as well as by "Westberliner Kommunist," and in the process of their closer cooperation with identical texts.



Bulletin

1/96

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: January - March 1996

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

The January leaflet carried the title:

Solidarity With the Fighting Workers in France!

"While capital and the capitalists boast to be 'in command of everything' at least in Western Europe, to have created the necessary silence of the graveyard, the militant struggles of the workers in France showed that this is by no means true. In Paris, in Le Havre, Grenoble, Lyon; in Nantes, Bordeaux and many other towns and regions ... there was militant, internationalist and more and more radical struggle. And this is not all. The strikes, demonstrations and struggles in France lasting now for four weeks also give a hint of what will happen when 'all wheels stand still,' when the working class will stop to lend their ear to the appeasement and the prattle about social partnership of the union bosses."

○ Sticks and tear gas - the furious answer of the state against the strikers

The leaflet documents some sidelights and stages of the struggles in France. In addition, an interview with the militant miners from Freyming-Merlebach was printed under the title "*This is one struggle, the specific problems of the miners notwithstanding; the struggle is a struggle of the whole working class in France!*" Other core points of the leaflet are:

○ The appeasement politics of the union bosses

○ The perspective of the struggles of the workers

"It is true that the present class struggles in France are economic struggles of the day, dealing with concrete social and economic de-

mands. They are nevertheless in their thrust directed against the community of interests of the capitalists and the politicians. In this respect, the mobilizations and strike battles in France are a first step. The workers can see from their own experience: In the struggle for demands from the bourgeoisie which apparently are of even the utmost banality - whether in France or here in Germany or wherever in the world -, the workers must enforce their interests against the union leadership and the attacks of the state. In struggles like these, it is also possible to prepare the ground for the insight that the state apparatus is not an institution standing above the interests of the classes but the executing organ of the ruling class.

The workers make the experience that their actions have to be planned even in the smallest strike, that the enemies will try to stifle and sabotage the struggle by means of the carrot and the stick. These struggles will more and more break the prevailing legalism and pacifism...

The working class, which can, in its struggle against the corrupt workers' aristocracy, against opportunism and treachery, gain consciousness of its situation and its role through the work of the Communist Party, develops into the carrier of a new, of the socialist form of society ... This 'general truth' gains concrete shape in every struggle of the workers. The struggles in France help the Communist forces in other countries, they give courage, meet with solidarity and are a ray of hope in the long struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Communism."

Also in January, there appeared number 1 of "Rot

Front" (*Red Front*) - a journal for scientific Communism, the theoretical organ of "Gegen die Strömung"

with resolutions of the Second Party Conference of the organization.



In February, the leaflet appeared:

Against the Cover-up of the Nazi Massacre in Lübeck

"Ten people murdered - that was the bloody outcome of the Nazi fire assault in Lübeck. In a downright massacre, Monique Bunga (27 years) with her daughter Suzanne (7 years) from Angola, François Makudila (27 years) with her children Christelle (6 years), Daniel (1 year), Legrand (4 years), Mija (12 years) and her step daughter Christine (19 years) from Zaire as well as one man from Lebanon and one further woman were burnt to death in the flames of the home for asylum seekers inhabited mainly by people from Zaire, Angola, Ghana, Togo, Tunisia, Syria, Lebanon and Poland in Lübeck's Hafenstraße on January 18, 1996. The other inhabitants of the house suffered injuries: 30 major casualties struggled for their lives and are marked forever, 20 people were less seriously injured."

Without example in the history of the FRG is not only the degree of this Nazi crime, without example is also the complicity between police, Department of Public Prosecution, bourgeois media and Nazis: in the way and manner of the police state - similar to the shooting of Wolfgang Grams in Bad Kleinen 1993 -, witnesses' testimonies and other evidence was covered up, lies were spread, and the police even supplied an alibi to the three resp. four Nazis that had been arrested at first ..."

○ Why the Nazi massacre is covered up by the police, the Department of Public Prosecution and the media

After initial protest demonstrations, the German imperialists very quickly succeeded in once again getting the situation under control. In this, they had a robust interest. The leaflet mentions three reasons for the direct protection of the arrested Nazis, for the cover-up of the Nazi murders:

"For one thing, there is the - often underestimated - nationalist and Nazist way of thinking shown in the quiet or openly, and even in organized form, in the ranks of the police, the De-

partment of Public Prosecution and the secret services. We need only remember the well established fact that an undercover agent of the German secret service was organized in the Nazi scene of Solingen and had trained the Nazi murderers in his forgery of Nazi cadres disguised as a 'school for combatant sport.'

On the other hand, the cover-up maneuvers succeeded in preventing protests of anti-Nazi forces.

More decisive is, however, that police and Department of Public Prosecution, in unison with the official representatives of German imperialism themselves, have a great stake in the maintenance of the 'reputation of Germany in the world.' Similar to the way that, on a large historical scale, Auschwitz is 'regretted' - if looked at in a more considered way, not because of those murdered, but because it did damage to the 'glory of Germany' - , the press commentaries ran wild according to the motto 'Once again, it has struck us' - and 'us,' in fact, meant the 'poor Lübeckers' that had once again been brought into 'disrepute.'"

In the text that follows, the leaflet disproves and unmasks piece by piece the mendacious constructs of the German state and the bourgeois media: the maneuver with the "witness" presented after the promise of a reward of DM 50.000, the dirty lie about the alleged quarrel "between Arabs and Africans" as cause for the fire, the lie according to which the initially arrested Nazis are "no enemies of foreigners" etc.; the leaflet closes with the demand: "***Immediate release of home resident Safoan Eid!***" The leaflet further reads:

○ The necessity of own research and independent political exposures

Finally, the leaflet stresses the task to expose the lies and deceitful maneuvers of this state in a still clearer and more express manner through own research:

"Admittedly, we cannot force this state to tell

the truth, but we can force it to spread more and more gross lies, more and more absurd falsehoods, so that its grimace of lies comes out more and more clearly.

The Nazi massacre of Lübeck has shown anew that illusions held of this state, its police and justice are more than harmful, that the most determined, most consequent democratic and revolutionary forces must not let themselves be pushed into the defensive by the state's brazen lies, and especially, that each sort of trust that the organs of the press with their image of themselves as 'critical' will 'certainly disclose the case' is totally besides the point.

Necessary is the insight that - all real, but often also only pretended differences between the various departments of the army of editors, journalists and news agencies notwithstanding - all of them only bind to themselves their own

different parts of the population, and that all are hanging on an entirely material string of ten to fifteen large publishers. The bourgeois media are a solid component of this reactionary capitalist-imperialist system, they serve it and have, before and above all, the function to safeguard this system ... The Nazi massacre in Lübeck gives a glimpse of what, apart from the terror of the state - the daily mass deportations, the thousands of imprisoned in the deportation prisons - will come upon us of daily Nazi attacks and -assaults, and how such Nazi attacks are systematically covered up and shielded by this state and its army of journalists.

Fighting back doubly and threefold, the organization of the real solidarity with all those prosecuted by the Nazis, exerted by all consequently democratic forces of all nationalities - this is one of the first and most important tasks of the day ...”



In March, the leaflet appeared:

“If you fight, you may loose. If you don't, you have already lost!”

On the Struggle of the Workers of the Vulkan Shipyards in Bremen and Bremerhaven

“When the news of the mass dismissals planned by the Vulkan corporation filtered through to the public, the workers of the Vulkan shipyards in Bremen and Bremerhaven were fed up with it. From February 19, 1996, workers blocked the works gates; they even occupied the Vulkan shipyards in Bremen on the 20th January, 1996. A transparent was fixed to the works gate: 'We won't let this enterprise die, we shall struggle.' These blockades and the occupation constituted the beginning of massive protests and struggles especially of the workers of the Vulkan shipyards in Bremen and Bremerhaven for the conservation of their jobs, protests and struggles that lasted for several days.

The various forms of struggle, the effective break-off of the struggles after several days, the sense of resignation gaining ground, paired with the treacherous hope that, perhaps, 'rescue' could still come from the banks and the bourgeois politicians, the leadership of the struggles in the hands of false friends - all this shows

the strengths and possibilities, but, above all, the weaknesses of this economic struggle - and also the limitations of every spontaneous struggle of the day under the rule of capitalism.”

As crucial points the leaflet mentioned:

○ ***The struggle of the workers and the appeasement politics of the DGB- and IG-Metall leadership***

○ ***Trust in your own strength!***

“Factory occupations, blockades and demonstrations, all this should be started again and be extended in order to really generate pressure, to deal real blows to capital. All splitting attempts of the capitalists and of the union leadership - above all by German chauvinism, into German colleagues and colleagues from other countries - must be denounced and fought vigorously ... A decisive touchstone of whether German chauvinism is really fought in a daily struggle is the

question whether internationalist solidarity, the internationalist element is really promoted, strengthened and extended."

○ **The capitalist system is the cause of mass dismissals and unemployment!**

"Under imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, the economic basic law consists in the safeguarding of maximal profits for financial capital through exploitation, ruin and pauperization of the working people of the 'own' country, by enslavement and plundering of the peoples of other countries, especially of the countries dependent on imperialism, and by ever more mounting militarization, by imperialist wars in the service of securing maximal profits ..."

○ **"Unemployment" - an economic, political and ideological instrument of the German imperialists**

"On the one hand, unemployment serves as a 'human reservoir' that can be thrown into this or that new production project according to the necessities of capitalist profit maximization without interruption of the capitalist production of surplus value. On the other hand, it is an important instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for the enactment of its reactionary policy of 'divide and rule.' Unemployment is a lever for the aggravation and intensification of the exploitation of the workers still active in the production process ... The threat with mass dismissals, rush dismissals, in order to remove the most militant colleagues from the enterprise, constitutes an important lever for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie ... With mounting unemployment, there are stronger and stronger attempts of the German bourgeoisie to use unemployment for the stirring of national contradictions, especially of German chauvinism, by suggesting that the working people from other countries are 'taking the jobs away' from the German working people, just as if it were not the capitalist system that is not only the cause of unemployment, but even directly interested in it. German chauvinism and racism are used by the German imperialists to even further bind the German workers to themselves; they are an instrument of the worldwide imperialist war preparations of the German imperialists, because it is not possible to lead imperialist wars

without massive inciting of the working people with the poison of chauvinism."

○ **The necessary struggle for the preservation of the jobs and the perspective of the further struggle**

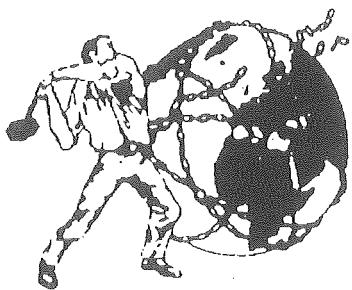
"What follows from this insight? This does not mean that struggles like the ones in Bremen and Bremerhaven, economic struggles for the immediate protection against the attacks of the capitalists against the living conditions of the workers, of the exploited working people are meaningless. On the contrary ... for these struggles are the precondition to be at all able to lead new struggles that reach further. But still, there is a big dilemma: The struggle for the conservation of the jobs is, at the same time, a struggle for the conservation of exploitation ... Because of this, the question must be posed: For a reform of capitalism, or for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism?"

We say clearly: For the overthrow of German imperialism and the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation, for the building of socialism and Communism! For the armed struggle of the working class and its allies for the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom and from bottom to top, the only road at all to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Further themes of the leaflet are, among others, "Solidarity with the Kurds struggling against the German police!" as well as the declaration of the Organización Campesina de la Sierra del Sur (OCSS) concerning the occupation of several embassies in Mexico, among them also the German embassy.

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Bulletin

2/96

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: April - June 1996

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In April/May, the leaflet appeared:

On the Topical Significance of Lenin's Work "What Is to Be Done?"

"'What Is to Be Done?' was written by Lenin in the year 1902 on the background of the then current situation in order to give answers to the most burning questions of the revolutionary movement of Russia. One could ask: What's that got to do with today's revolutionary struggle in Germany? Localism, dispersion, little or no contacts and discussions between the various political groups, dozens of initiatives oriented almost only locally, with perspectives that hardly reach beyond their own immediate business, thus dissipating their energies by being absorbed in individual projects, as well as the haphazard approach connected with all of this, are predominant. Equally widespread are enmity towards theory and criticism, especially when it comes to the discussion of the fundamental questions of the revolution - such a situation, or at least one similar to it, is prevailing nearly everywhere in the ranks of honest forces conceiving of themselves as revolutionary. Widespread resignation is the logical consequence.

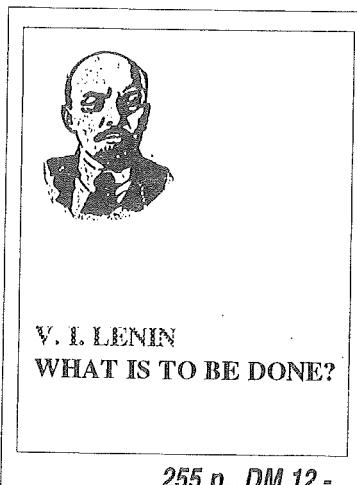
Although in many respects the situation within which Lenin wrote 'What Is to Be Done?' cannot be compared to the present situation in Germany, 'What Is to Be Done?' has lost nothing of its topicality. For this work is a fundamental work of scientific Communism, it elaborates the ideological foundations of the Communist Party and is therefore decisive for the struggle for the building of a Communist Party. Yes, 'What Is to Be Done?' was an essential lever for the prepara-

tion and execution of the October Revolution, of the armed insurrection. The book delineates the long-term plan for the October Revolution!..."

○ The outstanding significance of theoretical work

The leaflet stresses three arguments for the significance of theoretical work developed by Lenin:

"(1) The Communist Party is only in process of formation, its features are only just becoming defined, it still has to work hard for the very foundations of scientific Communism and to defend them against opportunism. (2) In order to really defeat world imperialism, to be able to carry out the revolution in one's 'own' country, one has to learn from the international experiences by evaluating them, in a critical and self-critical manner, against all nationalist tendencies. (3) The national peculiarities of each country cannot be grasped by any other means than by the theory of scientific Communism."



255 p., DM 12.-

"...Lenin's proclamation that it is necessary, in the struggle for the defence of the principles of scientific Communism, to make a radical break with the opportunists and their ideas still is and remains the point of departure in the struggle against international opportunism, especially against modern revisionism, for the construction of a revolutionary Communist Party."

○ The socialist class consciousness has to be carried into the working class from the outside, by the Communist Party!

The spontaneous just struggle of the working class does not all by itself lead to the insight into the necessity of the destruction of capitalism, it does not lead to a real ability of the labour movement to dissociate itself from the grasp of the opportunist and reformist leaders:

"For the simple reason that the bourgeois ideology is far older in origin than socialist ideology, that it is more fully developed, and that it has at its disposal immeasurably more means of dissemination."

(Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", 1902, Collected Works, Moscow 1977, Vol. 5, p. 386)

But how, then, must this socialist class consciousness look like:

"Because the proletariat can only overthrow the bourgeoisie if ... the hegemony of the proletariat becomes reality, the revolutionary education of the proletariat must not, in any case, be directed only towards grasping its own situation, but the working class must know everything about all classes and strata, about the relationship of these classes to the bourgeois state and among themselves..."

The Communist Party has to break the bourgeois ideological system through scientific, methodical work on the basis of the application of the theory of scientific Communism to the particular conditions of one's 'own' country, in the struggle against all opportunist forces that want to diminish the role of the CP as theoretical, political and organizational vanguard...

It is essential ... to create clarity about the main enemy of one's 'own' revolution, the basic structure of capitalist society and the way of removing it, clarity about the goals of socialism and Communism within the working class. It also means, before everything else, to fulfill the task, in the struggle against German chauvinism and racism, to propagate the slogans 'Workers of all countries, unite!' and 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!' to awaken the working class to their meaning and to enable it to act according to them."

○ The central significance of the organization of all-sided political exposures

○ On the stance of the Communist forces

towards democratic class struggle

The leaflet explices in a detailed manner that the distinction between countries with strong feudal vestiges dependent on imperialism on the one hand and imperialist countries on the other is a point of departure in the determination of the democratic tasks of the Communist forces in the respective countries. The leaflet further says:

"In the struggle against any dissemination of illusions concerning the imperialist system, it is of primary importance to stress two decisive points:

• Every democratic struggle within the capitalist system ... has its limits. Present successes are directly or covertly retracted the next day, the reactionary overall development can be no more than slowed down by determined struggle but is impossible to stop within the capitalist system ...

• There is no democratic demand that cannot, under particular circumstances, be used as a tool of trickery against the workers, in order to fan illusions into the capitalist system and its alleged reformability. All this goes to prove the absolute necessity of the subordination of the democratic struggle under the struggle for the proletarian revolution. This subordination means ... to prepare, in these struggles, as the most important point, the socialist revolution, to create, in these struggles, socialist class consciousness, to convert the successes of these struggles into a starting point for the connection of the legal with the illegal work for the purpose of the revolutionary preparation of the exploited masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat... Really Communist forces must be 'vanguard fighters for democracy,' as Lenin says, that is, must engage themselves in democratic struggles and support them maximally."

○ The building and structure of the Communist Party

"Lenin explices that the ideological roots of the opportunistic organizational ideas lie in their opportunistic theoretical and political ideas. Because: A party which wants to make the proletariat conscious, which wants to prepare and direct the armed insurrection of the working class against the exploiting classes with the aim to erect the dictatorship of the proletariat over

all reactionaries until Communism must have organizational structures suitable for the task..."

As a primary task of the building of the party from top to bottom, Lenin stressed the necessity:

"to create a center of Communist leading cadres, mainly consisting of professional revolutionaries (especially from the ranks of the workers ...), for only that way it is possible to build a revolutionary movement in the whole country that can develop enough consciousness, organizational fitness, energy, tenacity and continuity to carry out the overthrow of the ruling exploiter classes..."

○ **Clandestineness**

Against all forms of legalism, Lenin emphasizes:

"that illegality and clandestineness, the combination of legal and clandestine work must be

main features of the party, just for its mere ability of survival in the the struggle of life and death with the political police of the bourgeoisie..."

○ **Inner-party democracy**

"...Against bureaucratic conceptions and against 'primitive democratism,'...Lenin emphasizes two decisive means that guarantee the selection and control of the functionaries by the masses and their connection with the masses, the functioning of inner-party democracy even under the conditions of deepest clandestineness: full solidarity and mutual trust among the Communist cadres and a revolutionary public opinion which persecutes the breach of solidarity with utmost rigour..."

The leaflet contains the *declaration of the editorial staff of "Radikal Brechen"* concerning the merger with *"Gegen die Stözung"* as complement.



The topic of the May-leaflet was:

Fight Against the Swearing-in of the Recruits of the Bundeswehr in Berlin!

"The public swearing-in of several hundred Bundeswehr recruits in Berlin on May 30, 1996 that was planned with huge effort is an enormous militaristic provocation. Today, German imperialism, militarism and revanchism once again feels strong enough to carry out, for the first time since the military smashing of its Nazi-Wehrmacht in the year 1945, such a militarist spectacle in Berlin, where already the soldiers of the precursor armies of the Bundeswehr were publicly sworn in order to go, afterwards, to war for German imperialism's murderous goals of world rule. The struggle against public 'swearing-ins,' as in Berlin or, for example, or in Bremen on May 6, 1980, where 15.000 antimilitarists struggled in part militantly against the public swearing-in of recruits in the Bremen Weserstadion, the struggle against the unbroken line of tradition of the Bundeswehr reaching back to reactionary Prussianism, is absolutely correct and necessary. What is necessary for the conscious and organized struggle against this highly armed military machine to develop, on the whole

and in a long-term manner, is primarily the deeper analysis of the basic function of the Bundeswehr within the system of German imperialism."

Core points of the leaflet are:

- **The Bundeswehr - murderous machinery of German imperialism in internal and external direction**
- **The militarization permeates the whole public life**
- **German imperialism - an especially aggressive imperialist big power**
- **Struggle against all forms of German militarism and for the smashing of the Bundeswehr**

On the occasion of the DGB-demonstration on June 15, the leaflet appeared:

Struggle Against Capital Without and Against the DGBB-Bosses!

"The long-standing state of continuously growing exploitation is now raised to a still higher stage by a new package of curtailments: curtailment of the continued payment of wages in case of sickness to 80% of the wage; the ensuing sick-benefit is supposed to be cut from 80% to 70%, increase of the age limit for the pension age for women from 60 to 65 years and curtailment of pensions, gradual removal of the protection against unlawful dismissal, prolongation of the working time, at the same time stiffened pace against the jobless whose claim to the so-called 'unemployment help' is to be shortened in duration and cut by 3% per year etc. On the whole, the curtailments are supposed to amount to DM 25 billion per year."

Will the workers, the jobless, all those affected by these measures submit to all this? Will the thing, after some froth by the union bosses, be 'swallowed' without real struggle? Then the road will be free for the next stage of accelerated exploitation."

"The truth is that it is in no way surprising that these operations are continuously 'successful' and, so to speak, without risk. For the union apparatus is firmly in the hands of a well paid and totally bought small stratum of union bosses (Lenin called them 'worker's bureaucracy') which can, in turn, be sure of the support of a not inconsiderable stratum of the working class, namely, the worker's aristocracy."

○ The worker's aristocracy - shock troop of German imperialism within the labour movement!

"In addition to the profit that the German imperialists squeeze out of their 'own' workers, the gigantic and particularly brutal exploitation of other peoples and also of the working people from other countries living in Germany brings even more extra-profits in enormous amounts. One part of these extra-profits is used by the German imperialists to buy a particular stratum of the working class as their agency and use it as such. Especially the 'overseers' and 'non-com-

missioned officers' in the enterprises, but also parts of the better qualified workers are pronouncedly favoured and differentiated from the lower strata of the working class by privileges and are thus more or less closely bound to German imperialism, as well as bribed and bought."

In a separate section with the title "*"Union functionaries are working hand in hand with the police and incite workers already blinded into a nationalist/racist mood against their class brothers and sisters from other countries"*" the leaflet deals with the nationalist agitation of the IG-Bau [union of the building branch] leadership against construction workers from other countries and makes clear that

"... every really serious union movement must fight against all these tendencies massively and militantly right from the start, side by side with the workers threatened by racism, nationalism and the police state..."

○ For the alliance of the most militant and advanced colleagues!

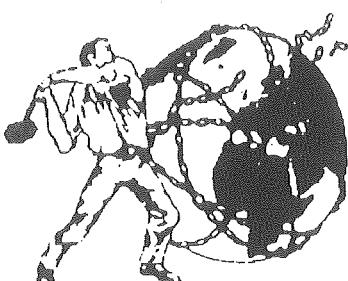
"Concretely, this means that those colleagues inside and outside of the union apparatus interested in the real struggle against capital must lead an extensive ideological and organized struggle against the whole arsenal of nationalism, racism and the class-collaborationist partnership ideology as well as the superstition in the state, in order to mobilize the colleagues on their own without and against the union bosses.

In this, we must be prepared for a hard struggle with all varieties of reformism, opportunism, appeasement politics and treachery also within the unions."

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Bulletin

3/96

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: July/August - October 1996

★ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In July/August, the leaflet appeared:

The twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU 1956:

Decisive Ideological Turning Point Towards the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union and To Imperialist Counterrevolution

"In February 1956 - three years after the death of Stalin -, the new party chairman of the CPSU Krushchev presented a program to the world that was revisionist through and through. This was a fundamental turning point. For this congress revised the Communist line in all fundamental questions of class struggle and substituted it by an opportunist line of adaptation to world imperialism. Apart from the condemnation of Stalin in Krushchev's notorious 'secret report,' the sensational 'novelty' at the 20th party congress was Krushchev's propaganda of the 'peaceful road' to socialism.

The consequences were devastating: All Communist Parties which followed the 'new road' of the 20th Party Congress changed colour. The CPSU changed into a reformist-bourgeois party under the leadership of the Krushchev-Breshnev clique. On this basis, capitalism was restored under a socialist cloak, and the Soviet Union was changed into a state of exploitation and oppression, into a imperialist big power based on the plundering of other peoples and the peoples within the USSR. In an equally devastating manner it was revealed in practice that the so-called 'peaceful road' leads to bloody catastrophes, as during the murder of hundreds of thousands of Communists in Indonesia in 1965 and as in Chile 1973, where tens of thousands were massacred."

○ ***The 20th Party Congress of the CPSU 1956: Complete treachery of the ideas of Communism!***

In the section „*The revisionist trick with the 'property of the state'*“, the leaflet disproves the defenders of the revisionist-capitalist Soviet Union of Krushchev and Breshnev who demagogically claimed: „As long as the state property ruled, socialism still existed there!“

"Not without reason the modern revisionists, in a consciously superficial manner, do not declare the reality of exploitation to be the essential feature of capitalism, which they instead see as incarnated in the juridical question of the 'private property' of factories and of land. Thus they can point to the state ownership of the means of production in the former USSR, the former GDR etc., which they then automatically declare to be of a socialist character ... In order to decide who really owns the decisive means of production, the important thing is not the juridical form or the name (state property or people's property); what is important is whether it is really the mass of the working class that controls this state and executes the power in it. The decisive question for judgement in the question of whether capitalism or socialism rules in a society is the class question: Which classes or which class has (have) state power in its (their) hands?"

○ ***"Breshnevism" - transition of modern revisionism to the ideology and politics of Russian social imperialism***

The dismissal of Krushchev by the Breshnev revisionists in 1964 was far away from being a „turnaround“ or even a „return“ to Lenin and Stalin. The ideological

foundation of the new power holders remained revisionism, just as before. The fleeting apparently „leftist“ manoeuvres of the Brezhnev revisionists served for enhanced oppression and as ideological justification of the social imperialist policy of the revisionist Soviet Union.

„The stance toward this variety of modern revisionism is still important today, and even especially today. In view of the bankruptcy of modern revisionism at the state level, one can observe a certain sort of revival of ideological „Brezhnevism.“ There are even forces that „criticise“ the collaboration of the Soviet Union under Krushchev and Brezhnev with the Western imperialists, but who, on the other hand, support and greet as supposedly „anti-imperialist“ the measures carried out by the revisionist Soviet Union that were directed against the other imperialist big powers. The decisive matter in this connection is thus obscured:“

Under the political and ideological leadership of Brezhnev, revisionism, which was already in power in the Soviet Union, developed after the restoration of capitalism into a new imperialist big power in a ‘socialist cloak,’ into social imperialism.“

Later on, the leaflet recalls three crimes of the Brezhnev revisionists: the military occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 under the cover of „defence of socialism,“ the support for the supposedly „revolutionary,“ but actually fascist military dictatorship in Ethiopia against the Eritrean liberation movement from 1977 and the war against the peoples of Afghanistan from 1979.

○ How could the revisionists gain power within the Communist Party and restore capitalism in the socialist Soviet Union?

„The discussion about the development of the Soviet Union cannot simply be about correctly proving that it was only the revisionist forms that were abandoned under Gorbachev and Yeltsin while the counterrevolutionary content had already been stabilised decades before. More fundamentally, it should be about understanding, with a special attention to the strongest and most long-standing bastion of the proletarian world revolution, namely, the socialist Soviet Union at the time of Lenin and Stalin, how counterrevolution in its revisionist form could win in this country.“

The leaflet then summarises some core ideas on these questions of decisive importance for the perspective and the development of truly Communist forces. Point of departure in the analysis of the historical experiences of the first proletarian state is a principled understanding of the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the continuation and intensification of class struggle until Communism. As an important core idea, the leaflet clarifies that the victory of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union was a grave, but by no means necessary and inevitable defeat. A serious study of the line of the CPSU(B) and of the works of comrade Stalin shows that the reasons are not to be found there. It was rather the insufficient, depth-lacking adoption of the correct line of Lenin and Stalin on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the CP, the role of the cadres and the masses that played a decisive role. In the last section „*The struggle for the complete break with modern revisionism must be continued and intensified!*“ the following is said:

„With the bankruptcy of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe, modern revisionism has not at all collapsed or disappeared as an opportunist ideology hostile to scientific Communism. Modern revisionism is by no means bankrupt or dead; at present, it’s simply changing its form and face ... The revisionist development in the Soviet Union after the 20th Party Congress as well as the destruction of practically all former Communist Parties by modern revisionism is the main reason for the vast opportunistic quagmire of today. The construction of truly Communist Parties, the preparation and execution of the armed socialist revolution can thus make advances during the next years and decades only if this is inseparably combined with a truly thoroughgoing struggle against modern revisionism on an international as well as domestic level.“

As a supplement, the leaflet contained the theses of the resolution of the 2. Party Conference of „Gegen die Strömung“ with the title „*Touchstones in the struggle against German imperialism, revanchism and militarism, against German chauvinism and racism, the fascistization, and increased exploitation.*“

As a further supplement, the leaflet contained the „*Manifest of Aguas Blancas*“ of the Ejército Popular Revolucionario from Mexico.



The September leaflet carried the title:

Hanover, Worms, Grevesmühlen ... protection of the Nazis, persecution of the left:

The Police State at Work!

„It looked as if it were from a mildly simplified textbook on the role of the bourgeois state in imperialism: While Nazi murder troops could bawl their slogans in Worms for one whole hour, while 300 German Nazis could leave without hindrance to Poland and used the international football match Poland-Germany for the massive dissemination of Nazi propaganda, one month before the more or less politically nonconformist punk „chaos days“ in Hanover and Bremen had been forbidden and then stopped with great brutality under a massive show of police force. Several weeks later, 313 demonstrators classified as „left“ by the police were brutally arrested as soon as their trains had arrived in Grevesmühlen, where the demonstration should take place, in order to execute the ban on demonstrations imposed on the legally announced demonstration directed against the Nazi scene in Grevesmühlen.

Taking these spotlights as a point of departure, it is worthwhile to take a clear view the function of the bourgeois-imperialist state, its ways and procedures, the extent of the oppressive methods that are put to use and, at the same time, accompanied by hypocrisy.“

The leaflet then focuses a little more closely on the various examples. At the end, it reads:

„These few examples clearly show that the German state consciously controls the Nazi scene and imposes „moderation“ on them only every now and then. The Nazis are an accompanying and supporting tool of German imperialism within the whole system of its reactionary measures, kind of a reserve that is carefully protected against anti-Nazi forces.

Despite all incantations of some supposed „equality“ which is day by day mendaciously invoked as „democratic reality“ in Germany by the bourgeois media and politicians, we can clearly see that the democratic rights for „leftist“ forces, existing to a very limited amount in any event, are more and more being constrained and removed.

The contradiction between the supposedly democratic claim and the reality in Germany has to be systematically unmasked. We have to mobilise all honest anti-Nazi forces that do not entertain any illusions about this state. In this, we have to take advantage of all existing possibilities within the frame of all democratic rights still in force, nevertheless being prepared at any time that very soon we won't be able to use them any more. We have to take these and other questions as a starting point in order to take a close look at the role of the police state, to demonstrate the function of the state in capitalism generally and to lay bare its class character. There are more than enough opportunities to do that.

It is our task to show that the only alternative in the long run is the proletarian revolution, the destruction of the whole bourgeois state apparatus through the armed struggle of the workers and their allies and the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, where no small minority oppresses the large majority by means of a well equipped police- and military apparatus as is the case under capitalism, but where the huge majority of the formerly exploited and oppressed hold down their former masters and really democratic conditions for the majority of the formerly exploited are more and more comprehensively realised on this basis.

It is for us to act more massively than ever against antidemocratic manoeuvres in the manner of the police state and to use our actions in the best possible way to propagate, in connection with these struggles, the program of the Communist Party.“

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In October, the leaflet appeared:

The decisive lesson of the metal worker's strike 1956 in Schleswig-Holstein for continued payment of wages in case of sickness:

**Don't Let the Appeasement Tactics of the DGB Leadership
Prevent Us from Fighting Against Capital!**

„During the last weeks, more than hundred thousand workers laid down their work in anger and rage for several days at Mercedes, Opel, Bosch, BASF and in many other enterprises, demanding the immediate retraction of the cuts in the continued payment of wages in case of sickness by the capitalists. Many colleagues felt for the first time that they are not powerless, that they represent a real force if they fight together... The DGB labour aristocrats want to pacify the situations in the enterprises by rash obedience vis a vis the capitalists by negotiation offers and by appealing to the workers to put trust in their 'negotiation skills.' During the next weeks, it will be of decisive importance whether the oppositional and revolutionary forces in the enterprises succeed in making clear that the question of the continued payment is not only a question of the wages but that it is about the warding off of a much farther-reaching general attack of the capitalists for the unrestrained increase of their profits at the expense of the still existing social rights of the working class and the working people in this country.“

In the section „*What this struggle is about*,“ the leaflet demonstrates that more is at stake than the cuts in the continued payment: An offensive for the worsening of the conditions of life and work is about to be started on a broad front. The sick are punished for their illness and are forced to work in spite of it. But this is still not all:

„The goal is the establishment, against the sick and the weak and under the catchword of the 'performance-oriented society,' of the social-darwinistic mentality of the 'survival of the fittest' who wins out against the 'weak and those unfit for life' in the 'struggle for survival.'“

After this, the leaflet deals with the exemplary strike in the metal industry 1956 for the continued payment in case of sickness which was led by the workers in Schleswig-Holstein for 114 days against promises and

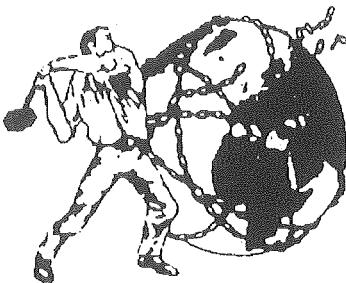
pressures on the part of the capitalists and the police, as well as against the appeasement tactics of the union leadership. In a special section, the leaflet explores the situation of the construction workers from other countries:

○ Solidarity with the construction workers from other countries threatened by police raids, deportation and Nazi terror!

The construction workers belong to the most brutally exploited parts of the working people in Germany: Starvation wages which are often not even paid out, almost total lack of industrial safety and accident protection, work days of 12 - 16 hours, overcrowded containers as places of residence. Joint raids of the IG-Bau leadership and the police, deportations by the state and not only racist incitement and actions by the labour aristocrats of IG-Bau, but also a mounting racism of German workers incited in the spirit of racism, and finally, Nazi attacks - all this determines the 'everyday life' of most of the construction workers from other countries. After a listing of the worst cases of the recent period, the leaflet says:

„Every really serious union movement has to fight right from the start against all these tendencies, massively and militantly and shoulder to shoulder with the workers threatened by racism, nationalism and the police state. Massive militant actions against the Nazi terror, protection against raids and the following deportations, and for wage increases for the 'illegals' on the part of the construction workers working for standard wages irrespective of which nationality, must be a first step to counteract the cursed and by no means ineffective actions aimed at the splitting of the construction workers ...“

The basic thought of proletarian-internationalist solidarity, the goal of association transgressing the borders of states and nationalities has to be placed into the foreground within all these struggles.“



Bulletin

4/96

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: November - December 1996

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In November, the following leaflet appeared:

The Syrian Achmed Bachir stabbed to death by Nazis in Leipzig - the Greek Vassilis "shot while attempting to escape" by the police, from behind and in handcuffs after having been arrested - three people from Turkey murdered by incendiary attack in Karlsruhe !

Nazis and Police - Murder and Bloodshed!

The introduction to the leaflet read:

"The situation in Germany 1996 is getting worse for all people threatened by racist-nationalist terror nearly day by day. Murder and manslaughter are registered by the so-called 'public' only very marginally. The reason for this is, among other things, a more and more perfect system that nips opposition and demonstrations already in the bud by media manipulation. While the deportation terror of the state 'shunts' up to 3000 people out of deportation prisons and deportation internment every month, often into countries where torture and murder by the state are the order of the day, the bourgeois media have treated the people from other countries shot to death by the German police, those murdered by Nazis, the bodies burnt by incendiary attacks in minuscule news items - if they have reported on them at all.

The murderous grimace of this state and its Nazi gangs, in their individual actions as well as their joint work under the cover of the bourgeois media, must be unmasked and fought by autonomous investigations, autonomous research and autonomous actions."

Drift towards fascism on the part of the state and Nazi parties/Nazi gangs

"The drift towards fascism, hate tunes and oppressive practice pursued in much increased measure by the state, also and especially against political refugees and other people of the most

various nationality living and working in this country, the public policy of denial and cover-up of Nazi terror encourage the Nazis and their organisations to daily and multiplied acts of ever stronger terror, against 'non-Germans', against people of different colour, against handicapped people and homeless persons, against all people not fitting into their German-Nazi world picture, to pogroms like in Hoyerswerda and Rostock, to murderous crimes like in Mölln, Solingen, Lubeck and now in Leipzig. The complicity of the German state apparatus with the Nazi arsonists is made clear, for example, by the pogrom in Rostock 1991 carried out in fact under police protection and by the cover-up of the Nazi massacre in Lubeck 1996..."

The Nazi gangs and the Nazi parties must not, under any circumstances, be viewed separately or independently of this state apparatus. In reality, what we have here is a supplementary and supporting measure of German imperialism within the whole system of its reactionary measures. The Nazi parties serve in this also as 'pacemakers,' as a 'trial balloon,' testing how much the population and the working class have already grown accustomed to the more open Nazi-Fascist propaganda and terror.

The Nazi-Fascist shock troops are promoted, supported and protected by the German state apparatus; they are even directly and indirectly used against anti-Fascist and revolutionary forces in calculated manner. It is precisely by the unpredictability of their actions that the Nazi

gangs succeed in the dissemination of an atmosphere of daily terror.

The struggle against the Nazi gangs and their actions, against the Nazi parties and their hate propaganda is indispensable and has become still more urgent today. Without yielding even one millimetre in the struggle against the Nazis, it has, nevertheless, to be stated in the clearest terms that increasing fascism, a mounting drift towards fascism is emanating mainly from the state of the German imperialists, that the main source of Nazi-Fascist ideology and openly terrorist action is the capitalist social system in Germany as a whole. This system has to be smashed in its foundations, from top to bottom if one wants to really destroy the Nazi gangs and to really eliminate the danger of a renewed switch from the present parliamentary republic to a Nazi-Fascist form of government.



In December, the following leaflet appeared:

60 years Spanish civil war:

The Significance of the Revolutionary Armed Struggle of the Peoples of Spain Against Fascism and Military Intervention

The leaflet contains the following introductory remarks:

"About 60 years ago, on July 18, 1936, a revolutionary armed struggle began: Broad masses of workers, peasants, Spaniards shoulder to shoulder with Basques, Catalans and Galicians resorted to arms for the quashing of the counterrevolutionary coup of the Fascists. Anti-Fascists, revolutionary and Communist forces from all over the world declared their solidarity with the freedom struggle of the peoples of Spain, about 50.000 members of the International Brigades, comrades of more than 50 nationalities came as volunteers to Spain and risked their lives for the international cause of the struggle against Fascism and imperialism. For one thing was clear from the start: The Spanish civil war was no 'private affair' of the peoples of Spain, but a first important battle of impending World War II, the struggle of the peoples of the world against Fascism and imperialist war, especially against the Fascist aggression of Nazi-Germany and of Fascist Italy. The Italian and especially the German imperia-

Eradication of Nazi-Fascism together with its roots means annihilation of the imperialist system, of capitalism!

The struggle for the defence of democratic rights against the drive towards Fascism on the part of the state and against the Nazi gangs/parties must be integrated into and subordinated to the struggle for the preparation of the socialist revolution for the smashing of this state apparatus and for the overthrow of this social order.

The important thing is to wage the struggle against the Nazi gangs/Nazi parties and against the drift towards Fascism on the part of the state together with all those afflicted by nationalism, racism and Nazi terror in a militant and internationalist manner!"

list directed and strengthened the Fascist forces by sending equipment and soldiers to the Franco henchmen and setting towns and villages ablaze right from the very start..."

○ Previous history and trigger of the Spanish civil war

"In 1931, the popular masses overthrew the monarchy of the hated Bourbons ... The class struggles grew sharper and sharper. In June 1934, the farm-workers for the first time organised a general strike, with a participation of more than 500.000 people. The general strike and the armed October uprising carried out by Asturian miners in 1934 was the answer to the open integration of representatives of the Fascist reaction into the government..."

In the course of the year 1935, nearly all left-wing and left-bourgeois groups joined forces to form the Popular Front and united on a platform with the most urgent democratic demands. After the electoral victory of the Popular Front alliance in February 1936, a republican government dominated by bourgeois and petty-bour-

geois parties was formed - at first without the participation of the CP of Spain.

"The workers and peasants pressed the government to implement the program of the Popular Front ... But the forces dominating within the government of the Popular Front refused to act resolutely against the reactionaries and Fascists: The army and the state apparatus were not purged from the reactionary and Fascist elements, the activity of the monarchist and Fascist parties was not vigorously oppressed. In this increasingly grave situation, the Fascist military, as the armed force of the great landowners, reactionaries and Fascists, began a counterrevolutionary coup against the government of the Popular Front on July 18, 1936."

- **The beginning of the armed struggle of the peoples of Spain against the Spanish Fascists**

"But the workers of Spain had learned from their own experience, not least from the October days and resorted to the arms. In this, they also had the experiences of the international proletariat, the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany in 1933, the uprising of the workers of Vienna in 1934 before their eyes. Workers stormed the arms depots. At once, anti-Fascist militias proliferated under the leading participation of the CP of Spain, and already in the first days, 60.000 workers and peasants were under arms."

By this, the peoples of Spain thwarted the planned surprise attack-like assumption of power by the Fascist counterrevolutionaries. But the Fascist troops supply stuck in 'Spanish-Morocco' which was then under Spanish colonial occupation was transported to the mainland by an air-lift organised by the Nazi-Fascists.

"The air-lift was the start of the military intervention of Nazi Germany and Italy during which the Nazi-Fascists sent planes, tanks, heavy artillery as well as other war material and officers, trainers and soldiers. Already in the first months of the Spanish civil war, 1.650 planes, 1.150 tanks, 2.600 artillery cannons and 8.800 machine guns were delivered by Nazi Germany. Altogether, German imperialism sent about 20.000 soldiers of its Nazi-Wehrmacht, especially the elite troop 'Legion Condor' with a strength of 4.500 men for the bloody oppression of the fighting peoples of Spain. Italy sent

primarily soldiers (about 100.000), guns and bombs."

In a separate section on the military intervention of Nazi Fascism, it is said (among other aspects):

"The best known example of the German terror of destruction against the fighting peoples of Spain is the bombardment of Guernica... For three hours, the civil population - men, women, children and the old - was battered with fragmentation and incendiary bombs. Within these three hours, the 'Legion Condor' threw 50.000 kg in bombs (produced, among others, by the IG-Farben), those fleeing were gunned with machine guns. ... The bombardment of Guernica, the total destruction of a whole town from the air for the first time demonstrated the terror of destruction of Nazi Germany and its army to the peoples of the world in the clearest manner..."

- **Measures and achievements under the Popular Front government**

On the basis of a resolute struggle of broad masses of the exploited who had armed themselves, the realisation of very important revolutionary-democratic demands began under the Popular Front government, and significant achievements were attained: The oppression of the counterrevolutionaries and reactionaries formed the basis for measures like democratic rights for the broad masses of the people, increased wages and labour protection laws, as well as participation of the working class in the control of production, expropriation of the large landowners, the church and the counterrevolutionaries without compensation, the lifting of the cultural level, equality of the women before the law and a start in dealing with the question of national oppression.

"These were the revolutionary-democratic measures of the Popular Front. Considering them we have to be clear about the fact that the organs of power of the Popular Front, especially the government, were dominated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties... The CP of Spain, relying on the masses of the people, had to wage a hard struggle against the other parties of the Popular Front for the realisation of these demands and did not succeed in pushing through many of its farther-reaching demands. It is an indisputable fact that the most thorough and most efficient measures were executed in exactly those realms where the Communist forces were strong. Thus the revolutionary-democratic measures in the frame of the agrarian revolution and

the creation of a general education were introduced by the Communist ministers for agriculture resp. education."

In a separate section, the leaflet extensively deals with "**The participation of the women in the armed liberation struggle.**" Additionally, the question of the "**Role of the anarchist forces in the Spanish civil war**" is treated, many of whose forces actively took part in the anti-Fascist struggle while others among them did harm to this struggle by their evil machinations and sabotaged it.

○ **The international significance of the Spanish civil war**

"...In Germany, Italy and Japan, Fascist dictatorships had already been erected. The Japanese imperialists tried to smash the Chinese liberation struggle, Fascist Italy occupied Ethiopia and Nazi Germany was about to annex Austria and Czechoslovakia ... While the Spanish Fascists were openly supported by Germany, Italy and Portugal, the other capitalist countries, especially the imperialist big powers France, England and the USA behaved a little more 'cautious.' On the one hand, the Spanish republic, defended as it was by the power of arms, and especially the possibility of a farther-reaching development in the direction of a socialist revolution was a thorn in their sides. On the other hand, they had to feign a fictitious neutrality, yielding to the pressure of the protest actions of the populations of their countries. But this hypocrisy of 'non-intervention' displayed at the beginning turned more and more into an open partisanship of the so-called 'democratic' governments of these countries for the side of the Fascist interventionists..."

○ **The support of the international proletariat**

"...The stance of the then socialist Soviet Union was unequivocally and clearly on the side of the fighting peoples of Spain ... Of course, it was also of great importance that the socialist Soviet Union supported the peoples of Spain not only with food, but also with guns and with militarily educated comrades.

The most eminent example of the solidarity of the international proletariat in the Spanish civil

war were the thousands of fighters from all over the world, the members of the International Brigades who, immediately after the Fascist coup of the generals around Franco, set out to be on the side of the peoples of Spain, the young Spanish republic with its Popular Front government in their struggle against Fascism. Their fighting morale, their courage and their practised internationalism were a splendid encouragement for the struggle of the peoples of Spain. Even if the International Brigades were not of decisive significance from a military point of view, their example nevertheless showed that the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world saw the struggle of the peoples of Spain as their own struggle..."

The leaflet then announces the compilation of a 500-page Reader with original documents of the CP of Spain and the Communist International for the study of the questions and problems of the Spanish civil war.



"The study of the experiences and lessons of the Spanish civil war must be a concern for all comrades today who want to struggle for the revolution in a really consequent, revolutionary and proletarian-internationalist manner. The proletarian international solidarity practised at that time impressively showed the importance of the existence of a strong, really Communist movement in all countries. The implacable struggle for the building of the Communist Party, for the overthrow and the smashing of German imperialism, for the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Communism requires, in the highest measure, just the fighting determination, the readiness for action and sacrifice that marked the men and women who fought in Spain in these years."

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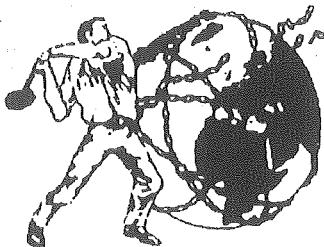
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Bulletin

1/97

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: January - March 1997

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

As a supplement, the March leaflet contained the following declaration:

Declaration of GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG Against the Armed Intervention and Aggression of German Imperialism in Albania and for the Development of Armed Uprising in Albania

■ The commando operation of the German militarists in Albania

The murderous intentions were clear: In calculated manner, the soldiers of the Bundeswehr, who do not want to be called "murderers," shot at Albanian civilians. Small wonder: apart from various other aspects, the heavily armed pirate helicopter of the German imperialists, militarists and revisionists had entered the territory of Albania exactly for the purpose to make a further step in the habituation to the preparation of imperialist assaults against other countries.

The response of press organs of German imperialism was enthusiastic: "German soldiers shootin Tirana" (FR, 15.3.1997) and "German soldiers fulfilled their duties" (BILD, 15.3.1997). Characteristically, we read in BILD "For the first time since World War II, German soldiers were dragged into a gun-fight... This time, in Albania...." In the style of the "Völkischer Beobachter," the article further says that "The Germans [were] attacked by Albanian rebels. The Bundeswehr soldiers shot back with sharp ammunition. That is a historical incision in the life of reunified Germany." (BILD,

15.3.1997, p. 1 and 2).

This mendacious propaganda has system and tradition: "To shoot back" instead of to invade belongs to the habitual linguistic usage of the German imperialists.

Foreign minister Kinkel is "proud of our soldiers," social democrat Schäping (SPD) "thanked the soldiers who took part for their action," all parliamentary parties in the Bundestag had been informed about the secret action beforehand! "A formal cabinet decision and a Bundestag resolution are to be made up for," the "Frankfurter Rundschau" reports. War mission is war mission, even parliamentary "formalities" and "rule of law" and whatever the hypocritical slogans may be are treated without hesitation as garbage.

Bekämpfen wir die militärische Aggression des deutschen Imperialismus gegen Albanien!

Die Schüler Goebbels' bei der Arbeit Ich schoß als Erster! HILDESHEIMER Die deutschen Helden BILD Zeitung für die Bundeswehr Bundeswehr schafft Deutsche frei

In der Tradition des bewaffneten Kampfes werden sich die revolutionären Kräfte Albaniens gegen jede imperialistische Intervention verteidigen!

Niemals vergessen! Die deutschen Soldaten werden waffen, bei ihrer Rückkehrheit in Albenien

Albanische Grossoffiziere mit Gewissensbisse Parabrandkugeln während des Kampfes gegen die Helferchen

Nur in der Tradition des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus wird die Revolution in Albanien siegen!

Erste Landeswehr Konferenz der KP Albeniens vom 17. 22 J. 1997 in Leibnitz bei Eibisau

Unterstützen wir entschlossen den bewaffneten Aufstand in Albanien!

■ Fight the preparation of an imperialist intervention against the Albanian rebels!

In Albania, there exist the classic features of a revolutionary situation: those "on top" cannot go on anymore, those "at the bottom" don't want to go on anymore! Against the revolutionary development, or

more exactly perhaps, against a possible profound revolutionary development in Albania, the general staffs of the imperialists are planning an intervention in Albania. The primary goals are the "disarming of the population," the suppression of all forms of rebellion and imperialist control over the country.

For tactical reasons there is still discussion whether an intervention should be undertaken by Italy, Greece, the USA, or rather by Germany, or all of them together, or whether there is yet another option by scraping together counterrevolutionary military forces in Albania itself with the help of an imperialist "counselling troop" in order to let them restore "law and order" for the imperialists.

■ On the assessment of the situation in Albania

Large parts of the Albanian civil population have armed themselves. The hitherto existing totally corrupt Quisling's state apparatus at the mercy of the imperialist has for the most part broken down, the rebels have - in part with the open help of soldiers - stormed arms depots and barracks and are keeping the more rural areas, and to a certain extent also the cities of the South and even parts of Tirana under their control.

The causes and reasons for this uprising that is organised in a relatively professional manner and reaches broad masses of the population lie, at first sight, in the extreme plundering of the working people by fraudulent financial business operations of an unprecedented scale. Behind this is the fact that the majority of the Albanian population generally has felt in its own experience what capitalism and subordination to imperialist control **really** mean, and has begun the struggle against both.

A journalist reports that committees constitute themselves on the basis of popular meetings (taz, 15./16.3.1997); it is perceptible and - without euphoric exaggerations - probable that the tradition of the Albanian revolution against Nazi fascism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat is not and cannot remain without any influence on leading forces of the armed uprising.

■ On the background history

The Albanian people took the history of Albania in its own hands for the first time during the armed struggle against the Italian Fascists and later the German Nazis. The Nazi-Fascists invaded Albania from mid 1943 with altogether 70.000 soldiers and submitted

the country right from the start to a wave of Nazi terror, the murder of all inhabitants of the village Borova in July 1943 being only one example.

Led by the Communist Party, the national liberation movement of Albania fought shoulder to shoulder with all forces of the Anti-Hitler Coalition. During the years after the victory over Nazi fascism and the conquest of the independence of the country, the working class of Albania decided not to take the road of Titoist submission to the billion-dollar credits of US imperialism but to gain, by fighting on, the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism, side by side with the socialist Soviet Union and peoples' democracies. In an enormous struggle, socialist Albania created a socialist industry and agriculture, a modern social system, fought feudal traditions with a large measure of success, overcame hunger and illiteracy - isolated and embattled by its imperialist-revisionist environment.

The Communist Party in Albania courageously fought shoulder to shoulder with the CP of China against the revisionist treachery of the Soviet Union of Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

Under the imperialist pressure and because of own mistakes, a few years after in China, too, the country had changed its colour after the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976, Albania became a revisionist country.

The revisionist WPA under Ramiz Alia handed the country to the imperialists without struggle; nationalist bluster instead of clear warnings of the extent of the dangers, nationalism instead of scientific Communist analysis during the last years under Enver Hoxha had failed to create a consciousness about the dangers of an imperialist take-over of the country and had served as a veil before the danger instead.*

The population of Albania seemed very demoralised in the face of the gigantic promises and real imperialist investments of considerable size and gave the lie, during the last 10 to 15 years, to all superlatives about "the inextinguishable fire of the revolution in the hearts of the Albanian people."

But perhaps the imperialists have yet rejoiced too early, perhaps appearances are nevertheless more

* "Gegen die Strömung" has criticised in four issues Enver Hoxha's positions in his book "Imperialism and Revolution" that appeared 1980 and has concluded as résurné that revisionist positions on fundamental questions of revolution are advocated in the book. On this, see GDS No 19, September 1980, GDS No 22, Mai 1981, GDS No 29, February 1982, GDS No 33, May 1984.

deceptive than the imperialist would like to see. For the revolutionary forces in the whole world wholeheartedly hope that the rebellion in Albania will take a successful, truly socialist road against all odds and setbacks, that revolutionary and Communist forces will clearly fan the struggle against the imperialist world system, that the rebellion in Albania will lead to a renewed socialist development.

★ Our solidarity is with the revolutionary forces in Albania!

★ Our struggle must be directed against the renewed aggression of German imperialism and of all other imperialists!

Frankfurt/Main, 17.3.1997



In January, the leaflet appeared:

For the revolutionary civil war, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat:

**Defend the Communist Heritage of
Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht!**

"Since several years, tens of thousands of people come to Berlin to remember the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht ... Every year, the reactionary state apparatus of German imperialism arrays an enormous body of police and uses its official brawler troops, its SEK units especially against the honest, anti-Fascist forces..."

"But as every year, this time, too, many imperialist, anti-Communist and revisionist elements denying, distorting and falsifying the cause of these two revolutionaries were mobilised supposedly as "those who continue" the work of Rosa and Karl and used the opportunity to preach pacifism, reformism and opportunism. To defend the Communist heritage here and now and to fight for the armed proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and a really revolutionary Communist Party means to declare war on all hypocrites and flatterers of Rosa and Karl by propagating first of all the central lessons of their work and struggle for the proletarian revolution."

The following cornerstones of the Communist work and struggle of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht are worked out and elaborated in the leaflet: Karl and Rosa stand

- **for revolutionary civil war, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism,**
- **for proletarian internationalism and**

struggle against this dreadful German chauvinism,

- **for an implacable struggle against opportunism and reformism,**
- **for the creation of a truly revolutionary Communist Party.**

In a separate section "*Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht against the stinking reformism and nationalism of the PDS!*", the revisionist PDS that today occupies an evil vanguard role in the falsification of the work and struggle of Rosa and Karl is aimed at. In its conclusion, the leaflet summarises the following approach to the work of Rosa and Karl:

"We defend them, we are in solidarity with them, we declare ourselves for their revolutionary work and struggle for the continuation of this work that was so disgracefully betrayed by the revisionists. That is the main thing. On this basis, we evaluate the whole positive and negative heritage of Rosa and Karl and the revolutionary KPD and criticise in the spirit of solidarity what seems wrong to us. The important thing is to build a revolutionary Communist Party today in the revolutionary tradition of the KPD, the revolutionary tradition of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in order to continue the struggle for the destruction of German imperialism, in order to make our contribution in the struggle for world Communism shoulder to shoulder with the working class of all countries."

In February, the leaflet appeared:

Don't Underestimate the Nazis and Their Connections to the State Apparatus!

"There has been a growth of Nazi actions, assaults and publications for years by now. The bourgeois media of this country are more or less in accord that what we have here is a number, supposedly difficult to survey, of small groups, some cranks so to speak - just as, allegedly, 'in every country'. But even a very rough inventory yields a totally different picture; a dangerous picture that shows that the Nazis are as always underrated. A picture that shows that political education and enlightenment and militant actions against Nazi activities are indispensable. But the main point here is the concrete unmasking of the connections and the stance of this state apparatus to resp. towards the Nazis, in order to reveal in a principled and fundamental manner that Nazism must be destroyed together with its roots, that Nazism is primarily rooted in the system of capitalism."

The leaflet goes on to show with an abundance of facts

the personal, organisational, military, political and ideological relationship of the Nazis with the state apparatus of German imperialism. In conclusion, the following is said about the significance, about the combination of the democratic anti-Nazi struggle with the long-term tasks of the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution as well as of the building of the party:

"What is at hand is the way our struggle against the Nazis must be led, that it must not be led instead of other necessary struggle but as a part of an unitary struggle against German imperialism and against all its sections ... To destroy Nazi fascism in all its forms together with its roots means to destroy the imperialist system, to destroy capitalism. The struggle against Nazism must be integrated into and subordinated to the struggle for the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution for the overthrow of this social order."

The March leaflet carried the title:

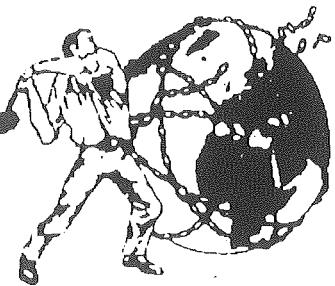
Experiences from the militant struggle of the miners!

The introduction of the leaflet read:

"For several days, tens of thousands of miners fought with manifold actions against the threatening shutdowns and the announced elimination of tens of thousands of jobs in coal mining. During this struggle of the miners, two things came to light:

First, it became apparent that success in controlling the anger, the determination and the struggle of the workers is not guaranteed. It became clear how much force the working class and its struggle actually have if the workers fight without and against the big and small deceivers of the workers. Second, it could not be overlooked how great the influence of the cursed social democracy, the union bosses and also of revisionist forces within the most militant parts of the working class is, how relatively quick a magni-

ficiently developing worker's movement can be stopped and driven into demoralisation. Demoralise, demoralise, and demoralise once more - that was and is the task of the deceivers of the workers at the top of the unions. The phony 'worker's friends' support the struggle, hypocritically laud it, just to stifle it the very next moment. And our conclusion from all this? We have to concentrate on the working class with all our forces, to maximally support its just struggles, to create a far-reaching network among the progressive forces within the enterprises. We have to systematically build the Communist Party within the large enterprises as the main fortresses of capitalist exploitation in order to be able to fight and defeat as far as possible the bourgeois ideology within the working class, in order to become the leading force in the struggle of the working class against capital, against capitalism..."



Bulletin

2/97

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: April - June 1997

★ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In April/May, the leaflet appeared:

Let's learn for our day from the experiences of the proletarian Red Aid under the leadership of the Communist International!

Freedom for All Revolutionary and Democratic Prisoners!

„On March 18, a supra-regional campaign day for the support of revolutionary and democratic prisoners was organised by various initiatives and organisations for the fifth time. The campaign day consciously referred to the internationalist practise of the Red Aid of Germany (Rote Hilfe Deutschlands - RHD) founded by the KPD of Ernst Thälmann which, following the decision of the International Red Aid (Internationale Rote Hilfe IRH), carried out annual March 18 solidarity actions for the revolutionary proletarian prisoners since 1923. We also believe it is correct as well as an urgent necessity to organise the solidarity with the prisoners of revolutionary and democratic movements on an international scale, also and especially in the prisons of German imperialism.

As a Communist force, we must however emphasise that it is by no means sufficient to refer to the anniversaries of the Communist movement in just a symbolic manner without having a real knowledge and a real grasp of the revolutionary content and practice of this movement. The remarkable prison- and solidarity work of the IRH and the RHD under the guidance of the Communist International during the times of Lenin and Stalin, during the times of the Socialist Soviet Union must be defended and evaluated in critical solidarity not only against all imperialist slanders, but also against all simplifications of ex-Communist, opportunist forces, in order to learn maximally from these experiences for our tasks today. Every serious leftist political movement and organisation has

to be measured by its stance towards the revolutionary and democratic political prisoners! The solidarity with the fighting democratic and revolutionary prisoners is a yardstick for the maturity of the revolutionary movement of every country.“

Based on historical examples, the leaflet goes on to show that the necessity of the support for prisoners is especially obvious since the beginning of the struggle against capitalist exploitation. In the face of the world-wide intensification of white terror in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the *Communist International* deemed it urgently necessary at its fourth congress in 1922 to found an International Red Aid (IRH). All Communist Parties were asked to build organisations for the support of the revolutionary and democratic prisoners in their countries. The central aims of the Red Aid consisted in providing material, moral and legal support for the imprisoned fighters in the class war, the fighters of the revolutionary national liberation struggles against imperialism as well as other persecuted revolutionaries and their relatives, to win the struggle for their freedom and to push through and safeguard a democratic asylum law. The leaflet then outlines a few concrete examples of the impressive work of the Red Aid Organisations. The leaflet further says:

“Decisive in all this was that the Red Aid succeeded in not loosing track of its actual goals, that it used all its possibilities to exercise its indispensable function in the front of proletarian class struggle, namely, to facilitate, within the various partial struggles, democratic movements

and battles, the achievement of the hegemony of the proletariat in the preparation and execution of the proletarian revolution, which can only be realised through the leading role of the Communist Party...“

○ **On the situation and the struggle of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners today: world-wide ... and in Germany**

„Hundreds of thousands of revolutionary and democratic prisoners are presently incarcerated in the prisons of the imperialists and reactionaries. The numbers of the fighters who had to go through the prisons all over the world since 1945 is in the millions. Especially in places where the class struggle is intensifying, terror, abuse, humiliations, infringements, systematic beatings, torture by jailers and tormentors and even murder are the order of the day. The „white class terror“ against the revolutionary and democratic prisoners has not stopped since the founding of the International Red Aid in the 20ies; it still continues.“

But contrary to the situation in the 20s, powerful organisations of proletarian internationalist solidarity are sorely lacking today. The leaflet then describes several outstanding struggles of revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic prisoners world-wide and in Germany. On the significance of the knowledge about the situation of the prisoners and the support of their struggles, the leaflet then says:

„For one thing, we can and must tear down the hypocritical faked democratic mask from the murderous face of German imperialism by a systematic exposure of the situation in the prisons. On the other hand, the progressive, let alone the revolutionary parts of the working class cannot really develop without supporting the just struggles of the prisoners with the warmest sympathy or without real solidarity with the fighting prisoners.“

The leaflet then goes on to show several possibilities for breaking the isolation of the revolutionary and democratic prisoners and for the support of their just struggles.

„Therefore, it is extraordinarily important to incorporate the prisoners into the political-ideological debate, to initiate a revolutionary debate

about the basic questions of the revolution between those „within“ and those „outside,“ to learn from each other in this debate, in order to solve the central questions of the proletarian revolution. Such a solidarity does not, however, mean an uncritical support of wrong ideas on the part of the struggling prisoners but, on the contrary, includes a critique in the spirit of solidarity.“

In a special section with the title „*Contribution to the debate about the slogan ‘Freedom for all democratic and revolutionary prisoners!’*“, the leaflet deals with the problem of the notion „political prisoners“ which is unproblematic only where the prevailing situation makes it unambiguously clear that only the fate of democratic and revolutionary prisoners is at stake. But in all cases - whatever the reasons - where there are also reactionary or fascist, that is, also „political“ prisoners in detention, a more differentiated solution becomes necessary.

○ **The struggle for the support of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners and the struggle for Communism**

Finally, the leaflet also deals with a problem arising with various forces that often do very useful work in the practical support of prisoners, namely, that the notion of „political oppression“ is determined in an extremely vague and wrong manner. A stance against „oppression of every stripe,“ that is, against all prisons, hence also against the necessary political suppression and detention of the reactionaries, the former exploiters and counterrevolutionaries under the dictatorship of the proletariat is often presented as the truly radical and consistent attitude

„The question of the political prisoners has always been a focus of the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology and politics. The terror of the ruling classes is accompanied by a great show of hypocrisy about „humanitarianism“ directed directly against the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. What is important here is to be clear about a decisive point, namely, that not „political oppression“ as such is a bad thing but that everything depends on who oppresses whom!...“



The June-leaflet carried the title:

On the present significance of Lenin's work „The State and Revolution“:

Fight Against the Superstitious Belief in the State!

"Debates about the alleged financial difficulties of the state and empty slogans about 'budget spending cuts' (the real meaning is the dismantling of social rights won in hard struggles!!) are now being introduced into the public sphere on a daily basis. The union bosses loudly proclaim that we must not destroy „our state“ by excessive saving. At the same time, the military- and police apparatus of the state (its primary function) is actually being strengthened. Further there is heated debate - at least apparent debate - in realms where only subsidiary functions of the state are concerned. There is a terrible confusion about the question 'What is the state?' and about the functions a state should fulfil, supposedly 'in general,' but actually in this social system, that is, under capitalism. Fortunately there exists a work that helps to lay a foundation for the acquisition of clarity in all these questions; a work that analyses the question of the state, clarifies it and shows a perspective: "The State and Revolution" by V.I. Lenin."

The question of the state is one of the most complicated and difficult questions which has been totally confused by the bourgeois jurists, not least because, as Lenin says, this question is extremely and sensitively important to the interests of the ruling classes:

„The doctrine of the state serves to justify social privilege, the existence of exploitation, the existence of capitalism...“

(Lenin, „The State,“ A lecture delivered at the Sverdlov University, 1919, Works, vol. 29, p. 472)

To this generally valid statement of Lenin about the question of the state, we have to add the *peculiarities* of Germany that have deep roots in the nonrevolutionary history of Germany, beginning even long before Nazi-Fascism. Already Frederick Engels stated in his introduction to Marx's work „The Civil War in France“ that

„...in Germany particularly, the superstitious belief in the state has passed from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie and even of many workers...“

(Engels, „Preface to Marx's 'The Civil War in France,'“ 1891, cited by Lenin in „The State and Revolution,“ Works, vol. 25, p. 458)

In his August 1917 preface to „The State and Revolu-

tion“ Lenin writes on the importance of clarity about the question of the state:

„The struggle to free the working people from the influence of the bourgeoisie in general, and of the imperialist bourgeoisie in particular, is impossible without a struggle against opportunistic prejudices concerning the 'state'.“

(Lenin, „The State and Revolution“, 1917, Works, vol. 25, p.388)

Based on Lenin's work, the leaflet elaborates the following core ideas:

○ ***The state is a product of the irreconcilability of the class antagonisms***

The question about the origin of the state is actually a really important question. For in the answer to this question we can already clearly see when, and under which circumstances the state is going to wither away:

„The state is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable.“

(Ibid., p. 392)

○ ***The bourgeois state - instrument for the oppression of the proletariat and for imperialist war***

„Imperialism ... has clearly shown an extraordinary strengthening of the 'state machine', and an unprecedented growth in its bureaucratic and military apparatus in connection with the intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries.“

(Ibid. p.415)

Especially against this background, we must clearly see that the opportunists as agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement extenuate and defend the bourgeois states, including their war policies:

„The distortion and hushing up of the question of the relation of the proletarian revolution to the

state could not but play an immense role at a time when the states, which possess a military apparatus expanded as a consequence of imperialist rivalry, have become military monsters which are exterminating millions of people in order to settle the issue as to whether Britain or Germany -this or that financial capital - is to rule the world.“

(Ibid. p. 495)

Despite the fact that the bourgeois state in all of its forms remains *by its nature* an oppressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, the *form* of this oppression cannot leave the proletariat indifferent.

„A wider, freer and more open form of the class struggle and of class oppression vastly assists the proletariat in its struggle for the abolition of classes in general.“

(Ibid. p.459)

But this requires from the Communist Party an unconditional and determined *struggle against reformism and legalism*, against all forms of demagoguery and illusion about any possibility to „break the power“ of capital within the frame of bourgeois democracy.

○ **The necessity of the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus in the violent revolution**

„If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed classes is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class...“

(Ibid. p.393)

“The necessity of systematic imbuing the masses with this and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the entire theory of Marx and Engels.”

(Ibid., p. 405)

○ **Only he or she is a Marxist who recognizes the dictatorship of the proletariat!**

„Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound distinction between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding

and recognition of Marxism should be tested.“
(Ibid. p. 417)

In dealing in some detail with the essential differences between the proletarian and the bourgeois state, the leaflet makes clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a period of intensifying class struggles until Communism:

„In reality, this period inevitably is a period of unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms, and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie).“

(Ibid., p. 417)

After the section „*The precondition for the complete withering away of the state is the complete achievement of Communism*“, dealing with the maximal strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the precondition for the withering away of the state, the leaflet concludes with the following remarks:

„.... ‘The State and Revolution’ has to be studied and taught thoroughly to educate and steel our own ranks, the Communists, against all forms of opportunism and for the irreconcileable struggle for the destruction of the state of German imperialism, for the civil war against the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries for the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat.“

The leaflet contained a special excerpt from „*Rot Front - Journal for Scientific Communism*“ with the *theses* of Rot Front no 4 of July 1997 concerning *Communist theory, Communist cadres and Communist organisation*, explicated in much more detail in extensive lecture essays in the journal itself.

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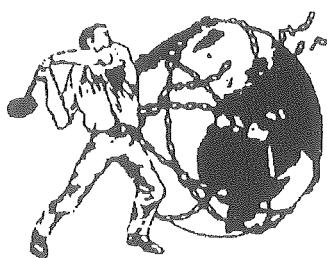
(*Don't underrate the secret services of all countries!)

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Bulletin

3/97

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: July - September 1997

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In July, the leaflet appeared:

Fight against the collaboration of state and Nazis against church asylum for refugees!

Solidarity!

"After arson attacks on refugee homes and synagogues, the Nazis have taken to set fire to Protestant and Catholic church buildings. Those communities where refugees are being protected by activists of antiracist and "church asylum" groups against deportation are now being subjected not only to pressure from the state through the police and the judicial authorities, but also by massive terror of the Nazi gangs.

The arson attack of May 25, 1997 that destroyed the Catholic St. Vicelin church in Lübeck nearly completely was part of a series of five other Nazi assaults on church facilities in Northern Germany within a period of only five weeks. Apart from swastika smearings, scribbled on the wall was the name of the Protestant priest, whose parish St. Mary has been giving "church asylum" for several weeks to protect an Algerian family from the threat of terror, from torture and murder. In connection with a further arson attack on June 28th, 1997, swastikas together with assassination threats - "Harrig, we're gonna get you" - were scribbled on a building of the Protestant parish St. August and on the wall of the church of St. Mary.

It shows more and more clearly - quite independently from our Communist basic stance towards religion as "opium of the people and for the people" and quite independently from our clear evaluation of the two big state churches and their reactionary apparatus - that the solidarity of revolutionary, Communist forces with all forces, among them forces with religious and humanist motives, who see themselves faced with the terror of this state and of the Nazis is an

urgently necessary and indispensable step in the struggle for democratic rights."

The leaflet then elaborates the following main points:

- **The systematic Nazi terror, the arsonist and murder assaults supply the cues for the measures of the state**
- **The Nazi terror is covered up, minimised, and even supported by the German state apparatus**
- **The state of the German imperialists is a main actor and prepares the fertile soil for the Nazi terror**
- **Solidarity with refugees threatened by deportation is an act of disobedience against German love of authority**
- **Governmental criminalization of solidarity actions for refugees and police actions against "church asylum" initiatives**

A separate section carries the title "**The Catholic and Protestant churches in Germany stands right up to the neck in the blood of the historical crimes of the Christian state church.**" Among other things, the following is said:

"Today's Catholic and Protestant Christian churches are in the blood-drenched tradition of the Christian state church. Mass murder of so-called "heathens" during the crusades, colonialism and Christian missionarism as an instrument of murder, for example in the eradication of the indigenous population in Central- and

South America, millions of murders of the so-called "witches," in large part women who were supposed to be "in league with the devil" in the Christian world view, murder of the Jewish population for nearly thousand years by European Christendom - these are among the most brutal crimes of mass murder by the Christian state church from antiquity to our times ... The monstrous Nazi crimes, the genocide of 6 million Jews, of more than 500,000 Gypsies and Roma people, the criminal Nazi war against the peoples of Europe were all committed with the toleration, participation and even energetic support of the two big Christian churches..."

In an additional box, the *stance of the Communist Party towards religion* is explained:

"If we declare our solidarity even with religiously motivated supporters of refugees, we do not at all want to conceal the basic opinion of the Communists towards religion and the church.

Even if, as in the case of the "church asylum," democratic initiatives receive support from particular parishes or priests, this must not deceive us about the on the whole reactionary role of religion and the churches. Now as ever, the formulation of Lenin is valid:

"Religion is the opium of the people - this dictum by Marx is the corner-stone of the whole Marxist outlook on religion. Marxism has always regarded all modern religions and churches, and each and every religious organisation, as instruments of bourgeois reaction that serve to defend exploitation and to befuddle the working class."

(Lenin, "The attitude of the Worker's Party to Religion," 1909, Collected Works, vol. 15, p.403, Moscow 1963)

The leaflet contains a poster against the acquittal of a policeman who, three years ago, shot the then sixteen-year-old Halim Dener to death by a shot in the back while the young man was gluing posters for the Kurdish liberation struggle.



The August/September leaflet carried the title:

Let's unmask the European plans, born of a bloody tradition, of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism:

Fight the German "New Order" for Europe!

"...With a big media onslaught, the parties, representatives and propagandists of German imperialism have been using for the last months, in connection with the Maastricht II treaty and centring on the Euro, the project of "Europe" for the cover-up or even the more or less open justification of the domination plans of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism. This approach has a bloody tradition - from World War I to the Nazi war and up to today. Without the unmasking of the ideological manoeuvres of German imperialism, a truly successful struggle against the European plans of German imperialism is not even thinkable."

The fact is: The EU is a temporary agreement of the European imperialists against their imperialist competitors, the USA and Japan. At the same time, it is the defining framework for the struggle of the imperialist European powers among themselves.

"In every country of the EU, the project of

"Europe" ... is also used to blame the other European imperialists and the EU for the intensification of the exploitation and oppression of the "own" people or peoples of the respective masters, as well as for the intensification of their "own" nationalism. But the project of "Europe" is also and especially a means to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the countries dependent on imperialism, a practise that is justified especially with the help of European chauvinism, a chauvinism that expresses itself especially in the superiority complex in connection with the peoples in the countries dependent on imperialism that has been fanned by all imperialists of Europe for centuries."

- *The project "United Europe" means intensified exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the countries dependent on imperialism!*

"German imperialism belongs to the biggest industrial powers in the world. It uses this strength, also with the help and the cover of the EU, for the world-wide exploitation and financial enslavement of the peoples, especially and also the peoples of the countries dependent on imperialism."

The export of capital is one of the most important means of the imperialist powers for the realisation of maximal profits by the plundering especially of the oppressed peoples ... A further central means of the imperialist powers for the plundering of the peoples of the world is the export of goods. Today, German imperialism, together with its main competitor, US-imperialism, is the leading exporting power, a fact that also enables it to bring other countries into economic dependency and to intensify further and further the exploitation of the peoples of these countries.

In order to safeguard its imperialist spheres of influence and its extra profits in the countries dependent on imperialism, German imperialism makes use of a whole arsenal of indirect and direct political and military oppression.

From the financing of "fifth columns" or fascist regimes, from arms deliveries, for example to Turkey or Indonesia, to the training and aid in the building of police- and military apparatuses of reactionary countries on all continents, to the direct action of the Bundeswehr, for example in Somalia or former Yugoslavia, under the command of the West European Union or the NATO or on its own, depending on what is most useful for it - German imperialism has never shrunk back from war, murder and torture whenever safeguarding its profits was at stake."

○ The project "United Europe" means intensified exploitation for the European peoples!

If you look behind the facade of the catchwords on the "harmonising" and "levelling of the common market," it becomes clear that German imperialism is after the creation of "better" conditions for exploitation and oppression in Germany and the other European countries: wage reduction, reduction of social benefits, reduction of the yet remaining democratic basis rights, insulation of Europe against refugees from dependent countries:

"These are only a few of the most serious developments towards the worsening and aggravation of the situation. They mean a frontal attack on the economic, social and legal conditions of the working people, the refugees and democratic movements not only in Germany, but also in the other countries of Europe."

○ German imperialism uses the project "Europe" for the further extension of its position of dominance against its imperialist competitors!

"German imperialism is one of the strongest imperialist big powers, an especially aggressive, imperialist big power that sparked World War I and has committed world-historically unique crimes of genocide in World War II, it is an international exploiter and oppressor. For German imperialism, the "European Union", the creation of a European common market, the German Mark as leading currency in Europe, the introduction of the Euro, the dominant position of the German Federal Bank which dominates the European currency system with or without the Euro because of the economic strength of German imperialism, are all means to enhance its ability for carrying out its world-wide imperialist policy of expansion even better."

○ The European plans of German imperialism mean imperialist war!

In discussions about the evaluation of the European plans of German imperialism, one often hits on the dangerous illusion that the "danger of war" will diminish with a "United Europe." Lenin has already destroyed this totally wrong thesis in his work "On the slogan of the United States of Europe" written in 1915:

"Under capitalism the smooth economic growth of individual enterprises or individual states is impossible. Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics."

(Lenin, "On the Slogan of the United States of Europe," 1915, Collected Works, vol. 21, p.341, Moscow 1964)

The leaflet further says:

"German imperialism is and remains, whether or not it enters one or another imperialist alliance against the world-wide revolutionary struggles or against certain imperialist compe-

titors within the NATO or the Western European Union or the EU, an source of war in its own right carrying out, with or against the other imperialists, direct and open war actions with its Bundeswehr even today, like e.g. in former Yugoslavia, preparing local rapacious wars against other imperialist powers and feverishly working at the planning and preparation of an imperialist war for the new partition of the spheres of influence among the imperialist big powers."

○ **Variants of German chauvinism**

The strategists of German imperialism know exactly that a single trick, a single kind of demagoguery won't be enough for the ideological treatment of the population. German imperialism has at its disposal various propaganda sections with appeal to different parts of the population, deceiving them each in a different way. For one thing, there is the German-nationalistic variant in the "Euro debate", the reference to "Brussels" or the "sell-out of German interests" when it comes to justifying the worsening of the social conditions of the working people in Germany. On the other hand, we have the German-European variant of the defenders of a "We-are-Europe" stance that apparently draws a line between itself and German chauvinism, in order to create sympathies within the parts of the population emotionally oriented against the Nazis, and also to try to "disprove" on an international level the justified mistrust of the other peoples against a Europe under the leadership of German imperialism. These two varieties of German chauvinism differ in form and timing, in

"when this manoeuvre is used by that section or the other manoeuvre is used by another section - in consonance with their role distribution, that is. The propagandists of German imperialism offer both positions according to a careful calculus, often using even both manoeuvres combined, with both varieties blending into each other. In the competitive struggle with, e.g., the French imperialists, the German-chauvinist variant can move into the foreground even tomorrow, accompanied by musings about the 'solo attempt of Germany,' the 'special road of Germany' against 'Brussels,' only in order to reshuffle the 'German-European variant' into the foreground the very next day - wholly dependent on the interests and necessities of the goals of German imperialism..."

○ **For proletarian internationalism! Workers of all countries, unite!**

"This deeply internationalist principle of the worker's movement is by no means valid only or even especially in Europe. This has to be stressed, if one takes into consideration various forces thinking of themselves as leftist which have adopted the formula "First Europe, then the rest of the world" in their own special way. ... In the face of this multifaceted challenges, the answer and the perspective of the Communist forces, the worker's movement in Germany can only be: Intensified class struggle, not under German slogans, not "unification of Europe," but consciously against all varieties of nationalism and chauvinism, shoulder to shoulder to the workers of all countries against the intensified exploitation and oppression, against imperialist war."

As a supplement, the leaflet contained an extract from "*Rot Front - Zeitschrift für wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus*" (Red Front - Journal for Scientific Communism) with an elaboration on "*Three basic aspects of proletarian internationalism: For the world-wide goals of Communism, against European and German chauvinism*" which states in a clear manner that the struggle against European chauvinism is a struggle front in its own right, even if the struggle against German chauvinism has primary importance in many respects.

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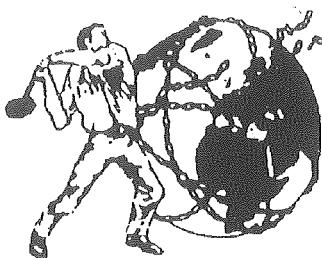
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Bulletin

4/97

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: October- December 1997

★ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In October/November, the 16-page-leaflet appeared:

Thirty years ago, Che Guevara was murdered in battle by the bloodhounds of imperialism!

Struggle For the Revolutionary Heritage of Ernesto Che Guevara!

"Right in the middle of the world-wide dispute over the 'peaceful' or 'non-peaceful' road of the revolution, Che Guevara - who had had at first a big share in the preparation of the Cuban revolution and had then been minister of industry after the overthrow of the Batista regime - decided, in the spirit of the proletarian revolution, to take part in the preparation and execution of armed struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction in other countries, starting in Bolivia in 1966. In this struggle, he was murdered on the 9th October 1967. For all forces honestly engaged in struggle, his name stands for the decision to take part in the armed struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism."

But his lacking, or at least not unequivocal, stance towards the revisionist, counterrevolutionary XX. Party Congress of the CPSU also enables, especially after Guevara's death, hypocritical, revisionist forces to stabilise conciliatory positions, to put limits on the practical and theoretical struggle against modern revisionism or to slander such a struggle as 'splitting.' An analysis of his work in the spirit of solidarity as well as of criticism has to be started in a dialogue with the Communist forces all over the world."

Under the headline "*Che Guevara's theoretical and practical stance towards armed struggle,*" the leaflet first stresses that in his work "Guerrilla Warfare" of 1960, Che rendered a valuable contribution for the revolutionaries and Communists of all countries with his theoretical evaluation of the experi-

ences of the struggle of partisan warfare in Cuba. This section of the leaflet elaborates Che Guevara's revolutionary stance, according to which the *armed struggle for the destruction of the reactionary army and the whole reactionary superstructure of the old society, for the annihilation of imperialism*, is an indispensable necessity. The article then further elaborates that the *preparation of the partisan warfare in Bolivia* in 1966/67 was the *practical answer of Che Guevara to the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionists* and their "peaceful road" to socialism.

In a separate section under the title "*On Che Guevara's problematic or wrong positions in the debate about the possibility of a 'peaceful road to socialism,'*" several passages of the writings of Che Guevara (among them "Cuba - Historical Exception or Vanguard in the Struggle Against Imperialism" of 1961 and "Tactics and Strategy of the Latin-American Revolution" of 1962) are quoted to raise the problem that in them, Guevara makes concessions towards the wrong scheme of the "peaceful" and non-peaceful" road of the revisionists and erroneously makes the timing of the beginning of the armed struggle dependent on the stance of the bourgeoisie.

Using the works "On the Budgetary Financing System" of 1964, "Socialist Planning and its Meaning," and "Socialism and Man in Cuba" of 1965, a special section elaborates *Che Guevara's Communist basic positions on the construction of socialism and Communism*, positions that he - even if not deeply enough - defended in public in the 1960ies against the economic debate initiated at the time by the Soviet revisionists for the theoretical fortification of the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

The separate section "*Che Guevara and the dependence of Cuba on the revisionist Soviet Union*" shows, by passages from Che's speech before the UN and from his speech in Algiers in 1965, that Che Guevara definitely had criticisms concerning the policy of the Soviet revisionists, and that he even criticised their "tacit complicity with the exploitative Western countries." Picking up this thread, the leaflet contains a further separate section with partially reprinted *statements of South-American forces oriented on Marxism-Leninism on Cuban revisionism* (among others, from a statement of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile of 1966, from an open letter of the general secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia/Marxists-Leninists, Oscar Zamora, of 1968, and from a declaration of the Communist Party of Brazil/Marxists-Leninists and the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed) of 1976).

Under the headline "*Criticisms and open questions*," a criticism is then given mainly of Che Guevara's centrist, conciliatory stance avoiding open and public ideological struggle within the polemic between the revolutionary Communist Party of China (CCP) and the revisionist CPSU. The leaflet makes clear that Che's demand (formulated in his writings "We Are the Revolutionary Yeast For All of Latin America" of 1963 and "Message to the Peoples of the World," among others) to deal with the dispute "behind closed doors," his call for the "moderation of the differences" etc. were in flat contradiction to scientific Communism:

"For Che Guevara, 'split-up' is something negative per se that must be prevented 'by all means.' The decisive question is, however, the following: Are we talking about revolutionary unity or about revisionist unity? ... If what is at hand is irreparable faulty developments, if we have a tightly cemented revisionist line no longer correctable within the frame of the Communist Party or of the international Communist movement, that is, a revisionist unity, then breaking up this revisionist unity and the creation of a new Communist unity becomes the duty of the Communist forces..."

As a *supplement*, the leaflet contains the reprint of Che Guevara's article "*Message to the Peoples of the World: 'Let's Create Two, Three, Many Vietnams!'*" of April 1967, together with critical commentaries by Gegen die Strömung. In a preliminary note, the following remark is made:

"...We publish this text because it clarifies the contrast between Che Guevara on the one hand and revisionist and counterrevolutionary Fidel Castro on the other, one of the biggest flatterers of Che Guevara, who proclaimed in 1988: 'I don't want any uncontrolled explosion. At this time, the way out of the crisis, the erection of the new world economic order is more important than one, two, three, four or five revolutions.' ('Konsequent,' organ of the revisionist SEW, 2/1988, p. 69).

This text of Che Guevara yields also insight into the motivation for one of the central mistakes of Che Guevara: His failure to take a clear stance in the polemics between the CCP and the CPSU reveals the centrist illusion that the split-up of the Communist world movement was unnecessary and avoidable, furthermore bound to harm the struggle of the Vietnamese people.



Finally, the leaflet summarises the state of the discussion concerning the work of Che Guevara:

"In our opinion, a thorough debate based on documents and evidence between the Communist forces of the whole world, including especially the Communist forces of the countries of Central- and South America is indispensable to advance the evaluation of the great revolutionary heritage of Che Guevara, as well as to analyse the effects of his words and deeds in a critical manner. In summary, our research up to now has yielded the following assessments and questions:

First: Che Guevara favoured, in part more clearly than the Communist Party of China and the Worker's Party of Albania, in theory and practice armed struggle as a form of struggle and thus in an indirect manner gave serious blows to modern revisionism. A deeper elaboration of this question didn't take place in the documents available to us; rather, there are ... also - similar to the documents of the CCP - concessions to the apologists of the 'peaceful road.' It is quite obvious that Che Guevara underestimated and evaluated in a wrong way the degree of the revisionist treason under the leadership of the CPSU. Undoubtedly, Che Guevara also publicly main-

tained centrist positions and supported those centrist forces on the international level who tried to avoid a public polemic between Communism and revisionism. Che Guevara was not ready to break with modern revisionism.

Second: Concerning the road of armed struggle, the role of the industrial proletariat and of the toiling masses in the countryside, the question of the creation of armed units in the countryside, units that grow there and then, connected with the uprisings of the workers in the cities, pass over to attacking the big centres of power in the cities, his theoretical and practical work is indispensable part of the revolutionary heritage of South- and Central America and of the whole world. The thorough examination of all his arguments in consideration of the concrete conditions and developments of one's own country is the very own task of the Communist forces, the Communist Party of each country in South- and Central America. Concerning the effect of his argumentation as well as the argumentation itself, a critical evaluation has to be made in how far, first, certain peculiarities of the revolution in Cuba were applied too much as a matter-of-course to a country like Bolivia and other countries, and second, in how far the role of the building of the Communist Party, the creation of a Communist central organ as demanded by Che Guevara himself were wrongly put into the background.

In this, the debate between the forces of the Communist Party of Bolivia/Marxists-Leninists considering themselves as Marxist-Leninist and Che Guevara is of special importance and has to be evaluated thoroughly - just as all contributions of Communist forces to the discussion of the writings and the work of Che Guevara have to be collected and evaluated in a systematic manner.

Third: In the discussion on the common traits and differences of the various countries of South- and Central America, the argumentation of Che Guevara who analysed the situation of other South- and Central American countries rather exactly should be evaluated point by point. The documents available to us show that Che Guevara tended to stress the common traits of the countries of South- and

Central America from Brazil to Peru to Bolivia etc., while in our opinion the significance of the common traits can be brought out only through clarity on the big, serious differences, for example, the significance of the indigenous languages for the connection to the working and exploited masses.

Forth: Based on the available documents, we should evaluate everything written by Che Guevara on the necessity of the building of the Communist Party and its role in the creation of the necessary conscience and organisation and on the guidance of armed struggle, for it is in our view indubitable that, in connection with the preparation and execution of armed struggle, the creation of a truly Communist Party was and remains the first and foremost question.

Fifth: The victory in the struggle for socialism and Communism was Che's declared goal. He publicly rejected - even if not deeply enough - revisionist attacks concerning questions of the building of socialism and stressed the momentous role of the struggle for the annihilation of bourgeois ideology in the conscience of the exploited and for the development of a Communist consciousness, a Communist morality, for the victory in the struggle for socialism and Communism. Che Guevara stressed the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he also held positions directed against the regular intensification of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat until Communism.

Sixth: It is indubitable and of great significance in the discussion of the work and life of Che Guevara that, in the hearts of all truly revolutionary forces in the whole world, he is a symbol of the struggle against imperialism, a symbol of unselfish proletarian internationalism, of the unity of word and deed, a symbol of the battle-cry: freedom or death!

This is only one more reason why the systematic and scientific study of all his publications and the debate of all the questions discussed here is of the utmost significance."



The December-leaflet carried the title:

The reason why the critical analysis of the struggles of the workers in West Germany after 1945 is necessary:

Let's Learn From the Experiences of the Struggles of the Workers in West Germany for Future Struggles!

"While German imperialism is internationally on its march forward in the exploitation and enslavement of other peoples, as well as in its rivalry with the other imperialist big powers, it also intensifies domestic exploitation and oppression, and the economic and social situation of the broad mass of the workers and the other exploited gets worse in Germany as well. During the last years, the workers and other working people have demonstrated time and again that they are not willing to accept all of this without struggle. But it is also a fact that the union leadership and all the other lackeys of capital might succeed, time and again and even by very similar methods and manoeuvres, in strangling struggles and even entire struggle movements and in leading them to defeat."

In order to really promote their struggle, the revolutionary workers have to digest the sum of the experiences of their struggles, internationally as well as in every single country, under the leadership of their Communist Party. This also includes the analysis of the struggles of the workers in Germany and West Germany respectively. In the long run it is unthinkable that cadres can win the most advanced elements of the proletariat for Communism, for the Communist Party without profound knowledge of these experiences, without having themselves drawn the decisive lessons from them."

The leaflet then, apart from the struggles of the last years, lists some especially important strikes and strike movements of the proletariat from 1949 to 1974: On the one hand, it lists three important *political struggles* in this period: the struggle for the *denazification* in the economic, political and ideological realm, the struggle against the *remilitarisation* of West Germany and *nuclear armament* of the Bundeswehr in the fifties, as well as the struggle against the *reactionary so-called "emergency laws"* at the end of the sixties. On the other hand, it lists seven *economic strikes* as well as struggles against

the restriction of the legal possibilities of the economic struggle of the working class: the *farm-worker strike in 1951* - the largest of this kind in West Germany, the struggle against the *reactionary so-called "law regulating industrial relations" in 1952*, the *struggle at the Howaldt shipyard in 1955* led by the German Communist Party KPD without and against the union leadership, the 114-day *strike of the metal workers in Schleswig-Holstein 1956/57*, the so called "wild cat" *strikes* (strikes led against the will of the union leadership) *of September 1969*, the *Pierburg strike in 1973*, an example of the common struggle of workers from various countries of origin with German workers that is still outstanding today, and finally the *Ford strike in 1973*, the hitherto toughest strike in the history of the West German state with workers especially from Turkey at the frontlines, a strike that shows the enormous dimension of the tasks of the implacable struggle against German chauvinism. In conclusion, the leaflet says:

"The conflicts of the working class with capital carry with them the possibility of the insight that this whole capitalist system must be destroyed, in order to replace it by a new world of socialism and Communism. But this insight does not come all by itself. Rather, here is one of the great tasks of the Communist Party, which does not only have to integrate, organise and lead all struggles, but also has to carry the necessary clarity and perspective of the future into the developing worker's movement..."

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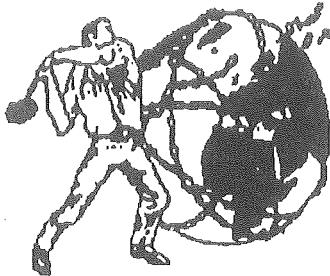
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Bulletin

1/98

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Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: January - March 1998

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In January, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Reasons why the study of the main work of Karl Marx is of basic and topical significance in the ideological struggle:

Study "Capital"!

"Firstly, to be a communist, but having to admit in the discussion and struggle with ideological representatives of the class enemy to not having read this main work is simply a shame. One makes oneself a clown, one starts to stammer or even creates, in a misguided attempt at defending oneself, the impression as if it were possible to be a communist cadre without having read this book, or as if it were sufficient to read summaries of the work in secondary sources. This is admittedly not an argument of very material significance. But it is nevertheless very conclusive. Without knowledge of the basic work of Marx, a defence of scientific communism is impossible."

The leaflet then puts up for discussion some important reasons for, and some important goals in the study of "Capital."

○ Firm conviction of the necessity of the socialist revolution

"...The firm conviction of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism in the face of the worldwide misery, in the face of the real possibilities of socialism and communism can and must grow out of the thorough study of the scientific argumentation in 'Capital'..."

○ Systematic orientation towards the working class: The real situation of the working class and the "dualism" of the daily struggles

The portrayals of the working conditions of the workers, of the prolongation of the workday, the inten-

sification of exploitation as well as of the struggle against all this clearly show the Marx's deep solidarity with and his affection for the "wretched of the earth." What is important here is a basic understanding of the interaction of the necessary defensive struggles of the working class and the sharp analysis put forward by Marx in a spirit of solidarity,

"...that these daily struggles, too, represent a 'dualism,' ... and can be point of departure for reformism, or point of departure for revolutionary perspectives oriented towards class struggle and the goal of communism."

○ The significance of the refutation of the argumentation of the pseudo-scientific representatives of the capitalist class

The study of "Capital" shows that and why Marx spent a lot of energy in the systematic refutation of the 'best theoreticians' of the bourgeoisie. A major factor in this was the atmosphere that Marx succeeded in creating: As a leading comrade in the struggle of the working class, he took his stand without any respect, delivering a devastating critique of the uncrowned scientific authorities of his time, unmasking their mistakes and putting the 'smart heads' to shame in full public, even in realms that were completely dominated by the bourgeoisie up to then:

"The knowledge of this fact instilled a justified feeling of supremacy to the working class over the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie..."

In the section "Important thoughts about socialism and communism," the leaflet explains that it was not by accident that Marx poses the question "what would

be if...?" in "Capital":

"...With great power of persuasion, the prospects of a social order not based on the production of surplus value and exploitation are clarified in this work..."

○ **Against European chauvinism, let's work out the significance of the "primitive" accumulation of capital**

In "Capital," Marx denounces the exploitation and enslavement of the colonies and leads a struggle against European chauvinism, especially in his brief outline of the "primitive accumulation" of capital, that is, in his treatment of the question where the means for the creation of industry in the industrially advanced countries of Europe came from in the first place:

"The answer is concrete and convincing and says a lot about the 'extraeconomic factors,' in short, about the role of violence in history, about pillage and slaughter as means for the preparation of capitalism - means directed against the peoples outside of Europe, but also including pillage and theft in the countries of Europe itself,

committed especially against the peasant population."

In the following section, the leaflet calls for a *critical study* of "Capital." A critical illumination and analysis is necessary not only with respect to various metaphors and certain biblical ways of expression, but especially - in the struggle against modern revisionism - the question concerning the validity of the argumentation in "Capital." Against the objection that claims "Capital" to be "much too difficult," the leaflet says: Since socialism is a science, it has to be dealt with in a scientific manner, i.e., it has to be studied. Absolutely wrong is the opinion that "uneducated" workers are not able to understand "Capital." It is precisely they who can master the communist theory much more thoroughly and deeply.

"Against various 'marxologists' and revisionist professional reformists playing the role of 'Capital specialists' before younger people who orient themselves on scientific communism, it must be clarified right from the start that the study of 'Capital' ... is not a purpose in itself, but has to be mastered as a guiding line for revolutionary practise..."



The February-leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

Let's learn from the exemplary struggle of the unemployed in France!

**Take Up the Struggle Against Mass Unemployment
and Its Capitalist Causes!**

"In Germany as well as in France, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Poland etc., today there is unemployment numbering in the millions and still on the increase, meaning mass poverty in ever larger dimensions. In order to extenuate and justify this, but especially to prevent any militant rebellion against it, various reactionary demagogueries are spread. Thus, mass unemployment is presented as kind of a fleeting 'mishap' of capitalism which capitalism itself is supposedly able to repair. Or else things are presented as if the introduction of new technologies and machines 'in themselves' were the cause of unemployment ... In connection with this, the chauvinist-racist opinion is being stirred according to which the root of unemployment is to be

sought mainly in the 'overpopulation' especially of the dependent countries, an idea that culminates in the Nazi slogan 'Out with the foreigners!' At the same time, the situation of the unemployed is made worse and worse by drastic intensification of a policy directed against them ... But in France, tens of thousands of jobless people have said 'Stop!' and have begun to struggle against all this. They prove that it is possible to fight, to exert pressure on the rulers, to unite in the spirit of solidarity across the frontiers of nationality and state citizenship, to unite in the struggle with others who are also oppressed and exploited by capital. At the same time, they have often even addressed the question of the basic cause of unemployment, which

Proletarier aller Länder,
vereinigt euch!

Proletarier aller Länder
und unterdrückte Völker,
vereinigt euch!

Zeitschrift für den wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus

Theoretisches Organ von GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG Organisation für
den Aufbau der Revolutionären Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands

Rot Front #1 - # 4 (January 1996 - July 1997)

The first four issues of Rot Front, the biannual theoretical organ of Gegen die Strömung contains the resolutions 1 - 5 of the Second Party Conference of Gegen die Strömung. These resolutions, formulated in the form of theses, represent the programmatic foundation of the organisation unanimously voted upon. The papers commenting upon the resolutions, in part purposely annotated with sources, are designed to explain the resolutions as well as to serve as study material.



#1, January 1996, 155 pages, DM 10
(only available in German)

The editorial says: "... For good reasons, this first issue contains programmatic documents of Gegen die Strömung in the struggle for the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Germany: It has to be clear right from the start that the struggle for scientific Communism is no end in itself, but has to serve the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party..."

After the two resolutions "*For the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Communism*" and "*Proletarian Internationalism and the proletarian world revolution*", this issue also contains part I of resolution #3 "*Death to German imperialism, militarism and revanchism - basic tasks in the struggle for the socialist revolution in Germany*" as a third programmatic document. This last part starts with an analysis and explanation of the historical peculiarities of German imperialism. It closes with an analysis of the incorporation of the GDR and the necessity of the building of the Communist Party in Germany. After the resolution, there is a reprint of Marx's work of 1844 "*Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*" printed here under the title "War Against the German Conditions!"

Rot Front

#1 January 1996

Resolution of the Second Party Conference of
Gegen die Strömung

1. For the socialist Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Communism
2. Proletarian Internationalism and proletarian world revolution
3. Death to German imperialism, revanchism and militarism (part I)

On the previous history, origins and development of German imperialism

The incorporation of the GDR - pillage and deceit of West/German imperialism

Karl Marx: War Against the German Conditions!

Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law

tasks in the struggle for the socialist revolution in Germany" as a third programmatic document. This last part starts with an analysis and explanation of the historical peculiarities of German imperialism. It closes with an analysis of the incorporation of the GDR and the necessity of the building of the Communist Party in Germany. After the resolution, there is a reprint of Marx's work of 1844 "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" printed here under the title "War Against the German Conditions!"

Rot Front

2 July 1996

Resolution of the Second Party Conference of Gegen die Strömung

3. Death to German imperialism, revanchism, and militarism! (part II). Touchstones in the struggle against German imperialism, revanchism and militarism, against German chauvinism and racism, development towards fascism and intensified exploitation

4. The basic road of the socialist revolution in imperialist Germany

I. The role of the proletariat as leading class of the socialist revolution

II. Communist positions on democracy and socialism

III. The violent socialist revolution of the proletariat and questions of armed struggle and the armed uprising

V.I. Lenin: Lessons of the Moscow Uprising

2, July 1996, 321 pages, 20 DM (only available in German)

This Issue of Rot Front contains part II of resolution #3 "Death to German imperialism, revanchism and militarism", formulating the special, indispensable tasks of democratic struggle resulting from the peculiarities of German Imperialism. In a certain way, these are touchstones constituting only a minimum for the current work in Germany, for the co-operation with other political forces and groups within and outside of the working class, and not least for the education and training of the cadres in the building of the Communist Party. These tasks are confronted with the basic principles of the socialist revolution which are laid down in resolution #4 "The basic road of the socialist revolution in imperialist Germany": the questions of the hegemony of the proletariat, the necessary subordination of the democratic struggles under the socialist struggles and the systematic preparation of the civil war. In the annex, there is a reprint of Lenin's work "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" of 1906.

3, January 1997, 262 pages, 20 DM (In German only)

On the basis of the first part of resolution # 5 "The necessity of the Communist Party and fundamental questions in building it", which elaborates the main features and developmental stages of the theoretical foundation of the Communist Party, in part #II the basic methodological questions of the building of the party (i.e. the reasons for the unavoidable struggle within the party and the correct and the wrong methods in this struggle), especially the outstanding role of open and public criticism and self-criticism and of the irreconcilable struggle against opportunism as methodological principles of the Communist Party and of scientific Communism are dealt with. In the work "In Memory of Comrade G. Telja" written in 1907 and reprinted here after the first two parts of the resolution, Stalin sketches the picture of a Communist worker who was forced to make up his mind and follow or the Mensheviks or Bolsheviks.

Rot Front

3 January 1997

Resolution 5 of the Second Party Conference of Gegen die Strömung

The necessity of the Communist Party and fundamental questions in building it

* Main feature of the Communist Party

* Two fundamental laws in the building of the Communist Party

- Irreconcilable struggle against opportunism

- Criticism and self-criticism

* Fundamental methods of the struggle within the party

J.V. Stalin: In Memory of Comrade G. Telja

Rot Front

4 July 1997

Resolution 5 of the Second Party Conference of Gegen die Strömung

The necessity of the Communist Party and fundamental questions in building it - Part III

Theory * Cadres * Organisation

- the three basic components of the building of the Communist Party

V.I. Lenin: A Letter to a Comrade On Our Organisational Tasks

4, July 1997, 317 pages, 20 DM (only available in German)

Rot Front # 4 contains part III of resolution #5 "The necessity of the Communist Party and fundamental questions in building it" and deals with the three basic components of the Communist Party: theory, cadres, organisation. Treated are the tasks of the theoretical work, education and employment of the cadres, as well as the building of a militant organisation formed on the basis of conscious discipline and democratic centralism that masters the problem of connecting legal and illegal work. In his work "A letter to a comrade on our organisational tasks", written in 1902 and reprinted here after the resolution, Lenin comments in a principled and at the same time concrete manner on organisational questions.

lies in the capitalist profit system itself.”

The leaflet goes on with a detailed depiction of the struggle of the unemployed in France, describes the triggering factors of the protests there and elaborates the **features of the French movement of the unemployed**: the militancy of the protest actions, the connection of action and discussion, as was the case during the occupation of the elite school in Paris, the close and solidly united connection with other progressive movements; especially the close interaction with the movement of the 'Sans Papiers,' but also with progressive workers, the progressive youth movement and progressive peasant organisations. Further features were the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the working population with the goals and actions of the unemployed. It is precisely militant movements like the one of the unemployed in France that offer the possibility to advance the **debate about the fundamental questions of the struggle against unemployment** among the struggling unemployed and the broad masses, a struggle for which, after a description of mass unemployment in Germany, a few basic points are elaborated in the leaflet:

○ Causes of unemployment

“One thing is of central importance: The capitalist system as a whole is the cause of mass unemployment ... One capitalist kills many others, that is, in the life-or-death struggle for the maximisation of profit the capitalists try their very best to eliminate their competitors, to swallow their profitable enterprises, and to get larger, fatter and more powerful themselves. On the basis of imperialist competition, the capita-

list is forced in ever increasing measure ... to introduce new means of production in order to increase the exploitation of the workers and therefore, his maximal profit. On this basis an industrial reserve army, the army of the unemployed is generated with lawful regularity.”

After the clarification of the fact that the **unemployed workers are part of the working class**, and of the question of the consequences this has for organising within the Communist Party, the basic unit of which must be the industrial cell, the leaflet elaborates the **function of unemployment: It is an economic, political, and ideological instrument of the imperialists.** In conclusion, the leaflet says:

○ Let's lead the struggle against mass unemployment and create the alliance of employed and unemployed workers!

“... As communists, we will support the development of a really militant movement of the unemployment as far as possible. But this requires also and primarily to fight and unmask the forces always bent on appeasement whose main concern is that the actions of the unemployed develop in a ‘quiet and peaceful’ way and don’t transgress the limits of bourgeois legality under any circumstances ... In the same way, it is important to unmask all the opportunist forces who feign to believe that the hope of the unemployed lies in a ‘change of course’, i.e., a change in government... It is precisely the example of France that shows that the so-called ‘left government’ is also only a government of capital...”



In March, “Gegen die Strömung” published the leaflet:

Solidarity with the just reparation demands of the Herero people in Namibia!

The Genocide Committed Against the Herero by the German Imperialists Won't Be Forgiven Nor Forgotten!

“The official visit of the highest representative of German imperialism, Herzog, in Namibia was a direct blow in the face of the people of the Herero, the victims of the genocide committed by the German colonial army in the years 1904 to 1907. The German Federal President rejected all reparations and every apology, he even rejected to receive the representatives of the

people of the Herero. The goal of Herzog’s trip was in fact a different one. It consisted in the strengthening of the reactionary relations to this former German colony, especially to the 30.000 people of ‘German descent,’ who, for the most part, have the role of a ‘5th column’ of German imperialism in the promotion of its hegemonic interests. All this is enacted together with a

display of Pan-German chauvinism, and apart from this, Herzog's incantation of the 'heritage still alive in Namibia,' in the face of the monstrous crimes of the German power holders in so-called 'German South West Africa' [Deutschsüdwestafrika], is a provocation and mockery of the peoples of Namibia that can scarcely be surpassed..."

○ **The genocide of the Herero by the German imperialists**

German imperialism, which had "come too late" in the imperialist "race" for the imperialist partition of the world, proved everywhere where it succeeded in erecting its colonial power in Africa - as in Togo, Cameroon, "East Africa" and "South West Africa" - that it executes its colonialist demands with particular aggressivity, reaching even to genocide. The leaflet describes in detail the barbarous colonial rule of German imperialism in "South West Africa" - in today's Namibia - which was an official German colony from 1884 to 1917. The inhabitants of "South West Africa" were deprived and robbed of their land, thousands of German settlers were settled there, a racist apartheid system was erected. Finally, the Herero, and shortly after, the Nama, rose in courageous struggle against the German colonial masters, a struggle which was carried out mostly in the form of masterful guerrilla tactics and was for a time supported by South African miners:

"The German colonial army acted against the Herero with a cruelty that resembled the atrocities of the Nazis in many respects. Mass shootings of prisoners and the slaughter of wounded Herero warriors were the order of the day."

Finally, the German soldiery encircled the rebels, leaving them in a murderous design only the breakthrough into the Omaheke desert. "*The waterless Omaheke desert,*" wrote the German general staff in 1904, "*should bring to an end what was begun by German weapons: The annihilation of the Herero people.*"

"According to estimates, of the 80,000 Herero only 15,130 survived, of the about 20,000 Nama, 9,781. Herero taken prisoner were put in chains; the letters 'GH' ('Gefangener Herero' - imprisoned Herero) were burnt into their skin, and they were forced into forced labour. Other survivors were interned in concentration camps ... The political representatives of the Herero were executed as 'ringleaders.' As 'retaliation,' the

whole real estate of the Herero and Nama still left over was 'confiscated,' that is, expropriated."

○ **Unmask and fight German neo-colonialism and revanchism in Namibia today!**

Despite its formal independence, Namibia today is in fact a neo-colony, with German imperialism occupying a leading position. Germany is Namibia's biggest 'supplier of development aid.' In the region where German troops committed the genocide of the Herero in the years 1904 - 1907, the German 'Bundesgrenzschutz' [Federal Border Police] was used again as early as 1989 by way of a "UN action for the monitoring of the election."

○ **Lead the struggle for the enforcement of the reparation demands of the Herero!**

The leaflet finally elaborates three aspects: For one thing, the Communist Party must lead the struggle for reparations and compensations right now, because otherwise no alliance with the peoples against German imperialism can be created. Secondly, the German workers share part of the guilt in the crimes of imperialism, including the genocide of the Herero. Thirdly, we must create a consciousness among the workers that even after the fall of the bourgeoisie, it will be their task to accomplish a maximal compensation for the crimes committed under the rule of imperialism.

"... Without really accomplishing this, a proletarian-internationalist union of the peoples oppressed by the German imperialists on the road to the trustful and voluntary melting of the nations in communism is not even thinkable."

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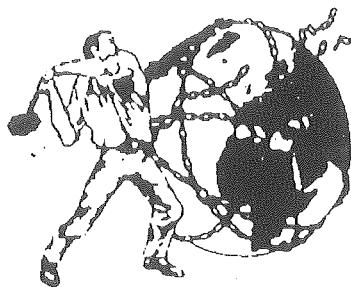
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Bulletin

2/98

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: April-June 1998

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In April, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Fight Resignation!

"German imperialism is on the offensive on all fronts – this is an undeniable fact. It seems to 'control everything', even more than, for example, French imperialism. In our struggle against resignation and defeatism, we must emphasize: An analysis of the offensive of German imperialism is necessary. But such an analysis must be connected with a realistic analysis of the just struggles in Germany, with a view to the full truth and without palliation. For there was and there is resistance – especially against the advance of the Nazis –, there were and there are struggles, even if they are far too few and far too weak. All the more important is it to propagate them, despite all their weaknesses and half measures, in order to learn the most for the intensification of our struggle against German imperialism!"

The leaflet then goes on to throw light on the *advance of German imperialism* in the period from *Mai 1997 to April 1998*, by way of examples: refusal to *pay reparations to Nazi victims from Greece* and to the *Herero in Namibia* by the Federal Government; extension of the *predominant position of German imperialism in East Europe* by the ratification of the "*extension to the East*" of *NATO* in the *Bundestag*; stationing of *German Bundeswehr soldiers* with Hitler salute in *war actions* in other countries as German "normalcy"; the high degree of *Nazi education and Nazi influence in the Bundeswehr* as exemplified in the so-called "*Bundeswehr scandal*"; further intensification of the *murderous deportation policy* of German imperialism; *repression and state fascistification; Nazi murders, daily brutal Nazi terror* and a mounting number of *Nazi demonstrations under the protection of the German police* as German "normalcy."

○ *The struggle against the Nazis, the struggle against the deportation terror, and the struggle of the unemployed*

*"First we must state the following: against many reactionary advances of German imperialism, especially its war propaganda, the war actions of the *Bundeswehr*, as well as its refusal to pay reparations, there has been virtually no protest, let alone resistance. There is a frightening 'habituating effect' as far as this 'German normalcy' is concerned, even among the forces considering themselves as democratic or revolutionary. This is the sad reality. But we must also state that there is a certain amount of resistance and struggle developing against other reactionary advances of German imperialism, especially against the advance of the Nazis, as well as the accelerating impoverishment of the working people, the mounting number of the unemployed that has reached the threshold of 7 million by now..."*

Then follows a listing of important struggles against the deterioration of the situation of the working people, as well as a chronology of the struggles and demonstrations against the Nazi and deportation terror, struggles and demonstrations that were rather numerous. In the section that follows, "*Integration of all everyday struggles into a unitary struggle against German imperialism and the perspectives of the proletarian revolution*", the leaflet gives a summary of today's central daily political tasks of the revolutionary movement in Germany: the struggle against the strengthening *international economic, political and military activities of German imperialism* as a *big power*, militarism and revanchism, against the policy of *German chauvinism*, against the

intensified fascistification of the state apparatus, against the Nazi organisations and groups as well as against intensified exploitation. In conclusion, the leaflet makes the following remarks:

"The strengthening and radicalisation and the combination of all these struggles into a unitary militant democratic struggle against German imperialism and all its departments must be fought out against the appeasing policies of the opportunist forces. But this is not enough."

The causes of exploitation, accelerating influ-

ence of Fascism, Nazism and unemployment lie within the capitalist system itself. Therefore, the main thing to do is to struggle for the preparation of the proletarian revolution to overthrow this social order, and to integrate and to subordinate the democratic struggles to it. The crucial thing today is the struggle for the building of a revolutionary Communist Party able to carry the necessary revolutionary consciousness and organisation into the working class. For this is the only way to rise within the working class the force, the hatred and the resolve to destroy the whole damned system of German imperialism in the armed proletarian revolution!"



On the occasion of the protest demonstration against the Nazi march in Leipzig on May 1, 1998, the following leaflet appeared:

Militant Fight – the Right Way Against the Growing strength of the Nazis!

"The Nazi party NPD had announced a demonstration in Leipzig for May 1. This year, the NPD succeeded under the protection of the police in marching up as well as holding a manifestation in front of the so-called "Monument to the Battle of the Nations", attracting 5,000 to 6,000 Nazis on the occasion. But that is only one aspect of the matter. In their fight against the police and the Nazis, the militant anti-Fascist forces succeeded in stopping the Nazi pack from carrying out their planned march through the streets of Leipzig. By this militant fight the anti-Nazi forces succeeded also in revealing and denouncing the complicity of the German state organization and the Nazis before the eyes of the world."

○ The stages of the interaction of the German state apparatus and the Nazis

The *first stage* was a cunningly produced play of confusion before Mai 1, using banning as well as suspension of the banning of the demonstration by various German courts, until the Nazi demonstration was finally approved by a "supreme" court decision. The *second stage* was the militant street-fighting with the police, which protected the Nazis, supported by various manoeuvres of diversion and appeasement by the opportunists and DGB union bureaucrats. The *third stage* consisted of police terror and

press slander against anti-Fascists after the anti-Nazi demonstration.

○ Militant fight against the Nazis and larger perspectives of the struggle

"...It is wrong to believe that the Nazi gangs and Nazi parties act separately or independently of the state apparatus of German imperialism. In fact, they are supplementing and supporting measures of German imperialism within the whole system of its reactionary measures. In addition, the Nazi parties also serve as a "pace-maker," as "trial balloons" to find out how far the population and the working class have already got accustomed to more evident forms of Nazifascist propaganda and terror.

The Nazifascist shock troops are promoted, supported and protected by the German state organization. They are even deliberately used, directly and indirectly, against anti-Fascist and revolutionary forces. It is just by the unpredictability of their actions that the Nazi gangs succeed in spreading and atmosphere of daily terror.

The fight against the Nazi gangs and their criminal actions, against the Nazi parties and

their incendiary propaganda is indispensable and has become even more urgent by now. Without yielding even a millimetre in the struggle against the Nazis, we yet have to make clear that the intensified fascistification emanates primarily from the state of German imperialism, that the whole capitalistic social system in Germany is the main bearer of Nazifascist ideology and openly terroristic actions. This social system has to be smashed to the core and from bottom to top if we really want to annihilate the Nazi gangs and Nazi parties and to prevent a second move from today's parliamentary republic to a Nazifascist state!..."

As a supplement, leaflet contains the article “*Commu-*

nist positions on the reactionary ‘Monument to the Battle of the Nations’”, for it was not by accident that the Nazis held their manifestation in Leipzig in front of it. This memorial of the victory of the Prussian armies and its allies in the battle of Leipzig in October 1813 against Napoleon's army is not only a symbol for German militarism and nationalism, but also serves as a connecting link between all reactionary sections in the history of Germany until today, focusing all variants of German nationalism, including even the “left variant” of the SED revisionists. In the early fifties, the latter started to glorify and celebrate the so-called “liberation wars” against Napoleon, and later even praised the supposed “positive role” of reactionary Prussia in 1813 and in connection with it, the reactionary Monument to the Battle of the Nations.



The leaflet of “Gegen die Strömung” of June/July was titled:

*Against the celebrations of the 60 anniversary of the “model factory” of German monopoly capital
VW – keeping up the unbroken tradition
of the crimes of the Nazi “model factory”*

“On May 1938, the Nazis, with big propagandistic ballyhoo, laid the foundation-stone for the VW factory. Today, on the occasion of the 60th ‘jubilee’, the ‘success story’ and the ‘achievements’ of VW are lauded in the highest terms not only by the VW capitalists themselves, but also by many prominent people in business and politics. And not by accident. For this company, founded by the Nazis and designed as ‘National-socialist model factory’ has not only, then and now, played an important role in the exploitative system of German imperialism, but has also in manifold ways a leading role in the system of the reactionary and chauvinistic ‘German ideology’...”

○ I. Neither forgiven nor forgotten: The crimes of the Nazi armament factory VW

VW was a central component of the war industry of German imperialism right from the start and had an important role in the execution of the rapacious war of the German imperialists.

“From its very beginnings, the Nazi company VW existed on the blood and sweat of slave workers: During Nazifascism, VW employed about 18,000 people, of whom only 1/6, that is,

about 3,000, were German workers, mostly foremen and masters. Only those people can praise the ‘achievements for the work force’ of the Nazi company, who still count themselves the ‘German master race’ and want to hush up the fact that the production at VW was based mainly on the extreme exploitation of forced labourers, prisoners of war, and prisoners of concentration camps, who were very frequently worked to death there...”

The leaflet then goes on to describe the murderous conditions of the VW slave labourers, of the thousands of *forced labourers* who had been deported mainly from the Soviet Union, but also from Poland, France, etc., the several thousand Soviet, but also French and Italian *prisoners of war*, the thousands of *KZ prisoners*, who were exploited and tormented in four VW-owned KZs, the hundreds of *Jewish KZ prisoners*. After a description of *resistance actions*, nearly exclusively organised by forced labourers, KZ prisoners and prisoners of war, the section “*VW = Nazi model factory*” says:

“The Volkswagen enterprise was a Nazi showcase enterprise and was showered with a variety of ‘honours’: On May 1 1944, VW was eventually honoured as ‘National-socialist model factory’...”

Dealing with the particularities of the Nazi model factory VW – compared to many other large-scale capitalist companies in Nazi Germany – the leaflet stresses that by “social privileges” and on the basis of the criminal Nazi ideology of the “German master race”,

“...the German workers were to be corrupted and chained to the ideology and politics of the ‘National Community’, a project that succeeded to a very large extent.”

○ II. The unbroken tradition at VW and in Wolfsburg beyond the military defeat of German imperialism

The leaflet then reveals the unbroken tradition, the continuity of Nazism after 1945, which can also be seen clearly in the case of VW. As examples, the leaflet mentions among others the numerous re-employment of Nazis at VW after initial denazification measures of the allies, the “accommodation” of Nazi hangmen in VW production sites in South- and Central America like, e. g., the commander of the Nazi annihilation camp Treblinka Stangl who was made head of the assembly plant at VW Brazil, and finally, the refusal of the VW management to pay reparations to the former forced labourers.

○ III. Volkswagen – one of the biggest international exploiters of German imperialism

In a separate section, the leaflet deals with VW's role as a pace-maker and model factory of German imperialism today: in the propagation of the project of class reconciliation called “social partnership,” in the testing and introduction of new concepts of exploitation, as well as in the intensification of exploitation on an international scale.

“As one of the leading international corporations, Volkswagen faces the workers as a worldwide exploiter and bloodsucker. In all, 280,000 workers are directly exploited in about 35 Volkswagen plants all over the world. Of these, 140,000 are employed in 10 VW plants in Germany...”

In a few glimpses, a separate section contains a description of some of the struggles of progressive colleagues at VW in Germany after 1945. The leaflet then goes on to say:

“...Especially in the countries dependent on imperialism in Africa, South America and Asia, VW squeezes enormous profits out of the workers of these countries by means of extremely low wages as well as the most brutal work pace and the meanest working conditions. Child labour and interference with and banning of union activities and organising in the VW plants are the usual practice of enhanced exploitation by VW in these countries.

One thing shows up most clearly in all of this: In the “best German tradition”, VW invests especially in those states in which Fascist military dictatorships guarantee maximal exploiting conditions for VW... On the other hand, the well-trained and experienced demagogues employed by VW are also very apt at selling even the smallest “democratisation” in these countries as a result of the “positive” influence of VW, and to exploit it for their advertising purposes.”

After a description of the situation in the VW factories in Brazil, Mexico and South Africa as well as a portrayal of some of the most outstanding strikes and struggles of the colleagues in the factories there, the leaflet outlines touchstones and perspectives of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in the section “VW demonstrates the necessity of the struggle for the revolutionary break with all exploitative conditions and all reactionary ideologies!”

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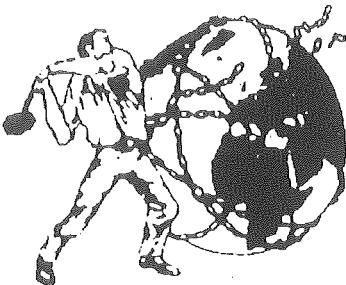
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Bulletin 3/4/98

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" – Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: August–December 1998

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

In August, Gegen die Strömung published the leaflet:

Sixty years ago, one of the most important works of scientific communism appeared:

**Good reasons for studying
"History of the CPSU(B) – A Short Course" today**

"The application of communist theory in practice – this is the topic of the 'Short Course'. It is explained on basis of building up the Communist Party in Russia, the preparation and execution of the democratic and socialist revolution and the armed uprising, the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the process of building a society without exploitation, in the process of building socialism. When the book appeared in 1938, it was reprinted, disseminated and above all, studied and taught – often risking their life – by the communist forces in nearly all countries of the world, with the aim of building up the Communist Party in their own country and to prepare, execute and continue the revolution as part of the proletarian world revolution!"

Further is said in the introduction:

"Anticommunists and opportunists jeered and still jeer at the book as 'schematic' and 'canonisation.' The dense clarity of this book, the clearly arranged order and the clear hints for further study, the consequent application of the historical-materialist principles – all of this is poison for these enemies of the revolution. Accordingly, the Khrushchev-revisionists acted quickly: after their take-over at the 20th party congress of the CPSU, the 'Short Course' was 'withdrawn from circulation', and a revisionist 'History of the CPSU' was edited and disseminated.

The truly revolutionary forces of the whole world (...) will advance in their study of scientific communism, in the struggle for its application by way of a thorough and critical discussion of this summary of the world-historical experiences of the CPSU(B)."

The leaflet goes on to name and explain seven good reasons for studying the "History of the CPSU(B) – A Short Course":

- **Overview on the genesis and content of important works of Lenin and Stalin**
- **The firm-principled construction of the Communist Party in the factories against the tsarist state terrorism and in the struggle against opportunism**
- **Discussing and arguing in the struggle against opportunist catchphrases within the Party**
- **Analysis of the concrete situation**
- **Armed fight as the basic question of the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat**
- **The concrete analysis of the international situation is indispensable**
- **The socialist revolution: the most radical break with the old world in all fields**

These are the concluding remarks of the leaflet:

"We must study the 'Short Course' critically and deal in depth with certain passages and formulations, in order to get maximum clarity in

the building up of the Communist Party, the preparation of the socialist revolution and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for communism!"



The leaflet of September/October carried the title:

Against the War Action of German Imperialism in Kosova!

"German imperialism takes the worsening of the situation in Kosova as a pretext for its further military advance with the aim of to prepare a war, in order to accustom the broad masses more and more to the war for the predatory interests and the striving for world domination of German monopoly capital.

The situation in Kosova is complicated and difficult to evaluate, given the information available at present. On the one hand, it is a fact that especially the masses of the Kosova-Albanian population are exploited and oppressed brutally by the reactionary rulers in Belgrade, and that today's oppression is only a continuation of a discrimination and super-exploitation for decades. On the other hand, there is also a fierce struggle between various reactionary forces, especially between the various imperialist powers and the reactionary domestic cliques closely connected to them. In all of this, German imperialism has a special role in fanning the flames. It is also clear that denouncing the reactionary Serbian rulers in Kosova must be done in irreconcilable opposition to the anti-Serbian slander campaign of the German imperialists. There is also a special need to stress the fact that the German imperialists committed monstrous crimes in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia during World War II, including a politics of genocide.

Open points and lack of certainty on the evaluation of the "Kosova Liberation Army" (KLA or UCK in Albanian), for example, must in no way weaken the struggle against German imperialism, because the struggle to smash it is the political main task of the revolutionary proletariat here in Germany."

Apart from a separate section on the "Historical backgrounds of the situation in Kosova", the leaflet then elaborates a few aspects and points for discussion for the evaluation of the situation and for proletarian internationalist solidarity: among others, the aspect that we have, in principle, to propagate and support the struggle against national oppression and for the democratic right of national self-determination in Kosova, including the right to separation from the state. On the other hand, for sure, reactionary forces and forces guided directly by imperialists play an important role among the forces of the armed fight in Kosova and a dominant role among their leaders. Nevertheless it would be wrong to evaluate the forces of the armed struggle in Kosova in general as reactionary and pro-imperialist. There has been, after all,

"for quite a while a resistance movement. The organizations belonging to it considered themselves partly as Marxist-Leninist in ideological terms and took the Worker's Party of Albania as their model. From this point of view, these forces also had a relation to the tradition of the Albanian revolution, to the revolutionary liberation war against the Italian fascists, later against the German Nazis, and finally for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an important task to find out, whether – and in what measure – forces in this tradition exist today in Kosova, what positions they hold, how they take part in the fight and how much resistance there is against the pro-imperialist forces. It is an important task to establish contacts with progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces, to look out for debate with them, and to support them in their struggle."

For November/December, "Gegen die Strömung" published the 12-page leaflet:

The November pogrom of 1938:

In Full View of the Public!

"Sixty years ago, the – up to that time – worst crime against the Jews was committed in Nazi-Germany. In the whole realm of German imperialism and its Nazis, Jews were mistreated, tormented, raped and tortured in full view of the public on the 9th and 10th November. Many of them were wounded, partly severely, and many were murdered. Virtually all synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, thousands of shops and apartments were destroyed. In opposition to other false positions, the chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, KPD, Wilhelm Pieck, stated rightly in 1939: "Where were the expressions of the collective protests of the workers in the factories against the gang of arsonists, murderers and robbers who executed their disgusting business under the protection of the police? We didn't have such collective protests..." The November pogrom was carried on during the following days and was even intensified. In full view of the public, 30,000 Jews were arrested according to a preordained plan on the 10th November 1938, driven through the streets and public squares and dragged away into concentration camps. Several hundred of them were murdered immediately after their abduction into the Nazi-KZs. Preceding the Nazi-massacre, the deportation of 17,000 of the about 50,000 Polish Jews in Germany took place in full view of the public on the 27/28th October. They were locked in under subhuman conditions in wagons and camps at the German-Polish border.

These murderous Nazi measures were not a secret action – they were carried out in full view of all citizens. They continued the anti-Semitic Nazi terror, begun in 1933 and intensified in 1935, which finally ended in the annihilation politics of the Nazis, in the genocide of the Jewish population of Europe. There is no doubt that the November pogrom was the work of the Nazis. But 'the Nazis' were not only the 'most reactionary, the most chauvinistic, the most imperialistic elements of financial capital' who had established the openly terrorist dictatorship of German financial capital, that is Nazi fascism, as Georgi Dimitroff correctly explained at the 7th World Congress of the Communist

International in 1935, but it was in particular also a Nazi mass movement. To present, of all things, the Nazis and the German people as mutually exclusive contradictions without any overlap was and is totally wrong. For not only did the November pogrom happen in full view of the public – the Nazis also had mass organizations with more than 12 million 'Volksgenossen' ('national comrades'), the Nazi party had several million members in 1938, the Nazis had an enthusiastic and fanatical mass following in all sections of the German people!

After the deportation of his parents to Poland, the 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan from Hanover bought a 6,35 mm revolver and demonstrated to the world that it was urgently necessary to shoot Nazis like Ernst Rath, a Nazi diplomat in the German embassy in Paris, into the head, to carry out armed actions, to lead a fight to the death against the Nazi murderers! The international fight to the death against the Nazis, in which the armed struggle was absolutely indispensable, was not only a fight against single Nazi leaders. It was also a fight against fanatic German masses, who, until May 1945, supported the armed Nazi forces against the forces of the Anti-Hitler Coalition in a degree that is scarcely believable!"

After this, the leaflet describes the historical events with facts and eyewitnesses' reports by surviving victims of the Nazi genocide. In a separate section "Some facts concerning the robbery of the property of the Jewish population", the leaflet deals with the so-called Nazi "aryanization measures". During them, German monopoly capital enriched itself in a big way, profiteering from this gigantic robbery of the property of the deported Jews in Nazi Germany. So did, although in a smaller dimension, large masses of the exploited and oppressed working people.

The leaflet goes on to discuss the question which function anti-Semitism fulfilled for the German imperialists during various phases. As far as the situation in 1938 is concerned,

"the function of the large-scale November

pogrom of 1938 [cannot] be equated with the function, for example, of the large pogroms carried out by tsarism in Russia in 1905 in order to divert the masses of the working people and the exploited in the countryside from revolutionary struggle and the revolution itself. For in 1938, in Germany, there was no revolutionary situation... On the contrary, the mass base of the Nazi regime was probably at no time broader than in autumn 1938."

The leaflet then analyses important hints about the function of anti-Semitism that are contained in the work of the KPD comrade Paul Merker, "The Third Reich and its Fall" and draws the following conclusion:

"Indeed, racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism were not only a suitable antidote against the class struggle of the proletariat..., but also offered a suitable pseudo-scientific reason for the Nazi plans for world domination, for the subjugation and enslavement of other peoples, which does not even stop from the extermination of peoples represented as 'inferior.' It is also very important to notice the fact that anti-Semitism, which was implemented in a harsher and harsher manner, had an essential practical function for the Nazi 'education' of broad masses, especially of the youth, for the execution of the Nazi politics with all its crimes."

In the section "On the communist line of the struggle against Nazi fascism on the background of the masses in Germany poisoned with the Nazi ideology," the leaflet deals with the question of the blame for Nazi fascism and its bestial crimes, a question which has to be treated in a differentiated manner: The main blame must undoubtedly be assigned to German imperialism, followed by hundreds of thousands of Nazi henchmen, followed in turn by an overwhelming majority of the population

"..who did not do anything against the anti-Semitic terror, did not energetically stood by the Jews' side in their horrible torment and fear of death and did not support them. This is the decisive point, from which follows a big complicity of the exploited and working masses with the Nazi crimes... On the other hand, we have the organized anti-Nazi resistance (accompanied by individual acts of resistance) of a minority of the German population who actively fought against Nazi fascism."

The leaflet emphasizes some of the examples for such resistance actions during the November pogrom, not least because they serve to stress the complicity of all those others who did nothing.

In addition, the leaflet contains a **16-page supplement** in which three central documents of the communist workers' movement in Germany on the struggle against anti-Semitism were reprinted and evaluated critically: the "**Resolution against anti-Semitism**" passed by the German social democracy in 1893, when they were still revolutionary, as well as the speech of Bebelexplaining the resolution, and finally, the declaration of the Central Committee of the KPD "**Against the disgrace of the pogroms against the Jews**" of November 1938. In criticising the partly serious mistakes and false estimations of the KPD declaration, delivered after the November pogrom, the leaflet emphasizes the necessity of a tough

"...critique, [which should, however, carried out in the spirit of] solidarity, of those who put their life on the line, faced not only with the Nazi dictatorship, but also with the widespread Nazi influence among the broad mass of the people – and who, by a little self-deception and an appeal to the democratic conscience of certain parts of the population in Germany tried to boost their own hope in order to develop and advance the struggle in Germany. This necessary and rigorous critique of the appeal of the Central Committee of the KPD of 1938 is perhaps one of the most dramatic examples for the fact that solidarity and a rigorous critique are not mutually exclusive."

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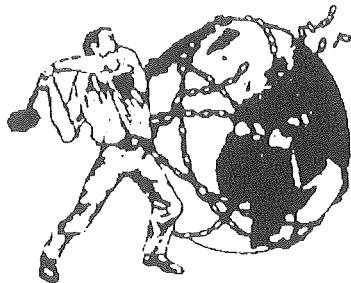
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Bulletin

1/99

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung"- Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: January - March 1999

★ Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish and Italian ★ Price: DM 0,50.- ★

The January leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

In the face of the acceleration of the deportations and the germanisation politics of German imperialism we have, primarily, to propagate proletarian internationalism and Communism!

On the Co-operation of the Revolutionary Forces of Different Nationalities in Germany

"During the last months, the new government of the social democrats and the Greens (SPD-Grüne) has accelerated the politics of the sealing off of the country and of deportation. The minister of the interior Schily outstripped his predecessor Kanther. He trumpeted that the "German boat is full," that immigration has to be reduced "to zero," and he accelerated and accelerates the closing-off- and deportation laws as well as the deportation measures of his predecessors. In this, the Nazi-supported reactionary signature collection by the CDU/CSU against the SPD/Green government's project of 'double citizenship' was a welcome event for the government enabling it to divert from its own actual reactionary politics in the spirit of German nationalism. The effort of the SPD and the Greens to split the people declared as 'foreigners' into 'desirables' and 'undesirables' have not been without effect. This is reason enough not to get stuck in a discussion of juridical details, and instead of this to develop a principled Communist point of view concerning the revolutionary perspective and the revolutionary co-operation of the workers of different nationalities in Germany. This is possible only on the basis of the recognition of the also existing progressive aspects of the modern migration of nations, possible only in the struggle against all varieties of the chauvinist incorporation politics carried out by various pseudorevolutionary organisations towards the workers from other countries."

After this, the following main points and aspects are subjected to a closer view:

- Reasons for the existence of a Communist Party in every area of work on the basis of proletarian internationalism
- The historical genesis of nation states and multination states and the modern migration of nations under imperialism

It is made clear that the modern migration of nations is not only an inescapable consequence of imperialism, but that it also offers favourable possibilities for the development of class struggle: "...only reactionaries can close their eyes before the progressive significance of this modern migration of nations" (Lenin). After an analysis of the modern migration of nations, the leaflet further comments on the following matters:

- Fight the "divide and rule" politics of German imperialism thoroughly!
- Questions concerning the common struggle and the revolutionary perspective
- Historical and present experiences
- The decisive importance of the struggle against German chauvinism
- Basic principles of a differentiated approach and of the individual admission into the CP

The complete text of this leaflet which has only been exposed in extracts can be obtained in Turkish, French, English and German from Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff, Koblenzer Str. 4, 60327 Frankfurt, Fax 069/730920

Our February leaflet carried the title:

The stone raised by the reactionaries through the abduction of Öcalan will hit their own feet!

**The Turkish Torture State and All Reactionaries of the World
Will Prove Unable to Prevent
the Victory of the Just Kurdish Liberation Struggle!**

"The last days and weeks since the arrest of the chairman of the PKK, Öcalan, the days and weeks of the militant demonstrations, the occupations of embassies and other just actions in Turkey, in Europe and also in Germany cannot be an occasion for petty tactical discussions for us. We must elaborate three core ideas: FIRST: The Kurdish population in Turkey has a democratic right to their language and culture, has a democratic right to separation from the Turkish state and to their own state. SECOND: The Turkish state is a corrupt and reactionary torture state through and through; it has to be destroyed in the common revolutionary struggle of the workers, the revolutionary movement of the peasants in the countryside and of the various democratic nationalities in Turkey, which has to lead to armed struggle. THIRD: German imperialism and all other reactionaries of the world can never constitute any support whatsoever for any progressive movement. German imperialism bears a crucial responsibility for military massacres, police terror and torture in Turkey, whose victim is not least the Kurdish population. The renewed military offensive of the Turkish army, employing 10,000 soldiers in Iraq against the armed Kurdish liberation struggle, is being carried out also and primarily with the help of German arms and German money!"

The leaflet then elaborates the following core points:

- **Turkey – a country dependent on imperialism**
- **Fight the twin tactics of international counterrevolution against the Kurdish liberation movement!**
- **Against the reactionary offensive against the Kurdish liberation struggle, let's advance proletarian internationalism!**

ce proletarian internationalism!

German police terror and anti-Kurdish slander

In a separate section titled "*Ahemt Acar, Sma Alp and Mustafa Kurt shot in Berlin by the Israeli secret service, 16 other Kurdish comrades severely wounded,*" it is said:

"...One must hardly guess to conclude that the German police noticed the brutality and total lack of restraint of the Israeli secret service agents with great joy, if it did not provoke it in the first place."

■ **Exemplary action in Greece: Strengthen and expand the common action with the Kurdish comrades!**

"Regardless of whether world imperialism succeeds in defeating the Kurdish liberation movement for a short while, or of whether the liberation struggle will continue to expand – in the long run, imperialism and the Turkish torture state have lost their public face even more, which will continue to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle even more! German imperialism must be unmasked as one of the main puppets and overlords of the Turkish ruling classes! Death to German imperialism, militarism and revanchism!"

Besides, the leaflet contains the *press statement* of *Gegen die Strömung*, the bookshop *Georgi Dimitroff* and the *Vertrieb für Internationale Literatur* concerning the *search* of the Buchladen *Georgi Dimitroff* and the Buchladen *Vertrieb für Internationale Literatur* on the 16th January 1999. The leaflet also deals with the *Nazi murder* of the Algerian refugee *Omar Ben Noui* on the 13th February 1999 in Guben - *Omar Ben Noui was hunted to death after an organised Nazi chase in full view of the police.*

Fight the War of Aggression Against Yugoslavia By All Means!

1) The attacks of NATO and especially of the Bundeswehr against the state of Yugoslavia, begun on the 24th March, are war crimes and are absolutely unjustifiable.

2) German imperialism started World War I, taking events in Serbia as the occasion and pretext, and later during World War II assaulted Yugoslavia with the Nazi Wehrmacht on the 6th April 1941, committing monstrous crimes in the process

Today, German imperialism has in large measure recovered from its defeats and is now attacking – in a coalition with other imperialist powers – Yugoslavia for the third time. It demonstrates before the world that German imperialism, militarism and revanchism – contrary to all agreements of the states of the Anti-Hitler Coalition in 1945 – has long regenerated itself as an autonomous hotbed of war, as an especially aggressive imperialist big power that gets stronger and stronger. For the first time since 1945, German imperialism once again sends out its soldiers on a mission of murder as a warring power.

3) The bombardment of another state by the army of German imperialism – now even dropping the UN-mandate usually employed by the imperialists as a fig-leaf – also means another step towards militarisation and creeping fascism within Germany. A characteristic feature of all this is that the ideologues of the German imperialists, who just yesterday still talked about their "Grundgesetz" (basic law) on a daily basis, are now breaking the article of their own basic law which they were forced to accept by the Anti-Hitler Coalition and as a concession to the struggle of the peoples against Nazi-fascism, and which expressly stated the ban on wars of aggression. (The bourgeois penal legislation provides for a punishment of ten years prison up to a life sentence for the preparation of a war of aggression.) Breaking their own constitution is already a clear hint at the amount of arbitrariness in the manner of the police state which

antimilitarist mass struggles against the war of the German imperialists have to look forward to. For the militaristic mobilisation of the population, the image of the "German mother" standing behind her "struggling sons" is already being massively disseminated. Militaristic catch-phrases, warmongering stereotypes and propaganda methods from the arsenal of Goebbels are being activated creatively. This is especially true for the anti-Serbian slander going back to the time of World War I and especially World War II, when the German Nazi occupiers committed monstrous crimes especially against the Serbian population.

4) Core of the mendacious propaganda of the German militarists and revanchists – as was always the case during the last years – were the supposedly humanitarian reasons for the intervention. According to them, the important thing to do now is to be at the side of the Albanian population of the Kosovo and to prevent Albanian refugee flows.

The mendacity and the reactionary character of this argument is threefold:

First, it is only the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves – who are being turned against each other by the imperialists, especially the German imperialists according to the motto "divide and rule" – who can fight and defeat these deathly forms of nationalism. The bombing of the Serbian population, supposedly being "in the interests of the Albanian population," only strengthens the opportunities of Serbian reactionary forces to commit massacres of the Albanian minority under the cover of demagogic manoeuvres. In this murderous manner, the atmosphere of mutual mistrust and mutual hatred created by the Serbian and Albanian nationalists can only be deepened and enhanced.

Second: The German imperialists employ a few corrupt Albanian top functionaries and their followers for their big power goals. As a goal of the war against Yugoslavia, they want to install

a supposedly "self-reliant" state of Kosovo under the overarching rule of and as an operational area for German imperialism – possibly as a "Larger Albania," as was the case under the tutelage of the Italian and Nazi fascists, just as German imperialism created the Croatian state as its sphere of influence in 1991 in the tradition of the fascist Ustasha state.

The just Albanian national liberation struggle against the decade-long state oppression by the Serbian chauvinist forces loses all its democratic and progressive content if it is transformed into an adjunct of the advance of German imperialism, if it joins NATO and German imperialism instead of relying on its own autonomous armed forces.

In the inexorable struggle against the nationalist and chauvinist politics of division and oppression, the peoples of former Yugoslavia will come to recognise with the help of emerging revolutionary, Communist organisations that they can and must fight together against imperialism and reaction, which is only possible on a democratic basis, which in turn must effectively safeguard the right of national self-determination, including the right of separation from existing states.

Third, however, the war of aggression against Yugoslavia is but another step for German imperialism on its future road – not only towards the east – to take revenge for the defeat inflicted on it by the peoples and states of the Anti-Hitler Coalition in 1945 after a war employing guerrilla warfare as well as regular armies. The ideology of revanchism serves the goal to expand the exploitative possibilities of the German imperialists by all, including military, means.

The expansion of the power of German imperialism is directed not only against the peoples immediately threatened, exploited and oppressed by it, but also and this ever more so against the other imperialist big powers with whom it is enmeshed in a bitter struggle for world domination. Through the acceleration of local wars of aggression, the world-wide danger of wars between imperialist big powers is enhanced significantly.

5) The war of aggression of the German imperialists against Yugoslavia is also a conscious

and planned provocation in order to find out the degree to which the population in Germany is already willing to be harnessed to the cause of militarism and warmongering. The fewer militant protests, the fewer educational work against German imperialism, the fewer successes in the development of an antimilitarist mass movement we can achieve, the more audacious and massive German imperialism will become in its advance. We therefore have to condemn primarily and frontally German imperialism and its warlike aggression against Yugoslavia, to spread information on its further imperialist goals and to enhance the militant struggle against German imperialism, militarism and revanchism – without any illusions about the Yugoslavian state, without any compromises with the Serbian and Albanian nationalists and reactionaries, and in full solidarity with all democratic and revolutionary forces.



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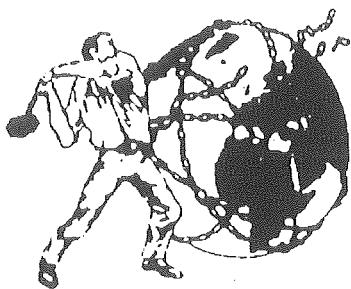
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Bulletin

2/99

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" – Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: May–June 1999

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian and Russian ★ Price: DM 0,50.– ★

On the occasion of May Day, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Fight the imperialist war against Yugoslavia!

Unmask the Demagoguery of German Imperialism Concerning the Alleged "Humanitarian" Aid!

"The last weeks did not only represent a military offensive of the Bundeswehr- and NATO-troops against Yugoslavia, but also a political and psychological offensive, carried out mainly with the help of television, that was designed to disorient and confuse opponents and sceptics of the war against Yugoslavia, to drive them into a corner and to defuse their arguments. A certain variety of opponents of the war is, however, even courted by the war-mongers. The condition for this is, however, the following genuflection: They must 'accept' that all people – opponents as well as proponents of the war – only argue about the best way 'for us good Germans to help the Kosovo-Albanian refugees'.

It is therefore a basic task to become aware and make others aware of the fact that the war against Yugoslavia doesn't serve the protection of the Kosovo-Albanian population, and also, why this is so. As soon as we take up the struggle against the war-mongering, at work, at school or in the streets, we will detect immediately that our own presentation of evidence must be watertight in every respect. We must have principled as well as concrete arguments without getting lost in subordinated details or even falling into one of the many propagandistic traps. Based on the experiences of the war against Yugoslavia we can and must make clear: The present political and military developments show, demonstrate and prove the essential nature of imperialism, the way it works and the role German imperialism increasingly plays in the world ..."

After this, the leaflet deals with the demagoguery, with the demagogic lies and manoeuvres employed as means of the imperialist conduct of war, which it is our task to which we must unmask as means of the imperialist conduct of war:

"...We must be aware of one fact: there are cases when the imperialists, especially the German imperialists, simply resort to lies without there being any real problem to which their lies are connected. Things are going to be much more complicated, however, when the imperialists link their demagoguery to actually existing problems and facts in order to become ideologically offensive ... If we want to unmask this demagogic manoeuvre according to which German imperialism only cares about the protection of the refugees, we must avoid two traps:

Whoever, facing the whipped up and hysterical atmosphere, does not only unmask the exaggerations – for example, the treating of the oppression of the Kosovo-Albanian population as equivalent to the Nazi genocide – and the demagogic exploitation of the facts by the imperialists, but also denies the oppression itself will, faced with the undeniable facts, get in the defensive and can only loose. On the other hand, everybody who declares what is surely necessary: that the Milosevic regime is anything but democratic, that the Serb soldiery has been put down and massacred the just struggle of the Kosovo-Albanian population against national oppression for decades, runs the even greater risk of giving approval to the Ger-

man imperialists, of agreeing to a debate of the ‘that’s right, but ...’-type.

But the crucial point here is that we don’t agree in any way to German imperialism; on the contrary, we make clear that the present incited nationalist atmosphere between the peoples of the region was created not least by imperialism, especially by German imperialism...”

After the separate sections “*The absurdity of the comparison between Kosova and Auschwitz*” and “*The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) and German imperialism*”, the leaflet concentrates on the so-called “humanitarian aid”, which at is the main demagoguery topic:

Three central arguments for the unmasking of the demagoguery about the so-called “humanitarian motives”

- *Violation of human rights 1: persecution, deprivation of rights, oppression and deportation terror against refugees in Germany.*
- *Violation of human rights 2: persecution, deprivation of rights, oppression and deportation terror against refugees from Kosova*
- *Violation of human rights 3: German imperialism as the wire-puller and the cause of human rights violations in other countries*

The real interests of German imperialism ...

- *First bombs for destruction, then reconstruction ...*
- *Extension of the big power interests of German imperialism in the region*
- *Imperialist deathly quiet of the graveyard in the “trouble region” Albania*
- *Extension of the dominant position of German imperialism in East Europe and Southeast Europe*
- *German arms for the protection of German money*
- *Enhanced rivalry with the other imperialist big powers*

In its conclusion, the leaflet says:

“The imperialist solution can never be a solution for the peoples. It is rather another demagogic manoeuvre to ask the opponents of the war hypocritically to put forward alternative solutions, all in the full knowledge that in the short run and in the framework of the imperialist economic world order, there are no acceptable solutions at all. A real solution of the question requires the courage to look at the revolutionary truth.

‘As soon as the peoples talk among themselves, the will quickly achieve unity ...’ – this very appropriate statement also means that the way to the point when the peoples themselves talk and have a say in their affairs is a very long and complicated one. Without the common struggle of the peoples who are at present still incited by nationalism, without their common struggle against imperialist exploitation, oppression and the local reactionary comprador cliques, without the recognition that this military conflict is only the tip of the iceberg, is only the beginning of a new period of local and large international military conflicts, without the thorough knowledge and the firm conviction concerning the essence of imperialism, the way it functions, and the reasons why it always results in military conflicts – without all this, there will never be a real solution of national problems and a peaceful living together of the peoples.

... The perspective of the struggle can only be the revolutionary overthrow of the hitherto existing social order, the armed struggle against the dominance of the imperialist big powers and against domestic reaction.

If we want to lead this struggle successfully, it is absolutely indispensable that we also deal with the history of our ‘own’ imperialism, with its crimes and the whole arsenal of criminal demagogueries. It is our task to support actively all revolutionary forces of the region and to unmask and fight the present big power interests of German imperialism. Against the ‘humanitary’ demagoguery of German imperialism, we have to say: In order to really support the peoples of the region, it is our first and foremost task to unmask German imperialism as the wire-puller and profiteer of the oppression and the poverty of these peoples!”

The leaflet of May/June carried the title:

In view of the imperialist war of aggression of German imperialism against Yugoslavia:

Lenin's Theory of Imperialism Is More Topical than Ever!

"In the discussion among the opponents of the war against Yugoslavia, it turns out with increasing clarity that even the more radical opponents are hardly able to name and explain the deeper causes and reasons of this war in a more than superficial manner. But from the topical political analyses alone, without any connection to the laws of the worldwide imperialist system, it is impossible to gain any understanding. Thus in publications, in contributions to discussions and at meetings it is said again and again that Germany should liberate itself from the supposed 'tutelage of the United States'. But this is an imperialist position based on German nationalism. It is one of the main points of the program of German imperialism to increasingly push through and execute its autonomous big power interests increasingly without and even against US-imperialism. This process cannot be really understood without the knowledge of the law of the disparity of development between the imperialist powers. Above all, the perspectives of the struggle against this imperialist war cannot be developed and explained without this knowledge. Imperialism has been existing now for approximately one hundred years, but works by Lenin such as 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' and 'Imperialism and the Split in Socialism' are still more topical than ever. To study, to propagate and to fight! – this also and especially means to gain clarity about the topicality of Lenin's theory of imperialism and to spread this clarity to other comrades."

After an explanation of the roots and the historical emergence of Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", the leaflet goes on to work out the following core points of Lenin's work, and to explain them in connection with the present situation:

Imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism

The following characteristic features of imperialism are discussed on the basis of passages from Lenin's work:

- The domination of the monopolies
- The new role of the banks, of finance capital and the financial oligarchy
- The export of capital
- The division of the world among the capitalist combines and the division of the world among the great powers
- The political meaning of imperialism is reaction all along the line

Several special sections outline topical data and facts, giving "*Glimpses of the economic strengthening of West/German imperialism after 1945*", or commenting "*On the role of the Deutsche Bank*". In an additional detailed box, central quotes from the works of Lenin and Stalin on the *special aggressiveness of German imperialism* are collected and commented.

The inevitability of imperialist wars in the epoch of the domination of finance capital

- the law of the disparate development leads to imperialist wars
- Stalin's defence against the developing modern revisionism of Lenin's thesis of the inevitability of imperialist wars
- "Peaceful" imperialist alliances prepare wars

Imperialism as parasitic and decaying capitalism

- The labour's aristocracy as the social basis of opportunism within the working class movement

"... The German imperialists use a part of the super-profits they squeeze from the particularly brutal exploitation of other peoples and the working people from other countries of origin living in Germany in order to buy and breed for themselves a particular section

of the working class as their agency. Particularly 'overseers' and 'sergeants' in the factories, but also parts of the better qualified workers are privileged and are separated from the lower sections of the working class thereby. In this way, they are bound more or less closely to German imperialism, they are bribed and bought by imperialism ..."

■ Effects of imperialism on the situation of the workers of the oppressor nations

Lenin attached great importance to the difference between the workers of the oppressor nation compared to the situation of their class brothers and -sisters in the neo-colonial dependant countries. He stressed the fact that the proletariat of the oppressor nation is to a certain extent partner of its bourgeoisie in the exploitation of the oppressed peoples:

"... This process creates the material basis for the infection of broader parts of the working class with the poison of social chauvinism, for their readiness to defend their 'own' bourgeoisie in the struggle for the division of the imperialist loot ..."

From this follow several basic tasks in the struggle for the revolutionising of the workers here: Against arrogance, chauvinism and racism, for the education towards proletarian internationalism. The workers have the internationalist duty to support at most the struggle of the workers from other countries of origin, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples – especially in 'their' countries for 'their' revolution, above all for the revolution in the countries which depend on their 'own' imperialism ..."

In a special section "*Where there is oppression, there is also resistance!*" some highlights of the international struggles against imperialism and reaction during the last years are stressed. The leaflet further says:

■ The contradictions of imperialism can be really solved only in the proletarian revolution

"... Studying Lenin's book on imperialism shows what a powerful and highly organized enemy imperialism is, what enormous forces and reserves it has at its disposal. This is the one side. But Lenin's analysis also shows with

irrefutable logic that the basic contradictions of capitalism get sharper under imperialism ... Even if imperialism succeeds, for a short while or even a longer period, to strengthen and consolidate itself, the basic contradictions of the imperialist world system reproduce themselves on an even larger scale ..."

In the face of a seemingly all-powerful imperialism, in the face of the economic, political and military advance of imperialism in general and German imperialism in particular, we must stress against any emerging defeatism and pessimism: The weakness of imperialism comes out only when and only because the revolutionary forces fight a steadfast struggle against imperialism and all reactionaries! The history of imperialism is simultaneously the history of the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples against imperialism. For the imperialists, there will be no peace. Where there is oppression, there is also always resistance.

But another thing is also true: the heroic, sacrificing struggle of the peoples alone doesn't lead to victory. Only when this struggle is led and organised consciously, with a clear goal and thought-out in a scientific manner, by the workers with their Communist Party at the head - only then the imperialist world system can be successfully defeated in an armed life-or-death struggle ..."

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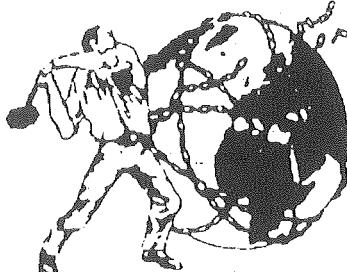
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Bulletin

3/99

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" – Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: July – September 1999

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian and Russian ★

In July, "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet

Against the "Habituation" to the Daily Nazi Crimes!

In the introduction of the leaflet is said:

"Nearly unnoticed by the public, the Nazis in Germany are committing their murderous crimes. There are quite a few people who even say that it is 'not as bad with the Nazis' as it used to be only a few years ago. But appearances are deceptive, and that's exactly what they want them to be. In fact, the Nazi movement has gained strength and has consolidated during the last months and years, and the situation for all people in Germany threatened by the racist-nationalist Nazi terror is worsening even more."

The state apparatus of German imperialism, its policemen, judges, attorneys and politicians hush up and play down all of this, hand in hand with the bourgeois media which minimise the Nazi crimes and conceal the political motivation of the Nazis. The fact that in Germany, Nazis beat to death, slay, stab or burn alive people who they consider their 'enemies', that they desecrate Jewish cemeteries and sully synagogues – all of this is barely worth a headline anymore, all this is supposed to be 'nothing of particular importance' anymore and is to be accepted just as the number of traffic victims is.

These manoeuvres have proven to be not without effects, even among progressive forces, and a terrible 'habituation effect' is making itself felt. In order to break this vicious circle, all revolutionary forces must face the task to declare war to the 'German conditions' and to fight against this terrible power of habituation, passivity and resignation!"

The leaflet then goes on to describe some highlights on certain aspects and facts of the daily Nazi terror, of the daily Nazi crimes: For example, the Nazi murders of the last two and three years, or the steadily continuing Nazi terror in the form of murder attempts, arson attacks, devastations, chases, assaults, attacks and threats by the Nazi scum, accompanied in particular by a mounting number of anti-Semitic crimes during the last years, in addition the creation of so-called "liberated areas" of the Nazis, which are municipal quarters and villages where those threatened by the Nazi terror can hardly go without risking their life and health, especially if they go there alone or at night, or the accelerating "anti-antifa(scist)" activities of the Nazis, the rising number of Nazi marches taking place nearly every weekend somewhere in Germany, and finally the mounting membership of the Nazi gangs and parties, the rising circulation of the Nazi agitation press, and last, but not least, the military equipment of the Nazis, which continues to get better and better, as proven by the recent detection of Nazi weapon depots. In the next section "*How the state apparatus and the media of German imperialism hush up the Nazi terror and protect the Nazis*", the leaflet cites some examples for the system of deceit and covering up developed to perfection by the state apparatus and the media of German imperialism in order to nip in the bud any protests against the Nazi crimes and to push through a nearly complete "habituation" to Nazi terror. The leaflet then continues:

○ Tasks in the struggle against the daily Nazi crimes

"Against the rise of the Nazi terror, important struggles and resistance have developed in many places. ... It is our task to link up to these struggles. It is necessary that militant and centrally organized actions encompassing tens of thousands of persons are carried out..."

Countering the system disinformation, covering up and ‘habituuation’, we must carry out autonomous investigations...

Given the daily Nazi terror and the continuing rise of the Nazi movement, massive self-help and the militant fight against the Nazi gangs is in the fore...

But we must also realise that all this is not sufficient. Wherever we find struggles against the Nazis, it turns out very soon that it is also necessary to deal with their filthy arguments, their Fascist ideology of the ‘right of the strongest’ etc., and to fight them. The decisive point here is the following: the ideology of today’s Nazi movement has its roots in the whole system of the Nazi ideology that was official state doctrine in Germany between 1933 and 1945 and was disseminated among millions of people. Until today, distinct traces of the Nazi ideology can be found in the thinking of a large part of the German population. But even this falls short. Just as Nazi-Fascism was only a particular form of the rule of German financial capital, of German imperialism: namely, its ‘open terrorist dictatorship’, the Nazi ideology is basi-

cally only the extraordinary extreme of the ideology of the German bourgeoisie, of German imperialism: German chauvinism – militarism – revanchism – racism – antisemitism – antiziganism (against Sinti and Roma) – anti-communism.

And just as German imperialism embodies continuity and an unbroken tradition, just as unbroken dominates its criminal ideology in all realms of life – even in the thinking of the masses of the working people and of the workers. Thus, whoever wants to lead a really uncompromising struggle against the Nazis of today, a radical struggle that goes down to the root, has to struggle also against German imperialism itself and its ideology!

For that reason, the important thing is to have, wherever possible, further discussions within the anti-Nazi movement on the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie in the proletarian revolution, on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the defeated bourgeoisie, their Nazis and all reactionaries, as an instrument for the eradication of capitalism and the construction of socialism and communism.”

★ ★ ★

In August/September 1999, a twelve-page leaflet appeared, titled:

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

“75 years ago, on January 21, 1924, Lenin died. Studying the whole of his writings, especially of his most basic works, is a decisive task for all revolutionaries who really and continuously want to struggle for the socialist revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for communism. In his work ‘The Foundations of Leninism’ which appeared immediately after Lenin’s death, Stalin explained indispensable bases for the study of Leninism. In the ‘History of the CPSU(B) – Short Course’, published in 1938, among other things, a presentation is given which was in many respects a scientific summary of the theoretical and practical accomplishments of Lenin. In addition to that, the Lenin biography that

originally was published in 1946 and has been reedited in 1999 by the publisher ‘Olga Benario und Herbert Baum’ gives more than 400 pages of an exciting and highly interesting account of Lenin’s life and work in the form of a ‘short survey’.

Many comrades cannot perhaps imagine anymore the deadly and pointing hatred with which Lenin challenged the ‘big shots’ of the imperialist world and made them suffer severe defeats, the trenchant and devastating critique with which Lenin challenged and defeated the phrasemongering opportunists and the liars and deceivers who called themselves ‘leftists’. This was Lenin who was able like no

other to turn hatred into energy, and who, because of his honesty, was considered by the wretched of the earth as their Lenin, even if perhaps they did not know how to put it in words..."

The leaflet then goes on:

"Lenin doesn't deceive – he didn't flatter the masses, he struggled unsparingly for the truth. Lenin knew that it was possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be once again overthrown after the victory of the October Revolution. He knew and time and again stressed that class struggle becomes sharper and sharper under the dictatorship of the proletariat:

'The abolition of the classes requires a long, difficult, stubborn class struggle which, after the overthrow of capitalist rule, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes fiercer.'

(Lenin, 'Greetings to the Hungarian Workers,' 1919, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 389)

Lenin saw the danger of a restoration of capitalism very clearly:

'The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration. After their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters – who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it – throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise', of which they were deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' labour ...). In the train of the capitalist exploiters follow the wide sections of the pretty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day

marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, run about aimlessly, snivel, and rush from one camp into the other ...'

(Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," 1918, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 254)

Among all these manifold struggles, Lenin particularly stressed the ideological struggle against the 'power of habituation' ... Lenin stressed that the communists could not afford not to correct mistakes, that self-criticism against arrogance is decisive for 'Nobody and nothing can bring us down, apart from our own mistakes.' (Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 58)

The revisionist-counterrevolutionary development of the socialist Soviet Union after the death of Stalin – a development into a reactionary police state, an imperialist super power – is a bitter testimony for how trenchant Lenin's and Stalin's analyses about the necessity of the intensification of class struggle in socialism had been.

To study Lenin's life also means – particularly in Germany today – to intensely study Lenin's life before 1918 during the preparation and execution of the armed revolution, during the building of the Communist Party..."

Oriented on the biography of Lenin which first appeared in 1946, the leaflet tries, based on the most pressing ideological questions and problems in Germany, to make a contribution for such a study of the life and struggle of Lenin. Apart from biographical descriptions, the leaflet also deals with the meaning of Lenin's basic writings in the context of the stages in Lenin's life in which they were written.

■ ***Lenin's development into a Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, a communist***

■ ***The "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" – first core of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia***

■ ***"What We Should Start With?"***

■ ***"What Is To Be Done?"***

- “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back”
- The revolution of 1905
- The struggle about the theoretical foundations of the proletarian party during the years of reaction
- The two-front struggle against the liquidators of the illegal revolutionary party
- Turnaround of the imperialist war into the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie!
- For a new, the Third, the Communist International!
- What is imperialism?
- “State and Revolution”
- The February Revolution of 1917
- Lenin’s “April Theses” – instructions for the transition to the socialist revolution
- Lenin at the head of the October Revolution 1917

The leaflet then concludes:

“Lenin struggled even in difficult times, even in seemingly hopeless situations with a deep revolutionary conviction and knowledge, with revolutionary optimism and spirit for the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, for the creation of the Communist International, for the proletarian world revolution. In his speech ‘Lenin’, delivered at a Memorial Meeting of the Kremlin Military School on January 28, 1924, Stalin had the following to say about the treachery of the leaders of the Second International at the beginning of World War I:

‘Lenin at that time was the only one, or almost the only one, to wage a determined struggle against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, to denounce the treachery of

the Guesdes and Kautskys, and to stigmatise the half-heartedness of the bewitched and between ‘revolutionaries’. Lenin knew that he was backed by only an insignificant minority, but to him this was not of decisive moment, for he knew that the only correct policy with a future before it was the policy of consistent internationalism, that a policy based on principle is the only correct policy. We know that in this fight for a new International, too, Lenin proved the victor. ‘A policy based on principle is the only correct policy’ – this was the formula by means of which Lenin took new ‘impregnable’ positions by assault and won over the best elements of the proletariat to revolutionary Marxism.”

(Stalin, ‘Lenin’, 1924, Collected Works, vol. 6, p. 61)

The leaflet contains as a supplement Stalin’s speech “Lenin” delivered at a Memorial Meeting of the Kremlin Military School on January 28, 1924. In addition, the leaflet contains as a supplement a copy of the “Roter Pressespiegel” (available in German only) No. 4/99. The bimonthly “Roter Pressespiegel” is an overview of articles of the bourgeois, democratic and opportunist press, organised according to the topics German imperialism inside and outside, struggles and protests in Germany and internationally. The “Roter Pressespiegel” can be ordered from the Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff.

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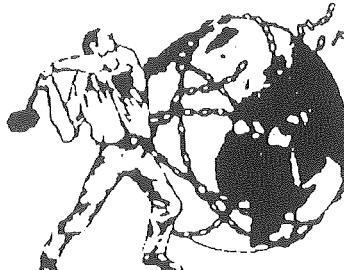
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Bulletin

4/99

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung" – Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: October–December 1999



Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian and Russian



The October leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

German imperialism – one of the main wire-pullers and supreme masters of the Indonesian executioner's state

German Arms, German Money Contribute to the Murder in Indonesia!

"After the massacre of hundreds of thousands of followers of the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1965, after the military invasion and subsequent occupation of East Timor in 1975, the bloody hangmen's regime of Indonesia has reached a new climax of cruelty with the expulsion and murder of hundreds of thousands of East Timorese during the past few weeks. The strategy of scorched earth, of slaughter and of expulsion executed by the Indonesian military as well as by the death squads allied with it is also meant as a warning to the other peoples within the frontiers of the Indonesian state and of the territories occupied by it, as well as to the revolutionary movement.

German imperialism, actually one of the main wire-pullers and supreme masters of the Indonesian torture state, now washes its hands of the matter, crying hypocritically 'The international community has to act!'. At the same time, it pretends it has to be asked twice to put its military flag prominently on display - under the mask of 'medical aid,' but for the 'protection of certain German interests,' as war minister Scharping formulated it. After Cambodia in 1993, the participation of German soldiers here is an important milestone in the advance of German imperialism in Southeast Asia."

○ **The trail of blood left by the Indonesian hangmen's regime**

■ Counterrevolutionary massacre of members of the Communist Party and other revolutionaries in 1965

■ **Mass murder of the population of East Timor after the military occupation by the Indonesian military in 1975**

■ **Expulsion and mass murder of the population of East Timor by the Indonesian military in 1999**

○ **German imperialism – exploiter and oppressor of the peoples on the national territory of Indonesia and of the territories occupied by it**

In the section with the title "*Habibie on Habibie: I am a product of a German engineering training, of German standards of thought and value*" the life of Habibie is taken as an example to show that German imperialism itself takes care of the education and cultivation of its "governors" in the countries dependent on it and exploited by it. After a few *highlights concerning the "German-Indonesian comradeship-in-arms"*, the leaflet deals with the role of German Imperialism in Indonesia:

"German imperialism belongs to Indonesia's five most important 'trading partners' ... After the setting-up of military dictatorship in 1965, German imperialism has increasingly pushed into the Indonesian market ... The German imperialists are plundering the peoples on Indonesia's national territory and those of the territories occupied by Indonesia not only by means of direct exploitation in their factories located there, through the sale of their products on the Indonesian market and through the import of cheaper raw materials and products, but also by granting credits and squeezing out interest on credits ... Another instrument of plunder is the so-called foreign aid.

Indonesia ranks third on the list of the recipients of 'German foreign aid'..."

○ Military, intelligence and police support by German imperialism

"German imperialism is, after the USA and Great Britain, the largest supplier of arms of the Indonesian terror regime ... And the terror regime in Indonesia is equipped with murderous arms not only by such direct deliveries. German imperialism has been taking care for the erection of factories for war materials on Indonesia's national territory itself for years, in order to produce these weapons on-site..."

German imperialism invests well directed into police and military know-how, into specialists, arms and arms factories in the dependent countries in order to have its imperialist exploiter's interests secured by force of arms, in order to gain insights into the strengths and weaknesses of as many reactionary state apparatuses as possible, in order to increase as successfully as possible the dependence particularly of the police and the military on German 'technology,' as well as to arm more and more extensively the whole state apparatus of the countries in question. Not only does this strengthen the position of German imperialism in the country in question, but at the same time this also serves to undermine and weaken the position of the other imperialist big powers in the mutual competition."

Finally, the leaflet says:

"As the Indonesian example shows, German imperialism bets on several horses. For one thing, on the stabilisation of the rule of the Indonesian comprador bourgeoisie; on the other hand, it fancies itself in the role of the 'defender of human rights' and of the 'helper' of the East Timorese population, in order to deceive the peoples and to get pally with the bribed elements of the national struggle of liberation in East Timor in good time. This double tactics seems to be pretty successful ... One thing is clear despite all hypocrisy: German imperialism is one of the forces most responsible for the oppression and the suffering of the peoples on the national territory of Indonesia and the territories occupied by it. It is our task to unce-

singly unmask the crimes, the reactionary double tactics and the role of German imperialism and to support the struggle of the peoples exploited and oppressed on Indonesia's national territory and in the territories occupied by it for their liberation against the local comprador bourgeoisie and world imperialism. Target of this necessary struggle is also German imperialism with its Bundeswehr (army), because it is accelerating in a massive manner the exploitation and oppression of the working masses in Indonesia and has become one of the main wire-pullers and supreme masters of the ruling classes in Indonesia. In this, all Communist forces in Germany must know that proletarian internationalism requires solidarity in word and deed. We must be aware of the fact that a communist party in an oppressor nation

"which is hostile to imperialism in words but in deeds does not wage a revolutionary struggle with 'its own' colonies for the overthrow of 'its own' bourgeoisie, does not systematically assist the revolutionary work which has already begun everywhere in the colonies, and does not send arms and literature to the revolutionary parties in the colonies, is a party of scoundrels and traitors."

(Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International," 1919, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 505 f.)

In the section "*The self-criticism of the CP of Indonesia published thirty years ago after the bloody massacre is still topical!"*" it is said:

"In the centre of the self-criticism of the CP of Indonesia was the basic attitude towards the violent revolution and the state apparatus of the ruling class as well as the attitude towards the 'national bourgeoisie.' The line of the preparation for, supposedly, two possible paths of revolution, for the supposedly 'peaceful path' and the 'non-peaceful path' was criticized as the core of the mistakes of the CP of Indonesia during the time from 1945 to 1965, and as jointly responsible for the bloody defeat in the confrontation with the Suharto regime ...

With this self-criticism, the CP of Indonesia did not only settle up with its own mistakes, but it was also the first Communist Party that spoke out openly against the revi-

sionist theory of the 'two paths' predominant in the Communist world movement at that time. Also, the self-critical documents of the CP of Indonesia constituted the first really basic and thorough rejection of modern revisionism in the question concerning

the supposedly 'peaceful path'..."

As a topical short comment, the leaflet also contains a section with the title: "The courageous resistance of the imprisoned revolutionaries in Turkey shows: The struggle continues!"



In November/December, the leaflet appeared:

Five Weeks Factory Occupation at Alcatel-Berlin!

"When the workers of the Alcatel Kabelwerk (cable factory) in Berlin/Neukölln learned at the end of August that that their factory with 170 employees is to be closed down definitely at the end of the year, they were finally fed up. The colleagues were no longer ready to accept this additional attack on their living and work conditions without struggle. As a climax of a struggle begun at the beginning of the year 1999, they occupied their factory on September 13, 1999, stopped the production and took the products that were already finished as a bargaining lever. With this action, the longest factory occupation in Germany since 1993 began. On October 18, 1999, the occupation ended after negotiations between works council, the leadership of the metal union IGM and the combine managers. The aim of keeping the cable factory open was not reached. But it is also a fact that it was the decisive readiness for battle of the workers that has forced Alcatel's monopoly capitalists to make any financial concessions at all after nine months of struggle. And most importantly, the workers have gained important experiences in this struggle.

Considering the enormous weakness of the labour movement in Germany, it is all the more important to direct one's eyes, in the struggle against resignation and disbelief in the possibility of the development of a revolutionary labour movement, time and again towards the - for the moment - very few, but nevertheless existing struggles in the factories and factories, even if they are largely concealed by the bourgeois media, in order to show the basic beginnings of the development for a really belligerent, revolutionary and internationalist labour movement in Germany."

After a description of the course of the struggle of the workers of Alcatel-Berlin, of the actions and expressions of solidarity of the struggling Alcatel employees, and of the hypocritical "support" of bourgeois politicians, the leaflet says:

○ On the significance of the struggle of the Alcatel workers

"■ The example of Alcatel has shown that factory occupations can be an important means in the struggle of the workers, especially if they are combined with other means of struggle, such as strikes and demonstrations. By factory occupations, the direct lock-out of the strikers, as well as the use of scabs for continuing the production process can be prevented. In addition to this, in a factory occupation, the workers are concentrated in one location and offensive measures can be co-ordinated easily; decisions can be taken quickly, and all this enhances the fighting strength.

In the atmosphere of a factory occupation where the workers actually question the right of disposal of the capitalists and slave-drivers over the factory, the Communist forces have an increasing chance that there is the sphere and the opportunity for fundamental debates...

■ The struggle of the Alcatel workers was led in common by the workers from Germany and those of other countries of origin, mainly from Turkey. This serves to stress once more that against German chauvinism and racism, the unshakeable basis in every struggle is the internationalist unity between the lowest section of the working class, independent of na-

tionality, religion and colour. What is necessary is a persistent, lengthy and merciless struggle against the massively existing German chauvinism in the consciousness of large sections of the German workers.

■ The example of Alcatel clearly shows how important it is to anchor one's own struggle beyond particular unions, branches of industry and regions as broad as possible. In this, the autonomous initiative for contact with the workers from other factories plays an outstanding role. One's own struggle must be linked to the struggle of the workers in other countries right from the start..."

Finally, the leaflet deals with the *connection of the necessary struggle for the preservation of jobs with the perspective of the further struggle*. In the section "The DGB-apparatus – instrument of German imperialism," the leaflet deals with the question of the unions. The DGB (German federation of trade unions)-apparatus is connected to the state apparatus of German imperialism in thousands of ways and is based on this capitalist social order without any questioning:

"With the help of the imperialist super-profits reaped by German imperialism, a whole – and not irrelevant – section of the working class is separated from the lowest section of the working class, gets preferential treatment and gets more or less closely bound to German imperialism, by which it is being bribed and bought. This section, which is a small minority compared to the rest of the working class, but nevertheless forms a relatively broad and solid section of a worker's aristocracy and also constitutes a recruitment pool for the bureaucrats in the unions, is one of the main instruments of the German bourgeoisie for the dissemination of its ideology, and is a raiding-party of reformism, German chauvinism and anticommunism within the labour movement."

Nevertheless, the DGB does not only consist of the reactionary union leaders and bureaucrats, but has also millions of members. For that reason, it is also necessary to struggle within the unions, to unmask the DGB bosses, to liquidate their influence in the labour movement, and to win over the most belligerent colleagues for a revolutionary perspective. The leaflet then further says:

"To initiate and develop a militant struggle

oriented on internationalist principles and purified of all false friends, of union bureaucrats and of worker's aristocrats no matter which of the bourgeois parties they belong to, a struggle that is firmly led by the most belligerent colleagues from the factories – all this constitutes the only possible path in order to be able to combine successes in the union struggle – against mass discharges and wage cut as well as against the appeasement, resignation and demoralisation spread by the DGB bosses - with a revolutionary perspective, to which the other aspects of the struggle must be subordinated.

Without a systematic, broad and open struggle against the worker's aristocracy in general and the worker's bureaucracy in particular, against their politics of class reconciliation and reformism, against their chauvinist ideology, the preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is impossible. The unity of the working class can be forged on a revolutionary basis only without and against this section of the worker's aristocracy. It has to be a unity of the lowest section of the working class, shoulder to shoulder with the workers of all countries against the world system of imperialism."



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